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ART. I. — *The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies.*
By ARTHUR HELPS. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1855-57.

IF we had to select for an author a task of unusual difficulty, it would be such an one as Mr. Helps has, in his latest work, chosen for himself, — to repeat a story already often told by writers of high reputation, and with which readers generally are, or imagine themselves to be, well acquainted. Several portions of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' have, indeed, been expanded by subsequent historians; but such topics as the rise of Mahomedanism, the Monastic Orders, or the Crusades, are incidental parts of Gibbon's work, which admit of being detached from it and treated independently. No similar privilege belongs to the annals of the Spanish Conquest in America. The empires then overthrown did not pass, like the great empires of the Old Continent, into new forms, or strike any fresh roots in their native soil. No metempsychosis, such as that which superseded pagan Rome by Latin Christianity, was granted to Mexico and Peru. The Aztec Nebo and the Peruvian Bel stooped and bowed down at once and for ever, and with them fell into cureless ruin all the budding and all the ripening arts of Indian civilisation. The conquerors brought with them a civilisation too alien or too strong to be grafted on those military or sacerdotal despotisms, and the conquered were either absorbed by the faith and laws of their oppressors, or fell back into the savage state from which their native priests or lawgivers had raised them. Accordingly, within a century and half after their discovery, the history of

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the Indian empires terminates, rolled up like a scroll, rounded as with a perpetual sleep; and what remains is little more than an account of Spanish viceroyalties, of the Plate fleets, of Jesuit colonies, of buccaneers in the 17th century, of fierce and fruitless revolutions in the 19th. Mr. Helps, therefore, has undertaken to repeat not only a thrice-told, but also a very brief tale, if its duration be measured by the terms of Asiatic or European dynasties. Yet within this period of about one hundred and fifty years there lies a story so extraordinary and so romantic, that it never fails to interest even in repetition, and to this tale its latest narrator has given some of the attractions of novelty by his mode of regarding and relating it.

The peculiar drift and scope of his work, differing in many respects from those of his precursors, will be best stated in the author's own words. Mr. Helps informs the reader that —

‘Some years ago, being much interested in the general subject of slavery, and engaged in writing upon it, I began to investigate the origin of modern slavery. I soon found that the works commonly referred to gave me no sufficient insight into this matter. Questions, moreover, arose in my mind, not immediately connected with slavery, but bearing closely upon it, with respect to the distribution of races in the New World. “Why,” said I to myself, “are there none but “black men in this island; why are there none but copper-coloured “men on this line of coast; how is it that in one town the white “population predominates, while in another the aborigines still hold “their ground? There may be a series of historical events, which, if “brought to light, would solve all these points; and I will endeavour “to trace this out for myself.”—Eventually, however, I found that I was involved in a large work, and that there was much to be told about the early discoveries and conquests in America, which is not to be met with in its history as hitherto narrated. I am confirmed in this opinion by one of the greatest lawyers and most learned men that Spain has produced, whose office gave him access to all the colonial records of that country.* He justly remarks, that the historians of New Spain neglected to treat of that which was the great result of all the political transactions they narrated. He alludes to the subject of *encomiendas*. I have unconsciously, as far as his remark is concerned (for I did not meet with it until I had matured my own plan), been endeavouring to write a history that should not be liable to this censure. To bring before the reader not conquest only, but the results of conquest—the mode of colonial government which ultimately prevailed—the extirpation of native races—the introduction of other races—the growth of slavery, and the settlement of the *encomiendas*, on which all Indian society depended—has been the object of this history.’

* Antonio de Leon Pinelo, Relator del Consejo de las Indias.

Here, then, under the surface of a field marked by many previous footsteps, lies more than one vein of virgin ore, affording a sufficient cause for a new history of the 'Spanish Conquest in America.' Any motive, indeed, rather than a spirit of emulation prompts the author to enter the lists with such writers as Robertson, Prescott, and Washington Irving. They have described the conquest: Mr. Helps aims at exploring and explaining its results. They hold by right of pre-occupation the epic side of this romantic story; he has chosen its practical aspects. The modest and thoughtful essayist has not swelled into an ambitious chronicler, but has been led to the subject by his previous studies and the customary bent of his thoughts. Whoever has read Mr. Helps's 'Essays' on various themes, — and few recent works have been more generally read, — knows that his sympathies are not with the ordinary matters of history, — kings and ministers, courts and cabals, selfish war ending in selfish peace, — so much as with the social institutions which, according to their nature, render nations wise and prosperous, or foolish and unfortunate. Whatever tends to open avenues to labour, to make our houses healthy, or to adjust the balance between those who have and those who need, is the *farrago libelli* of nearly all Mr. Helps's prose writings, and is as conspicuous in his latest as in his earliest work. This bent, indeed, towards the practically useful has prompted him to re-write the story of the Spanish Conquest. For of this transcendent episode in European history there are aspects which still cast an influence malign or beneficent on present times. With the discovery of the New Continent began the colonial system of Europe, began slavery under forms unknown to the Old World, and consequently began provisions, theories, and traditions of government already old, and some of them decrepid, which nevertheless exert no slight influence upon the world of to-day. For, not to seek further for examples, are not the two greatest nations of Europe, — France in her costly military conquest of Algeria, England in the torrid and the south-temperate zones, — each at this moment engaged in a colonial experiment on the grandest scale, the success or failure of which is fraught with momentous consequences to millions yet to be born? On the other hand, at a time when the 'imperial master of the fur-clad Russ' is doing his best to abolish serfage, the great Transatlantic Republic is, and will long continue to be, agitated by the problems of slavery and abolition, the issues of which may determine the future union and prosperity of her members. Policy and humanity, the diffusion and separation of races, are alike involved in the inquiries

which form the staple of Mr. Helps's work ; and his examination of the course of Spain three hundred years ago, through a then untried and trackless field, will afford useful lessons to those who govern or those who colonise in the present century.

It is an unavoidable consequence of the variety of subjects embraced in this work, that Mr. Helps's narrative moves on curved rather than on direct lines. So long as Mexico and Peru were an historian's principal themes, the succession of the story was pretty nearly that of time, since the great achievement of Cortez was almost contemporary with the opening of Pizarro's career. But if the course of war, like that of the cannon-ball, be straight, the movements of government and colonisation are often oblique, and, proceeding from various centres, can only be included in different circles. Mr. Helps has warned his reader of the inevitable shifting of his scenes.

'The story,' he says, and he repeats, 'does not suffer itself to be told in any one conquest, or in any one discovery. It sometimes lies wholly in the New World, sometimes wholly at the court of Spain. It depends at one time on some powerful minister; at another, upon some resolute conqueror. It follows the course of the remarkable men of the day, and now rises up in one colony, now in another; its direction not being governed by the relative importance of the colonies. Guatemala, for instance, a country of which we have heard but little in Europe, becomes, at one period, a most important field for investigation in a general history of Spanish conquest in America. A number of remarkable men happen to be in Guatemala at the same time. Their proceedings give the most apt illustration of their theories respecting slavery, colonisation, and colonial government. Hence Guatemala becomes, for several years, the geographical centre of the narrative, as the Pearl Coast had been at a former period.'

Our limits prohibit us from following many of the devious lines of the Conquest; but we shall so far tread in the author's steps as to regard what have been hitherto episodes in the subject, as not less important, and occasionally even more so, than the records of the politic or brutal violence which respectively cast down the thrones of Montezuma and Atahualpa. It would be an ill compliment to our readers to suppose them ignorant of what Robertson and Prescott have so well told: and after a few remarks on the degree of civilisation attained by Mexico and Peru, we shall direct attention to such provinces as best illustrate the colonial policy of Spain, or the character and institutions of the Indians. The historical features of Cortez and Pizarro are as generally known as those of Cæsar and Alexander, and the military and sacerdotal systems of the Aztecs and the Incas have been described as often as the priestly government of Egypt,

or the ceremonial of the Byzantine court. Not so familiar, however, are the causes of the rapid decay of those systems after their contact with Europeans. In the volumes before us we are told more clearly than in earlier narratives of the same events, how the natives were absorbed or exterminated by their conquerors. We are let more into the secret structure of a government for which neither Greek nor Roman colonies, nor the migration of northern or eastern races, afforded any precedent. We read in them of the birth of novel forms of slavery, of new divisions of labour, of new objects of enterprise, of the strange entanglement of European with Indian politics, of the yet stranger connexion of American with African destinies. These are questions which Mr. Helps treats on a more extended and minute scale than any of his predecessors, and which are more instructive than the fortunes of war or the fall of empires.

We must first, however, say a few words upon the author's mode of narrating, for this is, in some respects, as peculiar as the subject of his work. To his narrative we cannot always give the praise which is so justly due to the extent and originality of his researches and to his humane and philosophic spirit. To his style, indeed, we have seldom any objections to make, beyond such as may arise from the defect we are about to notice. His diction might now and then be more concise. But it is generally strong and lucid, often highly picturesque, and free from barbarisms of foreign extraction or colloquialisms of home growth. From few recent works, indeed, could we extract more striking passages or more delightful episodes; from none sounder political or philosophical reflections. But Mr. Helps too frequently confounds, in our opinion, the provinces of the essayist and the historian, and transports the reader abruptly from the strange and gorgeous panorama of the Indian tropics to the comfortable library or picturesque rambles of 'Friends in Council.'

We care little for the dignity of history, and rejoice that the measured pace of the historians of the last century is no longer deemed proper to narration. Still, in our judgment at least, a narrative is a picture from which the artist himself should stand aloof. In histories, like those of Thucydides, Xenophon, or Clarendon, it is allowable for the writer to present himself occasionally, since having been an eye-witness of many of the events, his presence in his own pages may impart to them a livelier interest. But in every instance where time and space present insurmountable barriers to audience and vision, the historian, having once introduced himself in his title-page and preface, has,

we think, no business on the scene. Mr. Helps is evidently himself of a different opinion, since he so frequently comes before the curtain as chorus: has his asides, surmises, and suggestions; whispers comfort to Las Casas, so long entered upon his reward, or good advice to Ferdinand, three hundred years too late. Many of these confidential passages are eminently wise and to the purpose: but they trouble the stream; they dissolve the vision; they are a break in the continuity of the story. They recall us from Columbus on the deck watching the island night-fires; from Cortez gazing from the height of Ista-palapa upon the 'city of Montezume;' from Pizarro climbing the platforms of the Andes; from the portals and vistas of so many 'perilous seas and fairy lands,' to the sober certainty of London cries; or, if we are luckily beyond the hubbub of the streets, to the commonplace facts of wheat crops, turnips, and poachers. This we regard as the principal blemish in a work otherwise of rare excellence. Let Mr. Helps now and then retrench his periods, and banish for the nonce Ellesmere and Milverton, and we shall then unhesitatingly pronounce his style equal to his theme and all its wondrous issues.

We should, however, be very unjust to Mr. Helps did we not recognise in his pages higher virtues than the mere art of narrative. He is a most conscientious writer, never reluctant to confess ignorance where knowledge cannot be obtained, nor sparing any pains to obtain it. The peculiar character of his work involved him in researches lying far apart from the direct track of his predecessors, and led him to seek out and consult documents hitherto either unsuspected or imperfectly examined. To extract from heaps of chaff a few grains of wheat, in which some fact lay hidden relating to the Spanish government or the native institutions of Nicaragua, Guatemala, or the Pearl Coast, he has waded through many a portly volume and consulted many a rare manuscript. The authorities for American history are not catalogued in the Bodleian or the British Museum alone. They have long slumbered in the gloom of Spanish libraries amid avenues of folios or in chests filled with yellow parchment-rolls, such as Oldys would have kissed with reverence. To compose these volumes, much travel by land and by water, much scrutiny of rare book-lists, much delving in the dark, have been undergone; and we who have the benefit of these *opima spolia* gratefully record our debt to the vigilant and veracious collector of them.

The portions of the history of the Spanish Conquest which have occupied hitherto the front rank, retain in the present narrative also a just precedence; for the voyage of Columbus,

and the adventures of Cortez and Pizarro can never be consigned to the back-ground. What Indian civilisation could effect without extraneous aid was displayed by Mexico and Peru at the moment when the Spaniards invaded them; what was wanting to the geographical knowledge of Strabo and Ptolemy was supplied by the superior science and undefeated energy of the Genoese mariner. In Mr. Helps's pages these great events in the history of the globe are not, as formerly, isolated, but represented with the circumstances which accompanied them. Of his contributions to the knowledge of the Conquest the most important is the new light which he has thrown upon the Spanish government of these dependencies, and upon the history of the races which, owing neither the Aztec nor the Inca Emperor for their sovereign, were working out, independently of either, their own political and social history.

It was a shrewd observation of Robertson's that if the Spanish government would throw open to investigation the documents of Indian history, in his time jealously secluded, much might be found in them to vindicate the Spanish nation from the charges of rapacity and cruelty, with which, since the Conquest, all Europe has rung. So far as regards the government his surmise has been remarkably verified, and we are now in a position to affirm that, amid many errors and omissions, Ferdinand and Isabella and their successors meant well, and often acted well, towards their Indian subjects. That their instructions were often disregarded, and occasionally inappropriate to the case contemplated, was perhaps unavoidable, since they could not see their measures carried out, were at the mercy of interested reporters, were deluded by religious prejudices, and even baffled by time and space. A precept signed at Burgos or Seville in one year, might not reach the American viceroys until the next, and very likely after its arrival would not come into operation at all. In the interim, the tribe on whose behalf a command to be just or merciful had been registered, might very possibly have been reduced to a few individuals, or swept from the earth by plague, famine, or inexorable labour. Still the intention of the government is on record, and is creditable to its authors, especially if we consider the general feelings of Europe in general and of Spain in particular, at that epoch, towards those who were conquered by arms or those who were not included in the pale of the Church.

Of the general readiness of the Spanish government to provide for the security and to hear the petitions of the Indians, we shall speak presently. But before doing so, we must briefly

glance at some circumstances which Mr. Helps has omitted to notice — first, the general characteristics of the Spaniards in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and, secondly, its impact with Indian civilisation at a particular stage of its progress. The Conquest was so remarkably modified by both, that we shall perhaps need no apology for the digression.

The Spaniard, when the New World was thrown open to him, had not only inherited from his fathers a deep hatred of infidels and a strong desire to convert them by the sword, but was actually engaged in a truceless war with the Moors of Granada. It is no insignificant fact, that the first articles between the Crowns of Castile and Arragon and Columbus were signed in the camp at Santa Fè, a few months only before the banner of the cross was planted triumphantly on the last citadel of the infidels. On the one hand, therefore, there were the accumulated prejudices of centuries; on the other, the fierce anticipations of victory; and both combined to render the Spaniard of that day indifferent to the sufferings of unbelievers. The force of these prejudices, even if they are not recorded in the chronicles of Spain, is attested by its popular ballads. In these rude but vigorous effusions the most famous soldier is he who has slain single-handed most of the followers of Mahound, the most Christian knight he who has baptized most infidels *in extremis*, having the running brook for a font, and the hilt of his sword for a cross. The time had long gone by since Paynim and Christian warriors had fought side by side, eaten from the same trencher, and drunk from the same cup, or, if opposed to each other, had met and parted in the spirit of Ferrau and Sacripante in Ariosto. As the Spanish border extended further southward, and the Moorish frontiers contracted themselves, a fiercer spirit was infused into the contest. Territorial were exchanged for religious wars: the banners of the Church were reared beside those of the Three Castles and St. James: churchmen put off the alb and cowl, and put on helm and hauberk: and when ecclesiastics mingle in camps or councils, war seldom assumes or long retains its milder forms. Supernatural aid was called in to nerve the arm of flesh. Miracles were of ordinary occurrence: dreams and visions revealed the will of Heaven. In this school of superstition the Spaniard became an apt pupil. He was taught, perhaps he was pleased to learn, that the enemy whom he encountered in the field was also the foe of heaven, and he fought at Seville and Granada as Godfrey and Cœur de Lion had fought at Antioch and Acre.

To the Spaniard, thus nurtured at home, a new race of

infidels was suddenly presented abroad. It was the peculiar infelicity of both the conquerors and their subjects in the New World, that they were brought in contact just at the close of a long war of religions. A few years later, the billows of strife would have subsided in Spain, and the power of the Aztec monarchs would have been as well established on the shores of the Atlantic as it was on the borders of the Great Lake. The conquest would have been more difficult, but it would also have been more salutary for the invaders, since, if longer delayed, it would have more nearly resembled the gradual progress of the English race north of the Spanish possessions. But the Spaniards, fresh from the Moorish wars, born and bred up in the heat of an eager fray, and diverted by no peaceful occupation from the love of adventure, might argue plausibly enough in the following strain:—‘If the Moors whom we have just cast forth were of the synagogue of Satan, how much rather these paynims of the West! If they who worshipped one God, and admitted Abraham and Moses to be prophets, were lawful captives of our bow and spear, shall not these worshippers of stocks and stones, these offerers of human victims to Moloch, they and their gory priests, be given into our hands like horses and mules?’ Such, if not the language, were the sentiments of men bred in religious wars, taught to believe in the exclusive privileges and unbounded authority of the Church, and further inflamed by the prospect of endless wealth and adventure.

Again, we may gather from Mr. Helps's pages what was the composition of a Spanish colony at this juncture. It was not, like a Greek colony, complete and compact in all its members, bearing forth its gods, its traditions, and its households. It was not, like a Roman colony, a camp removed to the frontiers, or to the waste lands of the state, retaining its military subordination, and resuming its old agricultural habits; neither was it such a migration as the Helvetians projected in Cæsar's age, and as so many German tribes accomplished afterwards,—the removal of an entire people, with its flocks and herds, from an unthankful to a promising soil. The home government, indeed, chose for captains and magistrates men who seemed well suited to their office, and who were often punctual and high-principled in the discharge of it. And with just and able civilians, there went humane and pious ecclesiastics, who proved almost invariably true shepherds to their Indian flocks. But neither wise, nor temperate, nor self-sacrificing men alone composed these expeditions. Spain swarmed with men trained in camps, and impatient of the restraints of police. To the vessels which periodically left Palos or Cadiz, there flocked men to whom

neither the world nor the world's law was friendly; prodigals cast forth from home; debtors flying from their creditors; men just delivered from one gaol and ripe for another. Nor were these the only adventurers, whom greed of gold, or sudden acquisition of power, would render fierce as wolves, and insatiable as vultures. With them hied forth to seek fortune men of low origin and hard-handed, who had felt the gripe of poverty and perhaps the insolence of office at home, and were therefore the less able to employ wealth prudently, or exercise authority well. Of this class were Pizarro, Almagro, and the greater number of their followers; and how they demeaned themselves in office, is it not written in the blood and tears of Peru?

But although there were especial causes in the Spanish character for the fanaticism and rapacity which marked every step of their conquest, we cannot affirm that at the time and under the circumstances other European colonists would have been less eager for gain or more discreet in the exercise of authority. Mr. Helps mentions a settlement of Germans who in their avarice and ferocity out-Heroded Herod; nor have we ourselves as a nation much to boast of in our dealings with the Red Men. The Dutch in Rhode Island and the English Puritans in Massachusetts too often preferred, in their intercourse with the sons of the soil, the sword of Gideon to the tender mercies of David. But at the moment of the conquest, and until the civilisation of the Indians had vanished like a dream, the Spaniards were of all the existing nations of Europe, the least adapted by their previous habits to temper justice with mercy or authority with prudence in the administration of their new possessions.

Although Mr. Helps, in a measure beyond any of his predecessors, has shown that in the regions first visited by the Spaniards many partially civilised states existed independent of Mexico and Peru, yet these empires were at the time, and will always remain, the great centres and representatives of Indian civilisation. Much there was in that civilisation which excited the wonder and applause of the Europeans who beheld it, whether they were, like Columbus, instructed in all the learning of the time, or, like Bernal Diaz, rude blunt soldiers; and much, too, there is to excite our admiration now, so many centuries after its extinction. Its superiority in some respects to the material civilisation of Europe in the fifteenth century—the high roads, the architecture, and police of the cities, and their strict sanitary regulations—its inferiority in others, are not less remarkable. Yet, perhaps, even more extraordinary than this contrast is the resemblance between the political and social systems of the Indian Empires with those of Egypt and Assyria

in the old continent. In one most important particular, indeed, the elder states were in advance of the American communities; they were acquainted with the use of iron, with the chemistry of metals, with the horse and the war chariot. Mr. Helps has justly observed that if a statue had been erected to the conqueror of the Indians, the horse might have challenged a pedestal for itself, since not even the terrible artillery of the white man was so much dreaded by the natives as this his four-footed auxiliary. The possession of such adjuncts of war as iron and cavalry by the Indians must have entirely altered the course of the Spanish invasion, even if they had not defeated it. But even for Assyria and Egypt, European civilisation proved too strong, and a handful of Greek or Macedonian hoplites curbed the pride and finally laid low the throne of the Great King. Mr. Helps, who has depicted in such true and lively colours the aspect of the Indian empires at the moment of the conquest, has, however, scarcely noticed their resemblance to those of Babylon, Memphis, or Thebes. That resemblance is too remarkable, both in its probable causes and its known features, to be passed over in silence, and in order to exhibit it, we again crave the indulgence of a brief digression from his pages.

In his ninth book Mr. Helps has described 'an imaginary voyage,' in order to set before his readers the aspect of Central America before the foot of the stranger was impressed on its shores. Perhaps the chapter is too much of a fancy portrait for the rigour of history, but it is so replete with various learning, and so beautifully sketched, that we accept it as readily as if the vision were real. In our turn we claim a similar privilege, stipulating for the purpose in view that we may transport ourselves to the old continent some three thousand years ago, and lead our 'imaginary voyager' to the seats of the most ancient civilisation of Western Asia and Northern Africa.

Three thousand years ago, then, and just a century and a half before the descent of Cyrus on the Lesser Asia first involved the politics of Asia with those of Europe, the pastoral tribes of Western Asia had established themselves in an enormous plain watered by one broad river, and by many tributary streams. The city which they built there was in its regular and stately architecture a great advance on the primitive nomade camp of Nineveh on the Tigris, although in the amplitude of its parks and squares it still retained some of the characteristics of a city of herdsmen. The vast area was enclosed by walls so broad and lofty that they seemed to be less the work of men's hands than a group of hills rising abruptly from the surrounding plain. Broad highways mounted on brick terraces, and carried over the numerous streams

on brick bridges, connected the city with its zones of subject provinces, and far as the eye could reach, the watcher on its towers marked the perpetual flux and reflux of returning or departing multitudes, of caravans from the banks of the Hyphasis, or strings of camels from Arabia or Egypt. Within the gates the tokens of power, enterprise, and wealth were not less conspicuous. One third of the wide enclosure was occupied by the great temple of the sun, the palace of his earthly representative, the king, and the habitations of his appointed ministers. Another third was assigned to the military and civil uses of the nation, to barracks, to dwellings and workshops, and resounded with the tramp of soldiers, the noise of the hammer and the saw, and the hum of revolving wheels. The remaining portion was laid out in parks and gardens planted with trees foreign to the soil, and tenanted by rare animals and birds imported from the forests of Bactria or the Punjaub. It was once the second, it had become the first of the capitals of Assyria, and it had risen on the fall of an empire little less ample and powerful than itself.

Mr. Helps has justly entitled Mexico the *Babylon* of the West, and from his pages we shall now glean a few points of the resemblance between the Assyrian and the Aztec metropolis. Like their Asiatic prototypes, the Mexicans had supplanted an elder, and, to judge by its colossal structures, a numerous and powerful race. By its roads and canals their capital received into its heart the tribute of the entire basin of the Great Lake, and was rapidly planting its banners or its colonies from the sea of the south to the great eastern waters. Its principal temple was dedicated to the god of war, but he had probably deposed a more beneficent deity, who, like the sun, was content with offerings of fruits and flowers; and on the altars both of the Assyrian Bel and of the Aztec Tezcatlipuk burned perpetual fire. Mexico also was a sacred city. Its king was the visible image of the Supreme Being; its priests were astronomers and necromancers, nor would their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, their nice measurement of time, or their skill and progress in the mechanical arts, have been disdained by their Chaldean elder brothers. The sacred centres of the throne and the hierarchy were enclosed by many circles of military nobles, differing from one another in glory, yet all alike the slaves of the emperor and the priesthood. The nobles engrossed the duties of war, and the toils or rewards of civil office. Thralldoms of the crown, they were the lords of the people, who bowed contentedly under the yoke which they inherited, and did not sigh for liberties they had never known.

The people of Mexico are much more interesting than its emperors or priests, and though the arrogant conquerors scarcely

deign to mention them, we may infer from their occasional descriptions of the city what were the pursuits and character of its inhabitants. A market-place is the best family picture of a city; and nothing in Mexico seems to have surprised the Spaniards, even those who had served in Italy and the East, more than the great square where every kind of merchandise was offered for sale. 'They said that a market-place so skilfully laid out, so large, so well managed, and so full of people, they had never seen.' Mr. Helps thus describes it:—

'In this vast area each kind of merchandise had its own quarter, and it would be difficult to specify any kind which was not to be seen there. To begin with the noblest and the most shameful merchandise, namely, that of human beings, there were as many to be found as the negroes whom the Portuguese bring from Guinea. Then every kind of eatable, every form of dress, medicines, perfumes, unguents, furniture, fruit, wrought gold and silver, lead, tin, brass, and copper, adorned the porticoes, and allured the passer-by. Paper, that great material of civilisation, was to be obtained in this wonderful emporium; also every kind of earthenware, salt, wood, tobacco, razors made of obsidian, dressed and undressed skins, cotton of all colours in skeins, painters' colours, building materials, and manure; wine, honey, wax, charcoal, and little dogs. Convenience was well considered; porters were to be hired, and refreshments to be obtained. One curious thing, which Cortez noticed, was "that every commodity was sold by number or by measure, and not by weight."

'With regard to the regulations under which this vast bazaar was held, it may be noticed, that the Mexicans had arrived at that point of civilisation, where fraud is frequent in the sale of goods; but, superior even to ourselves in this day, they had a counterpoise in a body of officers called judges, who sat in a court-house on the spot, and before whom all causes and matters relating to the market were tried. There were also officers who went continually about the market-place, watching what was sold, and the measures which were used. When they found a false one, they broke it. This market was so much frequented, that the busy hum of all the buying and selling might be heard for a league off.'

On reading that every thing was to be had in the Mexican market which men can desire, except, as our author drily remarks, 'bills of exchange, newspapers, and books,' we are tempted to exclaim, 'what need these outlaws conquerors should have?' and our admiration at such marks of civilisation in a nation comparatively of yesterday is heightened as we learn that her gardens were as rich as those of Damascus: her canals as populous with boats as those of Venice: that she was supplied with water by a double aqueduct raised on masonry, and little if at all inferior to the Marcian aqueduct of Rome; and that her streets and causeways were kept scrupulously clean, while a regular

police watched over the security and the morals of her inhabitants. Well might the Spaniard, accustomed to the narrow lanes and puny squares of his Gothic cities, and whose highest conceptions of an imperial capital at the time were realised in Granada, find no parallel, except in the dreams of romance, for the city of Montezuma.

But we must now turn to a second comparison between the Old and the New World. The scene now shifts to a narrower plain than that of Babylon, terminated on the eastern horizon by bluff cliffs of porphyry, and westward by limestone terraces, and nearly bisected by a river even more majestic than the Euphrates. Intense life is here clasped in the embrace of barren death, since the cultivated land is immediately bordered by wastes of sand and rock. But wherever irrigation extends on either bank of the river, and far inland as the eye can reach, the level ground is radiated by canals, covered with abundant crops of corn and leguminous plants, or studded with temples, palaces, barracks, and warehouses, and all the emblems of a warlike and commercial people. The river itself, the great highway of the kingdom, is covered with innumerable vessels from the raft of reeds to the hundred-oared *baris*, and compelled to flow between quays and wharfs built of the red granite of Syene. Less lofty than the porticoes, obelisks, or avenues of statues among which it grew, yet taller than any other tree of the Libyan forest, the palm tree, 'like the mast of some 'great ammiral,' rears its heavy plumage over field and garden, or reflects itself in lucid tanks and pools. And within this city, the hundred-gated Thebes, is neither rest nor idleness from dawn to sunset. Its factories supply Libya, Arabia, and Syria, and the southern isles of the Egean with the fine linen, the embroidered armour, and the delicately carved jewels of Egypt; its armies or its merchants move incessantly to and fro between the great haven of Adulè, between 'Meröe, Nilotic isle,' to Sais beside the great northern waters, and to the fane of Anmon in the Libyan waste. No man was idle in Thebes, even childhood had its appointed task: but no one could alter or improve his condition in the working world. The son of a priest was devoted from his birth to priestly ministrations; the offspring of a soldier must become a soldier himself: the mason and the carpenter could neither enter another guild, nor be inventive in his own art, for a rigid system of castes prescribed his functions in life before he drew vital breath. The lot of an Egyptian king may have been more externally splendid than that of a hewer of wood or a drawer of water, yet it can hardly have been less irksome to a liberal or active mind. For to the king,

as to the meanest of his subjects, his speech, gestures, knowledge, and even his diet, at least in public, were prescribed by laws as immutable as the rocks in which he was destined to be entombed. The civilisation of Egypt was the triumph of sacerdotal power over the natural impulses of mankind.

It was repeated and rivalled in a land which, at the time when Rameses the Third led his armies to the shores of the Euxine, was probably peopled only by those hideous and gigantic broods which have preceded man on the globe. What corresponding circumstances may have led the ancestors of the Pharaohs and those of the Incas to nearly the same theory of government, we shall consider presently; but the similarity of the institutions which they respectively founded, is most remarkable. As in Egypt the lands were divided among the priests, including the priest-king, the soldiers, and the husbandmen; so in Peru it was parcelled between the sun, the Inca, and the people. In Egypt the yearly inundations of the river made necessary an annual re-distribution of the land: in Peru, without a like pretext, the practice was the same. 'Every Peruvian,' says the historian, 'received yearly his share of land, which depended upon the number of his family. The chiefs and rulers received larger portions.' In the division of the people, Egypt, so far as we know, was surpassed in rigour by Peru. On the theory that the Inca, as priest-king, was the representative of the sun, that is, of the world's creator and monarch, every institution was so devised as to secure for him nearly unlimited obedience from his subjects.

'The whole country,' says Mr. Helps, 'under their dominion was ruled with the strictness of a Roman army. There were decurions (the word reminds us of a very similar system in Latium), each of whom ruled over ten men; ten of these decurions and their men were under a centurion; ten centurions and their men obeyed another official chief; and ten of these chiefs, with those under their command, formed a department under the sway of one ruler. In the several handicrafts the son succeeded the father.'

It would be easy to multiply instances of the similarity between the early civilisation of Western Asia and Africa and that of Mexico and Peru—such as the feeding of the people from public granaries, the taxes paid in labour and in produce, the colossal temples and pyramids, and all the signs of the many existing for the one. It will be more instructive, however, to mark the physical or moral causes of this resemblance, as well as the moment at which the political system of the Red Man encountered the arms and arts of the White.

First, then, in all these regions, the climate, though hot, was

not enervating, and though the soil demanded labour, it amply rewarded it. Food, therefore, was easily obtained, and abundance was, as usual, accompanied by a dense population. But food was the only urgent necessity of life; a single garment was clothing enough, and, unless for culinary purposes, firing was seldom needed. Much of the labourer's time, accordingly, would have been at his own disposal had not the state stepped in to exact it for public works, and the grand scale on which these were executed, implying at once the cheapness of food and labour, has already been mentioned. Again, in all these instances it is manifest that individual action was nearly, if not wholly, sacrificed to the corporate interest of the state. Now a state which rules by civil edicts alone has a comparatively slight hold on its members. For limiting the will of man, so that myriads shall walk in the track of one, or of one privileged order, from generation to generation, there is needed a power stronger than decemviral Ten Tables, or even than Draconian codes. That power exists in religion or superstition alone, and accordingly we find that in America, as in Asia and in Egypt, civilisation rested on a basis of sacerdotal despotism, which forbade change, and inculcated obedience as the be-all and end-all of human duty. That Indian civilisation was arrested before it began to decay, while that of Egypt and Western Asia accomplished its full term, was owing, in part, to the feebler organisation of the Indian race, but still more to the circumstance of its being confronted earlier with the might of Europe. For if under comparatively peaceful treatment the Red Man in North America has nearly vanished before the Pale Faces, and if with scarcely inferior muniments of war neither Egypt nor Assyria could strive long with the phalanxes or the legions of Europe, the races of Central America, with their slight armour and their rude weapons, had small chance against men locked in steel and wielding such instruments as the lance, the sword, and the matchlock. It was truly, in all respects, *impar congressus*; for Mexico and Peru were then starting in the race, and unconsciously repeating the exhausted processes of the eastern world, while their conquerors inherited not only the civilisation which sprang from the Church, but that also which was transmitted from the arts of Greece, the laws of Rome, and the institutions of the Teutonic nations.

We have anticipated Mr. Helps's narrative in surveying thus early the political systems of the two great Indian empires; but we now return to those important chapters of his work in which he examines the character and policy of the conquerors. We have already remarked that the miseries of the

Indians were owing rather to the colonists, than to any neglect, or even any signal errors, on the part of the home government. That the humane and pious Isabella was always in intention the benefactress of the oppressed; and, when not misled by her spiritual directors, wisely careful for their weal, has never been doubted. But equal credit for moderation has not hitherto been given to the more worldly-minded partner of her bed and throne. Without formally defending him, Mr. Helps exhibits Ferdinand in an unusually favourable light, and disperses some prejudices as to the impenetrable mystery of the Spanish council chamber, and the inaccessibility of Spanish kings. That Isabella and her consort were at times deceived by imperfect reports, by interested representations, by the novelty of the circumstances, and even by their own political or religious prejudices, was merely 'a condition twin-born with their greatness;' but that they were open to petitions, and were not even offended by honest rebukes, will appear from the following abridgment of scenes in council, or minutes of consultation on Indian affairs, as reported in Mr. Helps's pages.

Immediately after the first return of Columbus, and before the echoes from his triumph had died away, the prosaic business of framing a scheme of government for the islands was begun. One or two clauses in the instructions given to him reflect the piety and humanity of the Catholic sovereigns. The admiral was 'ordered to labour in all possible ways to 'bring the dwellers in the Indies to a knowledge of the Holy 'Catholic Faith.' He and 'all the armada' are charged to deal 'lovingly' with the Indians, and to 'honour' them much; and if by chance any persons should treat them ill, the admiral has full powers to chastise such evil doers. England bears, or at least deserves of late years to bear, a fair reputation for dealing justly and considerately with the coloured subjects of her realm; yet we doubt whether more humane instructions than these, which were signed in 1493, have ever issued from Leadenhall Street or Downing Street.

In the following year a despatch was received from Columbus, which still further elicited these honourable sentiments. In this paper he treads, for the first time, upon dangerous ground — 'ignes suppositos cineri doloso' — the question of slavery. He had sent home from the Cannibal Islands as slaves certain Indians, and suggests that they should be baptized and taught Castilian, so that they might act as interpreters to the missionaries. The admiral argues that, in the first place, these men's souls will be saved, and, in the second, that he and his company will gain much credit from the islanders generally by their capture of

these fierce people, the common enemies of peace. 'Such arguments,' Mr. Helps remarks, 'must be allowed to have much force in them; and it may be questioned whether many of those persons who, in these days, are the strongest opponents of slavery, would then have had that perception of the impending danger of its introduction which *Los Reyes*—Ferdinand and Isabella—seem to have entertained. The sovereigns suggested whether it might not be better to try to convert these "eaters of strange flesh" at home, and to proceed in like manner with the other Indians.'

Columbus, indeed, proposed to deal very summarily with these cannibals, regarding them as so much live stock, to be caught and penned when wanted for the service of the colony. Of his general humanity there can be as little doubt as there is of the spirit of self-sacrifice in *Las Casas*. Yet the one proposed to treat some of his tawny brethren like a drove of forest-ponies, and the other suggested, or at least sanctioned, the proposal that negroes might be brought over the sea to relieve the over-tasked and vanishing Indians. Such inconsistency in these 'constant, loving, and noble natures' may perhaps be explained by the fact that Columbus, in his earlier years, had been on the African coast and seen negroes brought to market, but without any of the horrors of the later slave-trade or of 'the middle passage;' while *Las Casas* had often beheld well fed and richly liveried negroes among the attendants of great houses, and pitiable only because they were chattels and not free persons. The ill they looked upon had few or none of the outward and visible signs of evil; the ill they unconsciously devised, or authorised for generations to come, presented to their mind's eye none of its hideous features. Yet, even without any beacon to guide them, the masters were in this instance more wary than the servants, and Ferdinand and Isabella wrote in reply, 'As regards this matter, it is suspended for the present, until there come some other way of doing it there, and let the admiral write what he thinks of this.'

We should borrow too liberally from Mr. Helps's pages were we to cite from them more proofs of the considerate humanity of the Spanish monarchs under the novel circumstances of the time. Yet, before we exhibit instance little less striking of the moderation of the Spanish government generally, as evinced by the decisions of the Council of the Indies, it will be proper to say a few words on the temptations to deal more harshly with their new-found subjects which equally beset Columbus and Ferdinand. Isabella's motives to err in this matter were of a different kind. She was sometimes led to think by

her confessors that it was her bounden duty 'to compel' the Indians 'to come in' to Christ's fold: but not 'all the gold under 'the coldè Moone' would have led her to consent to enslave them for earthly ends. On the admiral's side, then, there was a promise to be kept, the fulfilment of which was ever eluding his grasp. The slaves, the feathers, the peltry, the rare animals, even the gold, which he forwarded to Spain as the first fruits of his enterprise, were small compensation for the cost of his expedition, or for the expenses incurred by his colonies in the islands. In short, Castile and Arragon were both out of pocket by the discovery, and the inconvenience was the greater because the wars with the Moors had brought their exchequer very low. Ferdinand, in some things a hard man, was much too wary a king to tax his people without their own assent first had and obtained in the parliaments of Arragon, and it was reserved for sovereigns backed by German and Flemish regiments, to enable the Court of Spain to enforce the decrees of absolute power. Ferdinand, accordingly, was in 1494 a poorer man, in spite of the vast estate which he had so unexpectedly acquired, and it is the privilege of poverty to murmur. But when Columbus urged his suit under the walls of Granada, one main argument for granting him license to explore the secrets of the ocean had been that by sailing westward he must reach the land of Ophir and the seat of Cathaian Khan. The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, the consenting voice of antiquity, the journals of the most recent travellers, alike agreed in describing the East as the land of gold, gems, and spices, and the admiral had promised to endow Spain with the wealth of Ormus and of Ind. Here, then, was a discrepancy between promise and performance, which rendered Columbus and his noble and approved good masters alike dissatisfied.

Nor, as time went on, was this the worst. Columbus's despatches were not the only reports from the Indies received and noted by the king. Many were the adventurers who had gone out for wool and returned shorn. Many who did not return sent home piteous accounts of their toils and trials in the fallacious Land of Promise, and laid on the admiral's shoulders the blame of their own reckless conduct or insane hopes. In a very different sense from the early Christians, many of them had sold all that they had to lay it at the feet of Mammon. Some the voyage alone had rendered paupers: others had been compelled to barter the poor residue of their fortunes for food and shelter: even the wealthier among them found that the vineyard or oliveyard which they had sold in Castile had been a better possession than a barren estate in Hispaniola, with the

mines far off, and with hostile natives on all sides of them. Again, the mass of the adventurers had in them something of Ancient Pistol's vein, 'base is the slave that pays' or digs: the Hidalgo went out to receive money and to receive garments, not to toil in the maize field for his dinner, or to descend into the womb of earth for money to pay for it. A perfect storm of remonstrance, a Jeremiad of intolerable woes and wrongs, passed into Spain with every vessel from the West, and the enemies of the alien Genoese were not backward in sounding *these complaints in the ears of both King and Council.*

Ferdinand was disappointed, perhaps he was alarmed, and at times in his heart of hearts may have wished that his good brother of Portugal had borne, as he might, having had the first offer, the burden of the adventure. Yet neither hopes unfulfilled nor awakened fears rendered him systematically cruel, or often unjust to the Indians. We must now advert to another circumstance as creditable to himself and his government,—his accessibility to petitioners, and his readiness to hear with his own ears the truth. The affability of the Spanish monarchs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may, perhaps, sound strangely to those who have studied the later history of the recluse Philip II. and his superstitious and feeble successors. But in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella petitioners often found royalty as easy of approach as if kings had really, like the judges of Israel, 'done justice in the gate.'

A short preface, however, is necessary, for the instance we propose to select of Ferdinand's willingness to hear all men, and to do them right, when heard. We have chosen this example from several others which the volumes before us would furnish because of the balance of forces brought to act upon the king. On the one hand, was a Franciscan friar, sent specially from the Indies with a complaint from the colonists, and backed by high interest at court: on the other was a poor friendless Dominican monk, who had crossed the ocean to represent a few feeble brethren, and to lay before his sovereign the wrongs of those whose only champion he was. It will be seen that the king rejected the petition of the strong man, and cheered the humble man with new hopes.

Foremost in all good works to the Indians were the Dominican monks during the period of unsettlement which followed the discovery. The order which in Europe principally recruited the ranks of the Inquisition, and whose founder had, in the thirteenth century, hounded on the persecutors of the Vaudois, was equally remarkable in the New World for its tenderness to the souls and bodies of the heathen. But

the history of the world has sometimes exhibited similar examples of fanaticism coupled with mercy, of the hardest rock imbedding the freshest stream. The first settlement of the Dominicans was in Hispaniola, where they had ample opportunities for observing the evils with which they were to wrestle. To the Indians these good men must have presented a most perplexing aspect. They were white men; they had come from beyond the great waters: they spoke like their brethren of the duties of obeying a Great Chief in the East, and of casting away the idols of their forefathers. But they coveted neither gold nor land: their diet was maize-bread and herbs: they drank of the running brook: and they neither did nor imagined evil to any man. It was soon evident to the Dominicans that all their labours in conversion would be in vain, unless they could arrest the depopulation of the island, or gain the ears of the natives by gentler arts than those of the colonists. To the Indians Christianity as hitherto expounded wore the aspect of a calamity more intolerable than pestilence or famine, nor had their priests ever told them of demons so malignant, or prophesied woes so appalling, as were the men who oppressed them and the woes they endured. Against the wrongs they daily witnessed the eloquence of the pulpit was the good fathers' only weapon. Men had trembled of yore, and might be made to tremble again, when they heard of judgment to come. But Felix did not now tremble before Paul; on the contrary, the settlers complained loudly of the interference of the Dominicans, enlisted against them their rivals the Franciscans, and sent home an agent of that order to lay before the Council of the Indies their complaints against these meddling preachers. The Franciscan agent had long the best of the dispute; but Mr. Helps shall relate how it fared with the representative of the Dominicans and the wrongs of India.

The preacher who had troubled the waters, 'Brother Antonio Montesino,' was the deputy of his order to Spain.

'When the letters from the authorities of St. Domingo, complaining of the contumacious conduct of the Dominicans, reached the king, he sent for the head of their order in Spain, and made much complaint to him of the scandal which had been occasioned in the colony by this preaching. Not long afterwards came the agents from the principal parties themselves: Father Antonio on behalf of the Dominicans, and Father Alonzo de Espinal on behalf of the colonists. The latter was well received by people in authority, had free access to the king, and was much favoured by him. Father Antonio, on the contrary, was little befriended, found the doors of the presence-chamber generally closed against him, and the ushers very peremptory. At last, one day, after an ineffectual attempt to persuade some porter or

door-keeper to admit him, he watched an opportunity, while the porter was speaking to some one else, made a bold rush at the door, and found himself at once in the royal presence. The king spoke kindly to him; and in reply to his request to be heard, answered thus: "Say, Father, what you will." Father Antonio, accordingly, produced his papers, and began to make his statement. The king having heard it all, declared he would give orders for the matter to be looked to immediately, and with diligence.'

The king was true to his word; the papers of Antonio were promptly referred to a Junta, formed partly of persons belonging to the king's council, and partly of unofficial persons, principally theologians. The result of their consultations was, that fresh rules, commonly known as 'the Laws of Burgos,' were drawn up for the better regulation of Indian affairs. We cannot afford space for an examination of them. The Junta, in Mr. Helps's opinion, showed no great sagacity in dealing with the matter; yet if the laws were based upon their report, they were about as sensible a committee as ordinarily deals with foreign affairs, and certainly cannot be reproached with indifference to the objects of the petition. One clause of the Laws of Burgos would do credit to a committee of the British House of Commons at the present moment. It declared that —

'The Indians were free men; that they ought to be instructed in the Christian faith; that they might be ordered to work, but so that their working should not hinder their conversion, and should be such as they could endure; that they should have cottages and lands of their own, and time to work for themselves; that they should be made to hold communication with the Christians; and that they should receive wages, not paid in money, but in clothes and furniture for their cottages.'

Not the least remarkable issue of this business was, that the Dominican converted the Franciscan envoy to his own humane sentiments. We think, therefore, that Mr. Helps has vindicated the Spanish authorities at home from the charge or the suspicion of negligence or inhumanity, and that he has shown them to have been as wise and well-meaning in their generation as any contemporary sovereigns or councils, perhaps even, on the whole, as any which have since been occupied with colonial affairs.

But we have already said that in the government of their dependencies the Spanish Council of India had absolutely no precedents to guide them. The Western Continent was scarcely a greater novelty to Europe than was the subject of colonial government to kings and their advisers. How to make the best and the most of such acquisitions as the Canadas, Aus-

tralia, or Algeria, is even now an unsettled question, when there is the light of so long experience, and the lesson of so many errors to guide or warn the statesmen of Europe. But in the fifteenth and the following century, not only was there blank ignorance at first to deal with, but endless confusion also, arising from two causes,—the distance of the colonies from Spain, aggravated by the imperfect state of navigation, and the perpetual change in the conditions of the problem. By the time evidence had been weighed, *ex parte* statements balanced, and a code of rules drawn up for the direction of governors, the scene had shifted; the districts for which those rules were intended were depopulated; provinces to which they were inapplicable had been annexed; and when the new governor, his assistants and judges, had reached Cuba or Hispaniola, it was found necessary to send across the Atlantic for fresh instructions, and meanwhile the settlers were suffered to do that which was right in their own eyes. Moreover, rules presume subjects capable of understanding or willing to obey them. But a very large proportion of the earlier colonists of the Spanish Indies were men not inclined to obedience at home, and not likely to learn it abroad. Younger sons, the scapegraces of the family, unjust serving-men, fugitives and outlaws, on whom the eye of alcaldes and alguazils was fixed, rushed to America as to a land of promise, where they might redeem the time in their own way, without risk of the halter or the galleys. On such worthies the decrees of a Junta, even with the royal seal attached, would be about as effective as the eighth commandment on a schooner of pirates. Nor was there any obvious mode of reducing them to order, since unless they accepted a *repertimiento*, it was useless to go into the bush after them with a warrant. Such men were more likely to govern others, than to be themselves amenable to order.

Nor when the home-government selected and sent out with authority men of an opposite stamp to these artificers of their own fortunes, did it at all follow that the Council's instructions would be obeyed. If ever governor went out to his province well admonished of his duties, it was Nicholas de Ovando, in the year 1502. Great pains were taken by Ferdinand and Isabella in their selection of him. He was well known to them, having been chosen by the queen as one of the companions for her eldest son, Prince John. As Commendador Mayor of the Order of Alcantara, he had been conspicuous for humility, 'never allowing himself to be addressed by the title of "Lordship," which belonged to that office.' He was generally reputed 'a friend to justice, an

'honourable person both in words and deeds, and held all avarice and covetousness in much aversion.' Here, then, his sovereigns may fairly have thought, was a safe man to retrieve mistakes, to set matters right for the time to come. For the general instructions to Ovando, we refer to Mr. Helps's summary of them; but we must, in consideration of the sequel, underline one especially insisted upon by Isabella, the ever-heedful benefactress of the Indians. 'All the Indians in Hispaniola,' so ran the precept, 'should be free from servitude, and be unmolested by any one, and should live as free vassals, governed and protected by justice, as were the vassals of Castile.' The new governor found, on his landing, difficulties enough to tax all his energies: the Indians were in arms; the Spaniards were starving; the people whom he brought with him hurried off to the mines, and hunger and disease speedily struck down a thousand of his followers. In reducing the Spaniards to obedience, Ovando displayed firmness and tact; the unruly he shipped off to their mother-country, to reap there such benefit as they might from a bad character; the more sober and manageable he either endowed, according to his instructions, with lands, or revised the holdings of such as had previously received allotments. But his aspect towards the Indians was uniformly malign. The little island of Saona, off the north-east point of Hispaniola, at first friendly and hospitable to the Spaniards, was driven into revolt by the brutal murder of its cacique. He was torn to pieces by a bloodhound, set upon him while in the act of purveying bread for his murderers. War, of fire and blood, according to the phrase of the time, was proclaimed by Ovando. Victory could not be doubtful in a struggle between naked and mail-clad men; between weapons fit for children, and matchlocks supported by artillery. The war became a hunt; prisoners were hewn down in batches of six and seven hundred at once; and hundreds of other prisoners were turned adrift, to show the bleeding stumps from which their hands had been severed. We have not space, nor indeed inclination, to transcribe from Mr. Helps's pages other instances of Ovando's cruelty to those whom he had been directed and was sworn to protect. Yet his character is a fair commentary on the general administration of Spanish governors. In the eyes of his countrymen, who spoke of the 'good days of Ovando' long after he had quitted the island, he was a model governor. He had no private vices, he did not enrich himself, and what he saved or acquired during his term of office, he left behind him for charitable purposes. Las Casas said truly of him, that 'he was a man fit to govern, but not

'Indians.' He who was so faithful to his king, committed in Xaragua the foulest treachery; he who would not suffer one Spaniard to oppress or defraud his brother, scrupled not to sweep the Lucayan islands for slaves, or to fill the land of Higüey with halt and maimed. 'He gave up,' says Mr. Helps, 'the weak to the oppression of the strong; and as these oppressed ones died away, he collected the survivors again, like a pack of cards, and dealt them out anew to those he favoured, thus mingling folly with cruelty, till nature pronounced against his government by its desolation.'

We have taken Ovando as a genuine example of the colonial governor in the 16th century, and leave our readers to infer from it the general burden of the Spanish yoke. For there is nothing to show that this governor was a man delighting in blood. He was simply a hard man, doing his duty like other methodical men, unconscious that he was doing anybody wrong. Such men are ever dangerous when a weak race is suddenly brought into contact with a strong one. To produce order they create solitude; and their cunningly devised systems for building up usually end in a heap of ruins. Ovando was simply in his wrong place in Hispaniola. At home he would have been just to his tenants and servants, and a terror only to evil doers.

As the distinctive nature of Mr. Helps's volumes consists in the social rather than the military aspect of the conquest, and as he has thrown more light than any of his predecessors upon the land and labour system of the early colonists of the Islands and Terra Firma, we shall make no apology for dwelling for a few moments upon the subject of *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*. It is hardly necessary to premise that with each new discovery vast estates, with a numerous tenantry, were, in European phrase, thrown suddenly into the hands of the lords. These estates were likely to be profitable in two ways; they would, it was hoped, yield quick return of *gold*, and perhaps, (for the notion of the land of Ophir was long paramount,) of gems and spices, not less valuable than gold in European markets. They must also produce *food*, for the mother country was not only too remote to feed her emigrant children, but looked to be fed and enriched by them. In that western land, commerce, so far as regarded the invaders, was not even born; for the towns they built were merely places of strength, and the settlers, even if Spain had been a manufacturing country, were too impatient of hard gain to care for the slow and precarious returns of trade. The most profitable use of the mine and the maize-field was accordingly the only concern of the Spanish legislators and economists. The colonies, it was expected, would support themselves, and also

pay tithe and toll into the national exchequer. The *encomienda* system is believed to have commenced in the year 1496, under the administration of Columbus. At first he had imposed upon the Indians of Hispaniola a fixed cess or tribute.

'It was thus arranged. Every Indian above fourteen years old, who was in the province of the mines, or near to these provinces, was to pay every three months a little bell-full of gold; all other persons in the island were to pay at the same time an *arroba* of cotton for each person. Certain brass or copper tokens were made—different ones for each tribute-time—and were given to the Indians when they paid tribute; and these tokens being worn about their necks, were to show who had paid tribute.'

But the assessment proved to be excessive. The islanders, children in mind, were unpunctual; they put off the search for gold until the collectors came for their quota; and Columbus was compelled to modify his demands, and in some instances change the nature of them. A cacique of the Vega Real seems to have furnished the hint for a new arrangement. He proposed to establish a huge farm for the growth of corn and the manufacture of bread, 'enough for all Castile,' on condition that his vassals were not to pay tribute in gold, as they did not know how to collect it. His proposal was, indeed, formally rejected, for Columbus knew well that Spain would not be content with bread alone; yet it was virtually adopted. For in 1496 service instead of tribute was demanded of certain Indian villages. The late tributaries were to become *adscripti glebæ*, tillers of the lords' land, and this may be considered as the beginning of the system of *repartimientos*, or *encomiendas*, as it was afterwards called.

There was no apparent injustice in this arrangement. The Spaniards regarded the Indians as their subjects, and dealt with them as the Greeks had of old dealt with their *periœci*, the Romans with their provincials, the Teutonic races with the Romans, the conquerors with the conquered in every age of the world. There was a seeming fitness in the arrangement, since each cacique, like the old German *principes* in their forests, had his *comitatus*, who wrought for him, and fought for him, and paid him a rude and not illiberal suit and service. But in operation the injustice was real, the fitness apparent only, and the inconvenience great. In the Old World provision was made for the existence of the colonus, serf, or villein: he paid his tithe or rent, or both tithe and rent, to the lord, but when these dues were discharged, his time and the produce of his labour were his own. In the Spanish compact with the Indians this condition was omitted: no reserve was made for the serf; he

might live if he could, but it was from the crumbs that fell from his master's table. If his land were needed by the white man, it was taken: if his crop of maize were insufficient, his plot of ground sterile, or the season unfavourable, no allowance was made for the defect. And hitherto we have mentioned the simplest form only of the *encomienda*. At first the villagers tilled their own lands for the benefit of their masters. But the Spaniards were long an unsettled race, shifting whithersoever mines, or rumours of mines, attracted them, and then began an unheard-of arrangement of labour. It was required that a certain portion of the native community should, for certain periods of the year, quit their homes, and, following the track of their restless owners, plant for them, sow for them, gather the grains of gold from the river-sand, or delve in the mine for the solid ore. The portion of labourers exacted from each *pueblo* or village was called *repartimiento*, the second meaning of the word, which originally implied only the partition of captives by the leader of an expedition or by the authorities sent out from Spain. With this later form of *repartimiento* attached to it the *encomienda* ceases to have any parallel in feudalism or vassalage, and was indeed a peculiar institution growing out of the novel circumstances in the new world. Certain epochs may be observed in the *encomienda* system. Its first and least oppressive period has assignment of land alone: the next, of land with its quota of labourers: the third, when the labourers were severed from the land, and allotted in gangs to corporate bodies or individuals. As soon as the Indians were made transferable, the system of partition differs little from that of absolute servitude. With regard to the third form of repartition Mr. Helps puts the following questions: —

‘What distance will these Indians be carried from their homes? Will there be a sufficient number left to provide for the sustenance of the native community? How will it be managed that the repartition shall be fair? for, if otherwise, the same Indians may be sent over and over again, and, in fact, be different in no respect from slaves. Then, again, these services are to go for tribute. Who is to assign the value of the services or the rate of the tribute? More subtle questions remain to be considered, if not solved. Shall the tax be a capitation-tax, so many *pesos* for each Indian, or a certain sum for each *pueblo*? If the former is adopted, shall the women and children be liable? Shall overwork be allowed for, so that the bands of Indians may not only work their own taxes, and the taxes of their little community, but also bring back to their friends and families some small *peculium*?’

These questions form an excellent commentary on the diffi-

culties which perplexed the Council of India in the 16th century. On the whole, the colonial government of Spain appears to have committed very few mistakes, especially if we keep in mind that it really had neither chart nor compass to guide its deliberations. More serious blunders have been made by colonial Secretaries and Boards in the full light of day, than these lawyers and theologians of Burgos or Toledo committed in the dawn. The way was all before them where to choose, and they generally chose it with discretion, and even with kindness, so long as they dealt simply with native interests. Unluckily for both lords and serfs, in this case, the Spanish Crown at the time was poor, and the Spanish nation was poor as the Crown, since for centuries it had considered the horse, cloak, and sword as the tokens of a Christian and a gentleman; the ledger, desk, and balance as the badges of infidels and knaves.

'Poverty,' says Mr. Helps, truly and forcibly, 'is a dreadful conqueror; and those who are likely to be vanquished should ever pray—first, that their conquerors should be of the same race with themselves; and next, that they should come from a rich and well-established country, so that their armies may be accompanied by a good commissariat and a heavy military chest.'

Poverty may indeed be said to have been the first great cause of the destruction and desolation which followed the track of conquest. It was poverty that sent forth its legions of ill-fed, ill-paid, ragged, indebted, thriftless men, who could not afford to be just or merciful. It was poverty that made a government, generally anxious to do right, occasionally commit or connive at wrong, and put its seal to acts at which, in its better moments, it blushed, and ineffectually strove to cancel. Poverty at home, finally, made the Spaniards demand not only that their new possessions should be self-supporting, but also that they should make a handsome allowance to the mother-country.

We can merely glance at the errors which, under this untoward influence, were committed by the King or his Council of the Indies. They hinted, among strict injunctions to use kindly and convert the Indians,—that, by whatever means, gold must be had. They commanded the natives to be on terms of intercourse with the Spaniards; they, not unnaturally, preferring the loneliness of primeval forests to such company as that of Roldan's or Ovando's followers. They gave their deputies the power of enforcing work and regulating wages, although in the same proclamation they had declared the Indians free men. They omitted to define where freedom ended and servitude began in the case of the Indians; and as vagueness is the

most efficient ally of oppression, that omission became a useful implement for bad governors or disobedient subjects.

To the *encomienda* system may be ascribed the rapid depopulation of the islands. The frame of the Indian generally was ill-suited to regular labour, though capable occasionally of great endurance. Suddenly taxed beyond his strength and in opposition to his habits, the native of Hispaniola dropped, like a weary child, into the lap of his 'general mother.'

A substitute for the Indians he had destroyed was found by the Spaniard in lands which the trade in man alone could have brought in contact with them. The destinies of the Black man and the Red seemed, until Europe entwined them, to be as necessarily apart from each other as the chain of Atlas from that of the Andes. From the earliest ages Africa had been celebrated for active inland commerce, and the narrow range of its maritime traffic. For at least three thousand years before the compass was in use, caravans had crossed the Great Desert from Fez and Morocco to Thebes and Memphis; and merchants or pilgrims, nearly resembling in garb and speech those who now tread the same solitary wastes, saw Rameses in his glory. But in all this time the native African had never ventured out of sight of land, or owned a vessel of higher pretensions than a raft or a barge. The Indian, whose canoes were scooped by fire or covered with skins, was equally isolated. It was reserved for Europe to bridge over the Atlantic strait, to join together races which nature had put asunder, and to add to the infelicities of mankind a form of slavery more hideous than had ever been seen in the *ergastula* of Rome, or among the sheep-folds of Sicily.

We must dwell no longer upon the Spaniards or Indians in the islands, to whom we have allotted more than sufficient space, and shall now return to a subject which distinguishes the Spanish Conquest from any similar event in the annals of mankind. We have already adverted to the missionary spirit of the conquerors. The conversion of the Indians was an idea cherished by every one who directly or remotely took part in the affairs of the New World. The shrewd and politic Ferdinand was no less eager for it than the humane and pious Isabella; Cortez was as zealous as Las Casas for the baptism of the natives, and Cortez was perhaps not more convinced of the efficacy of lustral water than his most ignorant camp-follower. Statesmen, soldiers, and monks, moved by different routes to a common end. The first employed proclamations, the second the sword; it was reserved properly for the ecclesiastical order to display the civilising power of the Gospel.

In 1535 Las Casas composed a treatise, entitled 'De Unico Vocationis Modo.' It was never printed, yet it was effectually published, since being translated from the original Latin into Spanish, it was read by common soldiers, as well as by monks and learned men. It affirmed two propositions, first, that men were to be persuaded to become Christians; secondly, that without special injury previously received, Christians had no right to make war upon infidels. We may imagine the indignation of the reading public in the Indies as this treatise passed from hand to hand. We may conceive the scorn which each proposition in its turn would awaken. Especially the first, which presumed that the natives were accessible to reason, or made of stuff penetrable by emotion. Against the laughter kindled by his proposals, the Protector of the Indians—for such was Las Casas's honourable and official title—set his face like a flint, and when the scoffers said with one voice 'Try,' he replied, 'With God's help I will not only try, but succeed.'

On the northern frontier of Guatemala was a province called Tuzulutlan, which among the Spaniards bore the evil name of *Tierra de Guerra*, 'the Land of War.' It had proved impervious to their arms. It was held to be peopled by demons, and not men, for what Indian men had ever yet held out against the arms, horses, and blood hounds of the Spaniard? Into this province—'where the ways were obstructed by mountains, intersected by rivers, or lost amidst dense forests,' and of which the inhabitants were thoroughly irritated and alert, Las Casas undertook to penetrate, and to change its name into the name of *Tierra del Paz*, or 'the Land of Peace.' A formal compact was entered into between Las Casas and the Dominicans on the one part, and the Governor of Guatemala on the other, by which the former undertook to convert and civilise, and the latter to stand aloof from, this refractory district of Tuzulutlan.

The Dominicans, on this occasion, displayed the wisdom of the serpent as much as the harmlessness of the dove. Had they marched openly under the banner of the Cross, their errand would have been misunderstood, and they would have added to the army of martyrs without much credit to themselves or profit to the heathen; nay, in the end, the heathen might have been the losers by their friends, for their foes might then have plausibly urged, What shall be done to those who reject salvation? Accordingly they first translated into a language (the *Quiché*) intelligible to the natives some of the cardinal doctrines of the Church. Their translation was made in verse, with a view to its being accompanied by music, and four Indian merchants, who resorted several times in the year to the 'land of war,'

undertook to learn the *coplas* by heart, and at a fitting season sing them within hearing of the cacique and great lords of Tuzulutlan. It was a very 'excellent plot' in all its parts. The Indian merchants first, as had been hitherto their wont, offered their wares for sale, which, this time, went off the more readily, since they had some Castilian novelties to dispose of. Next, in the cool of the evening, they sang, accompanied by timbrels and drums, some of the verses which they had learnt by heart. Never had minstrels a more attentive audience. It was a strange thing for merchants on the sudden to turn minstrels, but it was yet more strange to hear the burden of their song. 'For the good fathers had not hesitated to put into their verses the questionable assertion that idols were demons, and the certain fact that human sacrifices were abominable.' The people applauded these heresies: the cacique, a discreet man, suspended his judgment until he had heard more of the matter; but his faith was shaken, and his curiosity was aroused. He now asked the merchants to expound the unusual doctrines they sang. Like men well trained in their parts, they replied that they had only sung what they had heard; what the verses meant certain *padres* could tell. 'And who are *padres*?' asked the chief. In answer to this question the merchants painted pictures of the Dominican monks in their robes of black and white, and with their tonsured heads. The merchants then described the lives of these *padres*; how they did not eat meat, and how they did not desire gold, or feathers, or cocoa; that they were not married, and had no communication with women; that night and day they sang the praises of God, and that they knelt before very beautiful images.

The cacique resolved to see and hear these marvellous men in black and white, differing so much from the evil men settled in Guatemala, who had desired to rob and murder in Tuzulutlan as they had done in the regions round about. The merchants, in their turn, assured him that the *padres* would willingly come, for they were good people, that loved to teach; and, moreover, could not only explain the meaning of the verses, but of many other things also.

The way for conversion was now prepared. Within a few months Father Luis Cancer came as ambassador from the Dominican convent, and made a peaceful and triumphant progress through the 'Land of War.' A church was built; the cacique, after due inquiry, became first a proselyte, and afterwards a preacher of the new doctrine. 'He was the first to pull down and to burn his idols; and many of his chiefs, in imitation of their master, likewise became iconoclasts.' In the following

year Las Casas took the place of Cancer, and although for a time matters did not go on so smoothly, his part of the compact was executed, and Tuzulutlan became a 'Land of Peace.'

We have selected this episode from Mr. Helps's narrative for several reasons: first, because the story we have just abridged is one of singular interest and beauty; secondly, because it affords a sample of other striking episodes in these volumes; thirdly, because it displays the Spanish character in a light but sparingly introduced into general pictures of the Conquest; and, lastly, because it furnishes one among the many proofs contained in these volumes of the aptitude of the Indians for civilisation, had it been presented to them by other exponents than pike and gun.

The indigenous civilisation of the New Continent is described by Mr. Helps with much thoughtful wisdom and learned illustration, but we can afford space for only a few sketches of its salient points. It is, however, a subject too curious to be passed over even in the most cursory notice of the Conquest.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the condition of the Indians in Cuba or Hispaniola differed as widely from that of the Mexicans and Peruvians as childhood differs from manhood. The islanders practised a few simple arts, offered fruits or flowers to an invisible deity, and were nearly ignorant of the use of weapons, for darts tipped with a fish's tooth, or a pebble, scarcely deserve the name. Their furthest advance in civilised life appears to have been in the structure of their houses. Columbus compared them to *alfanaques* or pavilions. 'They were very large,' he says, 'and appeared as royal tents without the arrangement of streets, and within they were very clean and well swept, and their furniture very well arranged.' All these houses were made of palm branches, and were very beautiful. They had made some progress in the plastic arts, since their dwellings contained many statues of women, and several heads fashioned like masks, and very well made. Their domestic animals were birds, and dogs which did not bark. One element of sound Catholicism was observed in them. They were great eaters of fish, and their nets, hooks, and tackle would have gratified Isaac Walton. The Lucayans bore a bad name for cruelty and dishonesty, but every man's hand was against them, and they are probably maligned, for it is hardly likely that a war-caste resembling the Aztecs had wandered so far westward. But the islanders are generally described as frank, generous, and hospitable, 'very gentle, without knowing what evil is, neither killing nor stealing.' Had the conquerors thought the songs or rude dramatic entertainments of these people worth

recording, we might have learnt whether they celebrated the praises of their ancestors, or expressed the simple joys and sorrows of present life. But invaders who, from pious zeal or with barbaric ignorance, destroyed the pictorial symbols of the Aztecs were not likely to be curious about oral traditions; and we must be content with knowing that the government of the islanders was patriarchal, their employments fishing and agriculture, their creed unknown, and their manners gentle and winning. 'They are,' says Columbus, 'a loving, uncovetous people; so docile in all things that I believe in all the world there is not a better, or a better country; they love their neighbours as themselves, and they have the sweetest and gentlest way of talking in the world, and always with a smile.'

Between this primeval culture and the highly artificial life of both Mexico and Peru were many gradations of barbarism or refinement. In Guatemala, for example, we find tokens of an advanced and growing civilisation that, left to itself, might in another century have been second to none at the time in Europe. The progress in the arts was probably owing to the fertility of their soil, and its ordinary result, a dense population. Their fine climate and fruitful land produce maize, cotton, and very fine balsam,—the return for one measure of seed being three hundred measures of grain. The Guatemalans used money made of the cocoa fruit: and the possession of money is an argument of high civilisation. Indeed, they worshipped idols and occasionally eat human flesh. But the latter usage was doubtless a relic of waning barbarism. They had fairs, which, like those of Asia and Europe, were generally held in proximity to the temples, and a judge, who regulated prices, presided over them. Among their artisans were goldsmiths, painters, and workers in feathers. In educational matters they were a sensible people, worthy of imitation by more civilised races than themselves. For they had schools in their towns, both for boys and girls, and did not permit diversity in religious opinions (if any existed among them) to breed strife, or trouble either the pupils or the teachers.

'The laws of Guatemala,' Mr. Helps remarks, 'appear to have been framed with considerable care. Though the government of the Guatemalans was a monarchy, they had a recognised power, if the king behaved very tyrannically, of calling together the principal men and judges of the kingdom, and deposing him. Their laws with regard to theft were curious, and in some respects commendable. They made much distinction between great and small thefts; and they graduated their punishments with care, beginning from a pecuniary fine, and continuing, if the culprit showed himself to be a resolute offender, by hanging. Before, however, taking the final

step, they proceeded to the thief's relations, and asked them whether they would pay all the penalties for him, which, no doubt, in this latter stage, were very considerable. If they would not do so, if — according to their expressive phrase — they had had enough of carrying their relative upon their shoulders, and would make no more satisfaction for him, the man was hanged. This may be thought a clumsy mode of proceeding; but any gradations in punishment, and any thought for the offender, are proofs of nascent civilisation. Barbarism is always clear, uncompromising, cruel, and has not the time or the desire to enter into nice distinctions and limitations.'

Ere we conclude let us attempt to gather up into one view some of the features of the Conquest, from the moment when Columbus first realised his vision to that when the narrative for the present closes over the fall of the Incarian empire. The confidence of Columbus in the existence of a western continent, or rather in the projection of Asia towards the east, and the incredulity which so long resisted his faith, can perhaps be understood only if we call to mind the prejudices of the ancients, both learned and simple, respecting the Western Ocean. To them the Fortunate Islands were the outposts of the habitable globe: beyond these the Atlantic plunged down measureless precipices; nor were rumours wanting that some hapless vessels had been hurried by storms over the brink into a whirlpool below, in comparison with whose thunders the roar of the cataracts of the Nile was like the breath of the south wind in the first warm days of spring. How profound that conviction was may be seen in a passage of Florus, whose usually plain prose acquires something akin to sublimity in speaking of the Atlantic. 'The Roman soldiers,' he says, 'when from the sea-board of Lusitania they beheld the sun sink in the waves, and its flames quenched in the water, recoiled with terror as if they had seen or done a sacrilegious act.' How tenaciously this ancient superstition lingered in medieval Europe may be seen in that canto of the Divine Comedy in which Ulysses relates the manner of his death. He had passed the barriers which Hercules had set up, not 'to be overstepped by man:' he had sailed five days west of Ceuta, and come in sight of a mountain loftier than any he had beheld in his ten years' wandering, when

'From the new land

A whirlwind sprung; and, at her foremost side,
Did strike the vessel. Thrice it whirled her round
With all the waves; the fourth time lifted up
The poop and sank the prow: so fate decreed:
And over us the booming billow closed.'*

Of all the enterprises achieved by man — and we write thus in an age when the promises of science, before their fulfilment, have, not unnaturally, from their very grandeur, been slowly credited — that of Columbus was, we are persuaded, if we take into account its preceding and attending circumstances, the most arduous. He, in fact, staked his own conviction against all the science and all the traditions of his age. On the fingers of one hand he could have told off the number of those who believed in him: his patrons regarded him at best as a lofty dreamer: his agents in the great discovery were men unable to comprehend his grounds of hope, and inspired by their fears with hatred to his person. Yet Columbus was not the only watcher in that age for some momentous change in the realm of knowledge. Mr. Helps has duly recorded the faith and patience of that princely philosopher, Henry of Portugal, who, from the promontory of Sagres, watched 'for many a year the rising specks of white sail bringing back his captains to tell him of new countries and new men;' and to whose energy and encouragement it was owing that the real India of the ancients was disclosed to Europe nearly at the same time that the supposed India was discovered.

But the achievement of Columbus, great and unprecedented as it was, revealed the secret only in part. He died under the delusion that with each fresh discovered island, he was nearing the portals of Ophir, and knew not that he was on the verge of a continent that barred him from Asia. Nothing, indeed, in this eventful history is more extraordinary or more interesting than the succession of accidents leading to important consequences. Once the vessel of Columbus anchored off the shore of the authentic continent, and he departed deeming the land but another island in that seemingly endless archipelago. Again, he who from a peak of Darien first gazed on the Pacific, was unaware that north and south of that 'specular mount' lay empires, less powerful yet more splendid than that of Charles V., and which in a few years would be numbered among the viceroyalties of Spain. To seamen driven out of their course first came the rumours of Mexico: to men intent only on heaping up golden ingots was first indicated the transcendent opulence of Peru. When, indeed, we compare the means available to the Spaniards with the ends attained by them, the mere boats which carried Columbus, the handful of men led by Cortez, the gaunt fever-stricken followers of Pizarro, the wild and needy ruffians who pierced the forests and waded through the marshes of the Isthmus, with the numbers, the local advantages, and the civilisation of the Indians, we are tempted to think that Bernal Diaz was in

the right when he spoke of his adventures as in the retrospect almost incredible to himself. 'Now that I am an old man,' wrote the Polybius of the Conquest, 'I often entertain myself with calling to mind the heroical deeds of early days till they are fresh as the events of yesterday. I think of the seizure of the Indian monarch, his confinement in irons, and the execution of his officers, till all these things seem actually passing before me. And as I ponder on our exploits, I feel that it was not of ourselves that we performed them, but that it was the providence of God which guided us. Much food is there here for meditation.'

We trust that we have made it appear that in the volumes which we now reluctantly close there is also 'much food for meditation.' For his history of America the Royal Academy of Spain conferred on Robertson the degree of associate, and the distinction was well earned and rightfully bestowed. But to Mr. Helps the Spanish nation is even more indebted, since, without disguising the cruelties which were committed, or palliating the errors either of the people or of individuals, he has shown that the rulers of Spain at the time of the Discovery and the Conquest were generally wise in discerning and strenuous in commanding the right; and that the calamities and crimes which accompanied it were common to the age rather than peculiar to the conquerors. So too the Spanish adventurers were judged in England of old by men of a kindred spirit. In the age of Elizabeth, and after the reign of Mary, there was little charity in England for the heroes of Spain. Yet Sir Walter Raleigh, who had fought with Spaniards in all waters, from the Straits of Dover to the Gulf of Mexico, left on record the following passage in his 'History of the World,' appositely cited by Mr. Helps: —

'Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of the Spaniards: we seldom or never find that any nation has endured so many misadventures and miseries as the Spaniards have done in their Indian discoveries; yet, persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempest and shipwrecks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Surely they are worthily rewarded with those treasures and paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtue in others, which perhaps will not be found.'

- ART. II. — 1. *Report of the Select Committee on Assurance Associations.* 1853.
2. *The Insurance Guide and Handbook.* Part I. London : 1857.
3. *Assurance and Annuity Tables.* By EDWARD SANG. Folio. Edinburgh : 1841.

AMONG the monetary institutions which in recent times have attained to a remarkable development in this country, few are worthier of attention and examination than the Societies for Life Assurance.* They are, in fact, our bankers for posterity, and as such are quite as important as ordinary banks of deposit — perhaps even more so ; for we can exercise considerable vigilance over the latter, but the results of the operations of the former must be left to a period when we ourselves shall have passed away. Nor are they of inferior importance in the amounts of money dealt with, for it was computed in 1849 that one hundred and fifty millions were assured in the English offices, and thirty-four millions in the Scottish. In all probability, the sums at present assured in the offices of the United Kingdom amount to, if they do not exceed, *two hundred millions sterling* ! All, therefore, that concerns the early history, the present and future prosperity, and the management, conduct, and fundamental principles of these associations, must be of moment to those who are connected with them by personal relations, and to some of the most essential interests of society. These are the topics which we propose to treat, especially adverting to some points with which the general public, and even most of the persons assured in the various offices, are commonly found to be imperfectly acquainted.

Referring, in the first place, to the earliest history of these establishments, we discover their dawn in the Mercers' Company of London, which as long ago as 1698, settled the sum of 2,888*l.* per annum as a security for the yearly payment of 30*l.* during the life of any widow whose husband had, during his health, subscribed

* By a purely arbitrary, and not very defensible, application of the terms, 'assurance' is now commonly employed to designate security on lives, and 'insurance' security against fire. The use of the word 'assurance' in this sense is in truth a Gallicism, for it is thus made to convey the French and not the English meaning of the word ; but the usage appears to be now so well established that we have thought it expedient to conform to it in these pages.

100*l.* to the fund. Married men, under forty, might not subscribe more than 500*l.*, or, under sixty, more than 300*l.* But the scheme did not prosper, and in 1699 a similar institution formed under the name of 'The Society of Assurances for Widows and Orphans,' in like manner disappeared — neither of these societies having correct data to guide and guard their operations, which, however, were extensive. Soon afterwards, however, in 1706, another society was established under the title of the 'Amicable Society,' or 'Perpetual Assurance,' and incorporated by charter; its principle is that of mutual assurance, and to the credit of its promoters it endures and flourishes to this day.

About the same period the mania for producing institutions of assurance appears to have reigned to a considerable extent. One Charles Povey, the very next year after the establishment of the 'Amicable,' projected a company in Hatton Garden for four thousand healthy persons between the ages of six and sixty-five, under the name of 'The Proprietors of the Traders' Exchange House.' Shortly after the same Povey, — who seems to have been the prototype of modern 'getters up' of assurance offices — projected the 'Sun Fire Office,' and sold it to certain purchasers, who, under the settlement in April 1710, constituted themselves into a company. Other companies, such as 'The York Buildings' Company,' and 'The English Copper Company,' were formed for the purpose of assuring the lives of particular classes of persons, as members of the army and navy, clergymen, schoolmasters, &c. But the most singular of these speculative attempts were called 'little goes,' in which a number of persons combined to subscribe five shillings every alternate week, on condition of 200*l.* being paid to each subscriber's heirs and executors after death. In another instance, a payment of five shillings per quarter entitled the subscriber's representatives to receive 120*l.* upon his demise; while the 'Fortunate' office undertook to promise 200*l.* for a marriage portion to such as paid two shillings per quarter. As might be supposed, most of these attempts were unsuccessful or fraudulent; but, as a chronicler of the time observes, 'These schemes sharpened the invention of the thrifty, and almost immediately every street in London abounded with insurance offices, where policies for infants of three months old might be obtained for short periods. From these they diverged into other ages and various descriptions of persons.' So pertinacious were their agents in soliciting business, at that period, that one of the poetasters of the day thus sung of his grievances:—

‘ By fire and life insurers next
 I’m intercepted, pestered, vexed
 Almost beyond endurance;
 And tho’ the schemes appear unsound,
 Their advocates are seldom found
 Deficient in assurance.’

It appears from Macpherson’s ‘Annals of Commerce,’ that out of above two hundred visionary schemes, set on foot at the period of which we are speaking, only four existed at the time he wrote; and two of these have since perished. Curious research has discovered the names of some of the absurd schemes put forth by the fertile projectors of that age. Good and sound undertakings were hawked in Change Alley, together with companies ‘for importing jackasses,’ and ‘fattening hogs.’ Every conceivable kind of speculation was carried on under the title of ‘Insurance Wagers.’ Some of these establishments wagered 30% against 100% that King William the Third (who was then carrying on a war with France) would not reduce the city of Namur before a given date; others wagered on the period of favour to be enjoyed by the mistresses of some foreign potentate; and wagers were actually laid on the sex of the notorious Chevalier D’Eon, as to whether he was a *male*, as he pretended to be, or a *female*, as he was reputed to be. A common stake at hazard was the duration of the lives of persons believed to be upon their deathbeds; nor was the author of ‘Every Man his own Brother’ very far wrong when he declared, that the decease of persons was hastened when they saw themselves insured in the public papers at 90 per cent. The ‘London Chronicle’ of 1768 published the following observations in what would now be termed, we suppose, its ‘City article’: —

‘The introduction and amazing progress of illicit gaming at Lloyd’s Coffee-house is, among others, a powerful and very melancholy proof of the degeneracy of the times. Though gaming in any degree is perverting the original and useful design of that coffee-house, it may be *in some measure excusable to speculate on the following subjects*: — Mr. Wilkes being elected member for London; which was done from 5 to 50 guineas per cent. Mr. Wilkes being elected member for Middlesex, from 20 to 70 guineas per cent. Alderman Bond’s *life for one year*, now doing at 7 per cent. On Sir J. H. being turned out in one year, now doing at 12 guineas per cent. On John Wilkes’ *life for one year*, now doing at 5 per cent. N. B. — Warranted to remain in prison during that period! On a declaration of war with France or Spain in one year, 8 guineas per cent. But when policies come to be opened on *two of the first peers in Britain losing their heads*, at 10s. 6d. *per cent.*, or on the disso-

lution of the present parliament within one year, at 5 guineas per cent., which are now actually doing and underwritten, chiefly by Scotsmen, at the above coffee-house, it is surely high time to interfere.'

Gambling in insurances upon lives became so daring, that it did not hesitate even to include Royalty itself: for in the 'Public Advertiser,' (then the leading newspaper) of Dec. 6. 1771, we read as follows:—

'We have the pleasure to assure the public, from the most undoubted authority, that the repeated accounts of her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales being very ill, and her life in great danger, are entirely false; such reports being only calculated to promote the shameful spirit of gambling by insurances on lives.'

To include the results of further research in one short paragraph—insurance schemes have been propounded for insuring against housebreakers and highwaymen; against lying, or death by drinking gin; for dealing in hops, for a flying machine, for insuring of horses, &c. Large sums were paid by the underwriters at Lloyds', who speculated upon the failure of a young man who had undertaken for a wager to go to Lapland, and bring back within a given time two rein-deer and two Lapland females—and he brought them all. But the climax of impudence was reached during the era of the South Sea Bubble, by a scheme in 'Change Alley for the insurance of female chastity, and by another against divorces!

Gambling in insurances upon lives became at last a serious matter; and to prevent its further extension, an Act of Parliament was passed in the fourteenth year of George III., which is generally known as the Act for the Suppression of Gambling Insurances. It enacts that 'no insurance shall be made on the life of any person, or on any event whatsoever, where the person on whose account it shall be made shall have no interest, or by way of gaming or wagering; and that every such insurance shall be null and void.' It also provides, that 'it shall not be lawful to make any policy on the life of any person, or on any other event, without inserting in the policy the name of the person interested therein, or for what use, or on whose account such policy is so made.' Furthermore, 'where the insured has an interest in such life or event, no greater sum shall be received from the insurer than the amount of the interest of the insured in such life or event.' These legal restrictions have, however, been largely evaded: as in the law of wagers generally, so in the law of insurance, the practice of the Courts has tended to mitigate the strictness of the statute.

By the very nature of these contracts, money is risked at calculated odds upon an uncertain event; but, except when they are made to involve some immoral or injurious consideration, they may now be said to embrace every contingency affecting human life.

In continuing our glance at the rise of the life offices, we observe that even the 'Amicable' was (as Mr. De Morgan observes) originally founded rather upon principles of mutual benevolence than of mutual assurance as now understood. The offices established next after the 'Amicable,' were the 'Royal Exchange' and 'London Assurance Corporation,' the latter issuing its first life policy on the 7th June, 1721. Yet we cannot discover in the charter obtained by these companies in 1720, any clauses on the subject of life insurance.

These small beginnings of the present vast business of life assurance are interesting, and many more of the same kind may be disinterred by a diligent search amongst the few writers of that period who have noticed the then passing schemes for annuities for widows, and deferred annuities for old age. Yet, out of all these, not one largely commanded the confidence of the public; and we pass on to the foundation, in 1762, of the now great 'Equitable,' or, as it was and is in full title, 'The Society for Equitable Assurances on Lives and Survivorships, Established by Deed, Enrolled in His Majesty's Court of King's Bench.'

The history of this remarkable society is in fact that of life assurance itself, since for a long period it breasted almost singly the tide of prejudice which set in against a business apparently so full of risk, and so contrary to the previous habits of cautious men. The casual visitor to its unpretending office would never suppose that this quiet concern stands pledged to pay more than nine millions and a half of money, and has accumulated a sum of nearly seven millions to meet its engagements, in addition to annual income. Such, however, is the fact; and the various questions which have arisen, the serious deliberations which have been held, the fierce opponents who have been encountered, the strict caution of the earlier proceedings, the gradual breaking in of new light, the arrival at superior knowledge of the laws of mortality, the reduction of premiums, the extraordinary influx of prosperity, the actual embarrassment of riches, the bold confronting of rapacious new customers, who grasped with almost irrepressible avidity at the accumulated wealth of the once weak and wasting society, the erection of financial barriers, the exclusion of the latest comers from immediate participation in old gains; — these and other collateral

matters have interested a thousand heads now lying low, and have given occasion to struggles so violent that at times it was feared that this society with all its wealth would be rent in pieces by contending factions. Such happily was not its fate, and the office clock still ticks on, triumphant in its orderly quietude over the clamour and objurgation of forgotten combatants; the directors maintain their calm dignity; the well paid actuary pores over his figures undisturbed; and the millions of money come in and go out so serenely that the neighbouring Thames itself does not flow in more regular and noiseless tides.

Over nearly all these topics, however, we must pass, alluding only to one or two in our course. One chief source of profit to the Equitable has been the very high rates at first charged by this company for assurance. The following selection shows the early and present premiums for assurance in this office, and from these the other premiums may be judged of.

Age.	Early premiums for £100 at death.			Present premiums for £100 at death.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
20	2	15	4	2	3	7
30	3	12	8	2	13	5
40	4	12	2	3	7	11
50	5	18	4	4	10	8
60	8	5	2	6	7	4

These early premiums were enormous, and the present rate is high when compared with the value of life. But at first the Equitable had a most imperfect conception of the true laws of mortality. Dr. Price rendered it a great service by computing the well-known tables founded upon observations of the births and deaths at Northampton, embracing upwards of 20,000 calculations. The rates of premium deduced from these observations, even though they were based upon the improvement of money at only 3 per cent., were so much below the previous rates, that the society added 15 per cent. to them, in order to prevent a too sudden reduction in its annual income.

It is not our intention to enter into the history and construction of the several life tables, both because this is strictly a technical topic, and that it has been amply treated in the professional works known to all who may require to employ them. Yet we ought not to omit all notice of the successive steps by

which we have arrived at our present knowledge of the laws of mortality. Not adverting to minor particulars of progress, and regarding only leading landmarks, we observe that the continued experience of the Equitable itself belied its own tables; and it was found that not only were the original assumptions erroneous, but that human life itself was improving in respect of duration. In 1823 Mr. Griffith Davies announced that he had ascertained, upon indubitable authority, that a gradual diminution had taken place in the mortality of the inhabitants of this country throughout the preceding hundred years. The results at which he arrived are highly instructive, and were expressed as follows:—

106	persons	died	annually	from	1720 to 1730.
104	"	"	"	"	1730 to 1740.
92	"	"	"	"	1740 to 1750.
85	"	"	"	"	1750 to 1760.
84	"	"	"	"	1760 to 1770.
86	"	"	"	"	1770 to 1780.
79	"	"	"	"	1780 to 1790.
75	"	"	"	"	1790 to 1800.
70	"	"	"	"	1800 to 1805.
66	"	"	"	"	1805 to 1810.
61	"	"	"	"	1810 to 1815.
62	"	"	"	"	1815 to 1820.

Thus the mortality decreased two-fifths between 1720 and 1820. It has, however, been thought by one actuary that no appreciable augmentation in the length of life has taken place within the last hundred years.

The well-known Carlisle table first appeared in Dr. Milne's valuable work on Annuities and Assurance; and it has been adopted more extensively than any other besides the Northampton. Actuaries have relied much upon it; and Professor De Morgan considered it to be the best existing table of 'healthy life which has been constructed in England.' It was founded upon enumerations of the inhabitants of Carlisle, and of their ages at two periods, from 1779 to 1787, and upon correct records of the births and deaths during that time.

It is, however, obvious that the lives selected for assurance would, in the long run, prove to be better than those of the general population. Hence it was very desirable to ascertain what the mortality of select lives, or assured persons, really was. For this purpose, the experience of the Equitable Society from its establishment in 1762 to the year 1829 was consulted. The same purpose was served by Mr. Finlaison, who constructed tables of mortality from observations made upon the

lives of the Government annuitants and the members of *ton-tines*. These lives had extended over one hundred years, and were very numerous, being no less than 22,000. The results obtained occupy a mean position between the Northampton and the Carlisle rates. Mr. Finlaison's results were published in 1829; and it was then thought that equally valuable observations might be made upon the actual experience of the principal London life offices. A committee of some of the chief actuaries gave their attention to this inquiry; and the result was a table of mortality formed from the combined experience of seventeen offices, and containing 83,905 policies. One of the most eminent mathematicians of that committee framed a table deduced from the combined town and country experience of 60,537 assurances. In connexion with this inquiry, a table has been formed showing the expectation of life as compared with the Carlisle, Equitable, and Northampton observations. This corroborates, to some extent, the view held of the value of the Carlisle table, and altogether destroys the credit of the Northampton. The results of this inquiry form the '*Experience Table*.' When the General Registration of Births and Deaths was established, a confident expectation of valuable information on British mortality was entertained. Nor has this expectation been disappointed; for Dr. Farr, in a report attached to the twelfth report of the Registrar-general, introduced his important '*English Life Table*,' No. II. The '*English Life Table*,' No. I., had been the result of one year's observations in 1841; No. II. was the result of seven years' observations, from 1838 to 1844; the population ascertained by the census in 1841 being the foundation of both. These two tables closely agree, the differences being of little importance in practice.

Such is a brief account of the data of mortality, upon which actuaries may now confidently found their calculations.*

It is obvious enough that the older offices named charge the pure Northampton rates, or nearly so. The mutual offices also generally charge premiums equal to, or even above, the Northampton rates. The English offices generally employ these rates, in connexion with 3 per cent. interest, without any additions to them. The Scottish mutual offices in most in-

* The subjoined compendious table exhibits the net premiums necessary to cover the actual risk incurred by assuring 100*l.* at death to persons of the ages mentioned, calculated from the several tables of mortality just named. The premiums for males only are given; those for females, as derived from the English and government observations, being somewhat lower; and two rates of interest are assumed (some offices using the one and some the other), in two of the tables.

stances employ the same, but assume 4 per cent. interest, and add $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the pure rates. Not only are the Northampton rates incorrect, and far too high as they stand, but they are improperly adjusted to the several ages. The premiums charged for assurance at the age of 20 are 57 per cent. too high, while the premiums for assurers at 60 are only 13 per cent. too high. Although, therefore, the offices using these rates may affirm that, by making no addition to them, they stand nearly in the position of those who, taking correct tables, do make additions to the pure rates, yet the want of adjustment to the several ages vitiates the whole. The experience of the Equitable (which uses this table) for the last seven years confirms the experience of the preceding fifty years in respect to this want of adjustment; and it is only at the age of 70 that the actual mortality of that Society coincides with the tabular mortality. Thus, he who assures early in life, and thereby displays his prudence, is compelled to lay out a part of his premium to equalise the deficient charges for the later assurer, who, by his tardiness, manifests his imprudence. No new office would think of adopting the old Northampton rate; and some of the offices who do employ it resort to various corrective expedients, by which its inequalities are compensated.

Much praise is due to Dr. Farr for his indefatigable labours in analysing the Registrar's returns for life assurance purposes. That gentleman has further informed us of the comparative ratio of annual mortality in the chief countries of Europe, which is as follows:—

Where 4 per cent. interest is deemed too high then the charges must be proportionably increased, to meet the lower value of money.

Age	Northampton Table.		Carlisle Table.		Experi- ence of 17 Offices.	English Table.	Govern- ment Ta- ble. Male.	Premiums of the Equitable, Atlas, Rock, &c.
	3 per cent.	4 per cent.	3 per cent.	4 per cent.	4 per cent.	4 per cent.	4 per cent.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
20	2 3 7	2 0 6	1 9 10	1 6 4	1 5 11	1 8 5	1 12 5	2 3 7
25	2 8 1	2 4 9	1 14 0	1 10 4	1 9 5	1 12 5	1 14 7	2 8 1
30	2 13 4	2 9 10	1 19 0	1 15 1	1 13 11	1 17 1	1 17 9	2 13 5
35	2 19 10	2 16 0	2 4 8	2 0 5	1 19 9	2 2 10	2 2 6	2 19 10
40	3 7 11	3 3 11	2 12 0	2 7 6	2 7 4	2 10 0	2 9 0	3 7 11
45	3 17 11	3 13 8	3 0 4	2 15 6	2 17 8	2 19 5	2 18 3	3 17 11
50	4 10 7	4 6 2	3 12 5	3 7 3	3 11 6	3 12 4	3 12 0	4 10 8
55	5 6 4	5 1 7	4 10 11	4 5 8	4 10 0	4 11 4	4 9 2	5 6 4
60	6 7 4	6 2 4	5 15 9	5 10 8	5 15 1	5 17 3	5 9 7	6 7 4

In England	one person dies annually in every	forty-five.
In France	one " "	forty-two.
In Prussia	one " "	thirty-eight.
In Austria	one " "	thirty-three.
In Russia	one " "	twenty-eight.

Thus England exhibits the lowest mortality, and the state of the public health is so improved, that the present duration of existence may be regarded (in contrast to what it was a hundred years ago) as, in round numbers, *four to three*.

One natural consequence of more accurate knowledge of the true risk incurred in assuring sums at death, has been a large and remarkable increase in the number of offices. When the business was declared hazardous and uncertain, it was considered that a kind of favour was conferred by the office on the assurer in granting him a policy. This feeling has become entirely reversed, and now the assurer considers that he confers the favour upon the office in selecting it from a crowd of competitors. How these competitors have increased is manifest from the annexed view of the number of existing Life Offices and the periods of their establishment.

Dividing the century and half from 1706 to 1856 into four periods, we find that 3 existing life offices were established in the first period from 1706 to 1721; 14 offices in the second period from 1762 to 1815; 72 offices in the third period from 1816 to 1844; and 70 offices in the fourth period from 1844 to 1856; making a total of 159 offices.

Such is a statement in brief of the past. In pursuing our researches into particular years we find that some were very favourable and others very unfavourable for these associations. For example, the productions of the year 1806 were numerous and strong, and so were those of 1823. The offspring of 1824 were, with one exception, healthy, while those of 1825 have grown up into some of the most vigorous existing companies. Two noble results of 1835 are now living. The period from 1816 to 1844 has been termed 'the golden age of assurance companies.' During this period a large proportion of offices were characterised as 'mixed,' in contradistinction from the purely Proprietary and the purely Mutual. In our day the proportion of mixed to mutual offices is about five of the former to one of the latter; too many which call themselves Mutual being in reality founded upon the mixed principle. It is scarcely necessary to explain that Proprietary companies are based upon a paid-up or promised capital, for which interest is paid upon shares; Mutual societies are founded without such capital, upon the asserted sufficiency of the premium fund; and Mixed companies proceed upon a combination of both principles.

But the foregoing statement is confined to *existing* offices; but in fourteen years, from 1844 to 1857, we are informed by the 'Insurance Guide and Handbook,' that 108 have ceased to exist, or, according to another statement, during the same period ten offices amalgamated their business with other offices; ninety-two transferred their business, and thirty-five wound up their affairs in Chancery.

The mere list of the names of offices has been so enlarged of late years by the addition of numerous schemes, that we now can enumerate, as stated, one hundred and fifty-nine. How many of these are transacting a fair and remunerative business we will not venture to affirm. We have reason to hope that the mania for new projects is abating. The year 1857 is said to have witnessed the dissolution of no less than seventy-eight schemes, — by far the most sweeping destruction yet known in any one year. The continual and annual changes render it impossible to announce the number of life offices for more than the passing year; yet nothing can more forcibly illustrate the credulity of the public than this ephemeral crop of societies, which, if they exist at all, ought at least to offer a guarantee for the whole duration of life.

Not only is it interesting to trace the numerical growth of the offices on the whole, but it would be very desirable to ascertain what amount of new business the various companies transact annually, as the increase of the number of offices may not represent a proportionate increase in the number of insurances in the aggregate. There are, however, no sufficient data for forming an opinion on this topic. Many of the offices decline making public the particulars required, then it is only by personal communication that any such can be obtained. Several have proved laudable exceptions to this reticence. The subjoined statement, from the 'Assurance Magazine,' affords a summary of the new business of thirty-six companies during three recent years, and some calculations connected with the summary: —

New Life Assurance Business in Thirty-six Companies.

Years.	Number of Policies.	Amounts Assured.	Average of each Policy.
1852	18,103	£6,361,620	£351
1853	21,920	7,460,868	340
1854	23,795	7,745,719	326
Totals	63,818	£21,568,207	£338

The companies whose business is thus tabulated include old and new,—some of the largest and most opulent, as also some which have been recently extending their business to those classes of the community whose policies only average a small sum. In all instances the returns of the new business for the three years are complete.

Compared with a similar table drawn up for the three years preceding those named, namely, the years 1849, 1850, 1851, the business of life assurance appears to have increased much more rapidly in the three years 1852, 1853, 1854, than in the preceding three years. In 1850, the increase was 6·1 per cent. on the business of the year 1849. In 1851, there was 5·8 per cent. increase upon the year 1850. In 1853, the increase upon the year 1852 was as large as 17·3 per cent.; which will account for the increase in 1854 being only 3·8 per cent. on 1853. Thus, while in the two years 1850, 1851 the business increased 11·25 per cent. on 1849, in the two years 1853, 1854 it was augmented nearly 21·8 per cent. as compared with 1852. From the character of the companies whose business is stated, there can be little doubt that it was sound and of average value. So great an increase is highly satisfactory to all who are well wishers of these associations.

In order that our readers may form an idea of the vast dealings of the larger institutions, we present to them a tabular arrangement of particulars relating to seven of the principal establishments, as nearly as can be gathered from their own statements. The figures are merely approximate. The sums assured (except by the Equitable) are without additions.

Particulars of Seven Principal Offices, as ascertained June, 1858.

Name.	Eta- blished.	Accumulated Funds, about	Gross Annual Income, about	Sums Assured, about.
		£	£	£
Equitable	1762	6,976,000	430,000	9,580,000 (with additions.)
Scottish Widows' Fund	1815	3,194,000	409,178	9,000,000
Law Life	1823	4,655,000	470,000	8,500,000
London Life	1806	2,600,000	320,000	6,180,000
Rock	1806	3,110,534	309,873	3,945,950
National Provident	1835	1,500,367	275,331	6,500,000
Economic.	1823	1,695,062	241,000	6,089,534

This tabular view may suggest to reflecting readers several important considerations which we must pass over.

The growth of several of these institutions is very remarkable, especially when we are made acquainted with the lowly origin of some that now stand in the foremost rank. The London Life Association, for example, was commenced by a few members, and carried on with the greatest economy in an upper floor in St. Paul's Churchyard; the National Provident originated with a few members of the Society of Friends; and that great establishment, the Scottish Widows' Fund, began, as its name indicates, in a local scheme of benevolence, but extended continually until it has become one of the first institutions in the empire.

What are the grounds upon which a life assurance office is pronounced to be prosperous and eligible? Commonly they are these:—a large accumulated fund, a considerable and rapidly-increasing number of assurers, and a periodical declaration of a large bonus or high profits. The mere age of an office is not in itself of great moment, and only the ill-informed are attracted by it. The grounds just named are the only ones on which the public, or customers of the office, can form an opinion; and they are not to be blamed if they draw a natural inference from published statements on these points. The real question, however, is not what is the sum of the figures under each of these heads, but are these results fairly and impartially obtained? And, furthermore, is the basis of computations correct? Are the apportionments of bonuses or profits to the respective assurers equitable? Are the competing claims of the assurers of different ages and various standings properly adjusted? In brief, is the statement of the business arrived at by proceeding upon principles rigorously equitable, and by carrying out those principles without deviation and without accommodation? A reply to such questions would involve the consideration of subjects which though of great importance and deep interest would carry us far beyond our present limits.

The extent of field open to the operations of new offices has been very much discussed of late, and is indeed one of the most momentous and fruitful topics connected with the subject. On the one hand, the small proportion of assured persons to the whole population is continually announced — although no one can state what it actually is. It may perhaps be safely admitted that scarcely two and a half per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom, and not five per cent. of the heads of families, have availed themselves of the benefits of life assurance. From this paucity it is inferred that there is ample room and verge enough for many new companies. It is added that competition in this business would secure advan-

tages equal to those arising from competition in other undertakings. On the other hand, it may be argued, that while only a small proportion of the whole population is assured, by no means a large proportion is assurable, or likely to be proposed; indeed, not more, as one actuary affirms, than 600,000 at the same period. Nor does the alleged benefit of competition seem well-founded. While in the extended use of the necessaries of life, and in the increased consumption of manufactured articles, the cost of growth and production may be diminished by the return of the profits in the form of increased capital, this cannot be said of life assurance, which differs essentially from ordinary mercantile business. In the latter more skilled labour may be brought into action, and there will follow a subdivision of labour in the several processes of manufacture. Nothing analogous to this takes place in a life office, unless it be the employment of the highest professional skill, and the improvement of all the data upon which the results are calculated. Certainly, in so far as the true law of mortality is ascertained, there will be, as there has been in part, a proportionate reduction of premiums charged. It is considered by all impartial and reflecting observers that the high scales of premiums generally prevalent might be reduced with safety and advantage. Still the reduction of premiums would be only one effect of increased competition, and the least objectionable. What is more to be feared is a relaxation in the vigilance presiding over the admission of the lives offered. The 'benefit of selection' is one of the chief advantages of an office; and in proportion as the lives of the general population are insured, in that proportion the benefit of selection would disappear, and there would be a continually increasing approximation to the average mortality of the nation. It would follow that the large bonuses of many offices of the present day could not be continued. It is the opinion of some that even at present the keenness of competition has opened the doors of offices far too widely.

A point of equal importance is the expense of procuring and conducting the business. It is well known that this cost, in extensive and thriving offices, is seldom less than 3000*l.* per annum, and often much more. This is a fixed expense, but if 3000*l.* per annum be taken as a general minimum, what will the public say to the life expenses in the new offices, when they become better acquainted with them? Let the balance sheets, exhibited by the companies themselves, in the Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, be inspected, and it will be seen by any careful observer that the expenses in many cases are very large. Thus, for example, in the balance-sheet of one office,

from May, 1854, to April, 1855, the premiums on assurances are set down as 18,251*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, against which the expenditure of all kinds is 7,735*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* This is an instance taken almost at random; but we have ascertained that in 1836, in fifty-four life offices, the aggregate expenditure was sixty-one per cent. of the premiums and interest received. Putting it in another shape, it is acknowledged that the first premiums upon new policies go for expenses. It will be readily understood that a large business may not always be a large gain. The cost at which it is obtained is a very important consideration, and we have good reasons for believing that much of the custom now secured is bought far too dearly.* Deducting expenses and commission (of which we shall speak presently), when these items are large they devour the profit, even if the bare assured sum can be paid. Without instancing particular offices of recent date, we find that, as nearly as can be ascertained, the annual costs of all the existing companies amount to an average of ten per cent. upon their business.

As the offices advance in age and prosperity, so do the fixed expenses bear more or less lightly upon the assurers; unless, as is too much the case, the old offices find it necessary to launch out into large expenditure in order to maintain their ground. If, therefore, there are only a certain number of lives to assure or that are worth assuring at moderate rates; if the elder, or well established offices, can assure these, and twice their number, on equitable terms, and if the new offices take away in part the custom of the others, then the present competition is no blessing. If, however, the new offices can open new channels of business, and supply themselves from sources not commonly resorted to; if, as is affirmed, assurance is brought by them within the reach of humbler classes, and a large number of small assurances is effected; if by diligence and active agents they can induce those to assure who would not otherwise think of it, and who have, in fact, neglected this precaution not from

* 'Bring business,' is the universal cry. But we are confident that some institutions are gaining a loss in much of their business. It is, however, a common error to set the early annual expenses against the premiums in one early year. This is unfair to the younger offices, unless accompanied by the explanation that the expenses of establishing the office, which are always considerable, may be spread over a number of years, as seven, twelve, or even twenty. It should be remembered that the old offices may have spread their first costs over a number of years. Yet, even when thus extended, much of the present business is far too costly, and must prove unprofitable.

inability but inattention, then, in these respects, the evil of keen competition is diminished, and, provided the new offices be safe, all the specified advantages are obtained.

Misapprehensions are very prevalent on the point of safety. It is commonly conceived, and generally represented, that an old office must be safe, and safe in proportion to its age; and conversely, that a new office must be perilous, and perilous in proportion to its youth. Neither of these views is strictly correct, although there is a groundwork of reality in them both. A deadly jealousy of the new offices has sprung up amongst the older ones, and a representative of the latter has publicly proscribed all the former founded since the 7 & 8 Vict. c. 110. We cannot, however, join in sweeping and indiscriminate censure. Age *alone* is no protection against failure or fraud in officials, nor is the possession of large amounts of invested capital an adequate guarantee of ability to meet *all* claims. We could illustrate what we now say by actual occurrences, but we prefer to abstain from the relation of painful events. A new office is, in truth, *sometimes* safer than an old one, if the business of the former be better, and better managed than the business of the latter. In these institutions, as in the human frame, the sins of youth often produce their evil fruits only in old age. The real crisis of a life office (if it have any duration of life) is not so much its youth as its maturity. Upon a particular hypothesis, illustrating the natural financial course of an office, Dr. Farr has shown in detail, that sixty-three years would elapse before the outgo would equal the premiums and the interest of stock together. At this period the office would be stationary, but not insolvent; for when the outgo equals, or even exceeds, the income, the stock decreases only gradually; and if, changing the hypothesis, we suppose an increase of entrants, the office might prolong its existence, and appear externally sound to an ordinary observer. The distinction between mere solvency and prosperity is very broad. The true testing period of these societies is long deferred, and extends to variable dates; so that even the duration of half a century is not an unquestionable evidence of solvency or prosperity. Since in this kind of business the receipts are partly immediate and partly annual, while the payments are all more or less deferred, it is possible to assume an appearance of prosperity which is fictitious, but which may be worn for many years, even as long as new business can be procured, and great emergencies do not arise. A moderate annual addition of young and healthy lives would prolong the bare existence of an office for a considerable number of years,

and, like the locks of youth upon the baldness of age, might impart an air of juvenility to actual decline and decrepitude.

Taking, however, a general glance at the majority of the well-established offices, we are disposed to regard them as, *upon the whole*, in a fair condition of health and vitality. Selecting the year 1852 as the date of examination, we find the statistics of their position were nearly as follows: There were in that year forty-two purely Mutual societies, and one hundred and thirty-two Proprietary companies; including companies which had a guaranteed capital independent of the premium fund. The combined share-capital of one hundred and seventeen of the latter companies was represented as 72,391,740*l*. In eighty-six of these companies, of which the nominal share capital was 60,971,740, the amount actually paid up (supposing all shares to be issued), would be 8,057,240*l*, which included two companies with large share-capitals wholly paid up, and a few others in which the capital had been increased out of profits. The price of the shares of seventy-one companies (in which the amount, if all paid up, was 7,409,240*l*.) was, according to their then market value, about 15,404,703*l*. The dividends, on the average, at the end of the year 1852, ranged from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent. in the higher scale, and from 4 to 5 per cent. in the lower scale; the larger number of the whole dividing 5 per cent. per annum, and but few much more or much less.

We offer no opinion upon the professed advantages to the assurers of the mutual principle over the proprietary, because every man can easily judge for himself on such a point; and we have no wish, in this place, unduly to exalt the mutual offices above the proprietary, whatever may be our own preference. We may, however, observe that there is a point of view from which the assurers in proprietary offices may be regarded as paying, in almost every instance, where the shares have risen to a premium (and they commonly do rise in all good offices to a considerable premium), more for the guarantee of the shareholders than it is really worth, and just so much more as is the premium upon the original price of the shares. This view may be strikingly illustrated by the following statement:—The total paid-up capital in thirteen principal life companies in 1848 was 3,053,000*l*. The market value of this capital was 5,255,750*l*. Then the difference between these two sums would represent the gain of the shareholders and the loss of the assurers; that is, if the shareholders had realised their shares at the time, they would have put into their pockets the sum of 2,202,750*l*, which the assured might have considered as so much profit abstracted from them (this being at the rate of 72 per cent. on the value of the capital

which had already been received); for the custom of these assurers had raised the shares to their existing value.

This state of things may, from another point of view, be regarded as satisfactory in relation to these important establishments. In these days the difficulty is not to find an office, but to avoid one, for they meet the most careless eye at the corners of the best streets, and their imposing fronts rise in the centres of the throng of commerce. Their agents are in every town of the empire, their prospectuses are daily thrust into one's hands; and we have heard of a 'touter' who made it his daily business to travel in omnibuses, open a conversation with the passengers, and put a table of premiums into their hands before they left the vehicle; even proffering his personal services to conduct them to his office and complete the assurance without delay. This most persevering agent realised an annual income of 300*l.* per annum from commissions of 5 per cent. upon the premiums paid. Last of all his own policy became a claim: his death was the last and most peremptory argument to be used for his employers. There are, however, several living agents of the various offices who are possessed of peculiar tact and energy, and the anecdotes current respecting their impressive attentions to the interests of families are amusing enough. There is a danger of carrying their importunity too far. Men are canvassed for assurances as they are for votes and subscriptions, and the claims of rival offices are not seldom set forth with all the ludicrous eloquence that their respective advocates can employ. Offers of remuneration, sometimes temptingly high*, are made to almost

* We have been credibly informed that one office offered 30 per cent. upon the first premium, and that another (the actuary of which finds grievous fault with the newer offices) will give even 35 per cent. These are, we suppose, compensations for the perpetual 5 per cent. allowed on all premiums by nearly all offices. It is easy to decry the allowance of commission, to detail its evils, and to demand uncorrupted virtue in such transactions; but there will be no effective remedy until offices unite to refuse it, and to do this, would be, as they say, to cut off at least, half their business. Meanwhile, many of them outbid each other, until, one would suppose, the *ne plus ultra* has been reached. In a circular now before us, gratuitous policies are offered, upon a tabulated scale, to those who procure business for a projected office. In an advertisement, also, which appears on the day we are writing, an office seeks effective agents, and promises 'a most liberal commission, with a reversion to widow or nominee.' But the most munificent offer we have ever known was made in a circular which we obtained about two years ago—and which is now before us. It contains the 'Terms of Remuneration to District Agents.' These consist of, 1. commission at 33½ per cent. on first payments, whether

every class of persons possessing persuasive influence. Even the clergy are invited to aid the offices, and there is scarcely a country town or village in the remotest parts of the land that is not posted over with large bills, visited by assurance travellers, and harangued by itinerant lecturers, all setting forth the wonderful advantages of some most promising establishment, which has derived its name from all that is most splendid and steadfast in the heavens above or the earth beneath. Scarcely a symbol of strength, solidity, or plenty in classical mythology, or exuberant nature, or productive commerce, is left unappropriated by one or other of the living or defunct life assurance associations. We doubt if a really good title could be found for another office. Some of the late projects have been strangely baptized, and have certainly changed their names for the better by the marriage of 'amalgamation,' if they have not departed this life without an epitaph.

As to the agents and lecturers employed by these companies, they scatter hortatory tracts thick as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa, and indulge themselves in the most pleasing and profitable illustrations in order to secure attention. A policy of assurance is their panacea. By means of it despairing lovers are united, and a reluctant alderman bestows his daughter on the suitor who possesses such a document; a prudent mechanic becomes a man of fortune, a young applicant obtains an appointment, a drunkard is made sober, an anxious wife light-hearted, a wretched home delightful. By means of a policy a young tradesman is taken into partnership, an old firm is saved from ruin, and a man who was not worth a penny, borrows a thousand pounds. Aladdin's lamp and eastern talismans are nothing to policies of life assurance, and the wonderful results they produce. But these gentlemen have a dark side to present, and this ought to be admonitory. Here are some examples:—A nobleman refused one day to assure his life for 5000*l.*, and the next day was thrown off his horse and killed; while a prudent clergyman, who died the same day, *had* assured his life for 2000*l.* the day

they are yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly premiums. 2. Cash bonuses payable on completion of each 1000*l.* assured (and these are detailed until the total cash bonuses on 7000*l.* assured under new policies, amount to 24*l.* 10*s.*, together with a bonus of 5*l.* on every subsequent 1000*l.*). 3. Commission at 5*l.* per cent. per annum on all payments after the first.—Now, if there are district agents of respectable name that take up such schemes, the least that can be said is that the assured themselves should know the terms. We apprehend the public are unprepared for such revelations.

before. Then there are those who having just assured, cross the office-threshold and drop dead on the steps or the stone pavement, with their policies in their pockets. There is no sin in the decalogue of these gentlemen so criminal as non-assurance. An official Nemesis pursues all non-assurers. Dying husbands and fathers are depicted as having this crime alone on their consciences. One agent's 'vade mecum' narrates a thrilling case, in which an unhappy sick man lies in his chamber the prey to remorse. His brother is summoned to see him die; his sudden entrance rouses the invalid from his stupor, but the recognition seems a painful one. 'What distresses you?' says the brother, anxiously. In an *agony that made his words audible through the house*, he explained his bitter self-reproach that he had *neglected to keep his life assurance policy in full force*. The brother promises to relieve him from this difficulty, and the sick man rapidly recovers! What with death-bed remorse, and the pictures of woe-begone widowhood, and starving orphanhood, one might infer that the chief end of life is to assure it; that dying men should think less of the world they are entering than that which they are leaving. Even as to this world, its whole pomp and pageantry, passions and vanities fade away from the vision of moribund fathers, save only one little speck — the neglected door of the assurance office! Moreover, in the opinion of these active and eloquent caterers for policies, every man may become a similar caterer (and of course obtain the five per cent. commission). Certainly some offices are not too nice in their choice of agents. While writing these pages we were waited upon by a discarded tradesman, who made two requests: one, that we would purchase an anthem of his own composition; the other, that we would assure our life in his office. We preferred the anthem.

A new or distinctive principle, or application of the system of assurance, is what an advocate covets. A new office can scarcely expect to thrive by merely promising to effect on a small scale what has long been performed on a large scale. Very low premiums cut two ways, and frighten some while they attract others. A low premium office has to convince the timid that the business can be safely done at its diminished charges. All may learn from the data we have given what is the prime cost of covering the risk at any given age. They can see, for example, that at the age of thirty they ought not to pay much above 2l. 2s. per cent. for every 100l. assured, if they are content to expect no profits or additional advantages beyond the payment of their claim. On the other hand, they can discern with equal readiness that any company professing to give con-

siderable profits, or to make large reductions in premiums, when it charges scarcely anything above the net premium, professes an absolute impossibility. There is therefore little scope for any new arrangement of the premiums and the amount of profit promised. Life offices do not speculate, cannot deal in rising or falling markets, and therefore cannot profit by fluctuations. Their only chance for a peculiar share of public favour is to be found in new applications of the principles of assurance on liberal adjustments and unselfish arrangements. These are the objects of study to many of the existing establishments. Hence we have applications of the principle to the assurance of fidelity in clerks and other mercantile assistants, in conjunction with life assurance; the granting of loans of money upon the security of policies, and of two or three personal friends, and with repayment by instalments*; the extension of assurance to all classes of the community by receiving very small payments, even monthly and weekly; the acceptance of half of the premiums for the first seven years, and the charge of the other half upon the policy or the future payments; the arrangement of premiums upon ascending and descending scales, and in limited numbers; and the indisputableness of policies when once granted, unless in palpable cases of fraud.

One of the most important results of this general activity has been the issue of policies to diseased persons upon the payment of a proportionately higher premium. The acceptance of charges

* This is not considered legitimate business, and therefore it is confined to a few offices as a leading part of their transactions. Most offices grant loans upon the security of their policies when premiums enough have been paid to render them valuable; yet they would decline the other kind of business. It is well that borrowers should know the terms upon which loans, upon personal security, are granted to new comers by the lending offices alluded to; and they are commonly these:—The borrower must assure his life for double the amount borrowed, and at the premiums for the whole term of life. He must pay five per cent. per annum interest upon the sum borrowed, besides the annual premiums on his policy. He must find at least two, and for some offices three, personal securities in addition to his own. Such securities must be responsible and respectable persons, who become liable for the debt and interest thereon. These provisions satisfied, the sum to be lent is paid to the borrower, diminished however by the subtraction of the first premium upon the policy (for double the loan). Then at the end of the first year the first instalment of the loan must be paid with interest. Thus do the lending offices make assurance doubly sure in the fullest sense, for they have three persons and one policy to pounce upon at the first failure of any of the conditions. We do not blame them, if borrowers will resort to them:

for diseased lives has been founded upon the discovery that a certain uniformity prevails even in their mortality. The Registrar-general having arranged the 'causes of death' under seventeen general heads or clauses, and subdivided these again into five sections, it is possible from these returns to construct tables of diseased mortality as well as of healthy mortality. The law of average applies in this direction as truly as in others, and it may now be predicted, from the experience of five years, how many persons in a sufficiently large number of the diseased will die in any ensuing year of one disease, and how many of another. Hence if a considerable business can be secured, there is little more risk in assuring diseased than in assuring healthy lives; and those unhappy proposers who have been rejected by the ordinary companies as unsound, can find others ready to open their doors and their books to them, provided only they can pay the advanced charges. We have reason to think that these advanced charges may, in the course of experience and time, be subject to reduction, or that, if not reduced, liberal profits will be apportioned to the assurers who may survive long, and successfully contend against their constitutional foes. Several offices are now willing to accept diseased assurers upon their paying the rates charged for ages higher than their own, by so many years as the particular disease in each case may be supposed to have aged the assurer. Thus, an unsound proposer aged thirty may be charged as if aged thirty-five or forty. Such assurers have generally been found to take great care of their lives, and medical skill has often partly or wholly cured them.

Writers who have publicly animadverted upon the recent mania for getting up life offices, have predicted a great crash amongst them. Although this has been confidently anticipated, it has not come in the manner and measure predicted, because there are modes of defeating it. What is the consequence of the failure of a company or society to carry out its plans and to secure business? The result of such a failure differs from a mercantile bankruptcy, as the nature of the business differs. The creditors of a life office cannot be called in and settled with at once and for ever, for generally the true creditors are incapable children, or yet unborn families. If the office thus failing has carried on a fair and honourable business; if, as is frequently the case, its want of success is traceable chiefly to the exhaustion of its influence and the completion of the promises which its friends have made; then there is little difficulty in effecting a transfer of its business to another and more flourishing office. What is not enough for two may be enough for one. There are, indeed, offices which thrive upon the purchase

of the policies of others, and we see that they boast of their absorbent abilities. In plain terms, if the lives assured have been healthy, and the arrangements sound, the whole business of one office can be sold to another, or, as the term is, the two offices can *amalgamate*. This subject requires careful consideration, and we strongly urge upon all holders of policies in companies about to amalgamate, to acquaint themselves with the terms and precise conditions of the change, a statement of which they have a right to demand. If the transfer be conducted fairly, and if all parties interested benefit equally, then the assurers in the failing office do not lose, but may actually gain by the process, since they may get out of a declining and into a thriving office; and in honourable cases they have at least as good, and sometimes a far better prospect of the ultimate discharge of their claims. It is true that in any amalgamation, the amalgam (to speak chemically) will always be of the same alloy as the weaker constituent. Bad business cannot be turned into good by this process, but good business can be conducted at a much diminished expense; and if half a dozen struggling offices be amalgamated under one board of directors and one actuary, the chances are that the adopted children will thrive in the enjoyment of family privileges and economy. Let it, however, be always remembered that we are referring only to honest concerns, and honourable conduct. There can be no resource of this kind and no shelter for bubbles and swindles. If any man connects himself with one of these, he must be thankful if he escape with the loss of his policy and premium; the possibility is that he may be stripped of his whole property, being held liable for losses and expenses, and perhaps the only solvent man left when the bubble explodes, and the projectors set out on their travels.

Several attempts have from time to time been made to secure some degree of legislative control over life assurance establishments. The Select Committee of the House of Commons on Assurance Associations, which sat in 1853, recommended in their report 'that it shall be imperative on each company 'to make a complete investigation into its affairs at least once 'in five years, as is usually prescribed by their deed of settlement, and at such times so prescribed, shall show a complete valuation of their risks and liabilities, and of their assets 'to meet the same; and that all such valuation accounts, which 'may be made for the information and use of their proprietors, 'shareholders, or members, shall be registered in the office of 'the Registrar; and that in each intermediate year, between 'such periodical balance-sheets or valuations, there shall also be

‘registered a statement containing authenticated information ‘on the following particulars:’ These are, the amount of premiums received, and amount of expenses; number of new policies insured, total amount of liabilities, and several other items, altogether resulting in a complete valuation of the company’s affairs.

We are convinced that there are no well-founded objections against, and no insuperable difficulties in the way of, securing this nationally important information; and, seeing that the transactions of life assurance institutions are so peculiar, so remote from common observation, and therefore so capable of misconception and of misapprehension, when a word of suspicion is uttered against them, it would be to the interest of them all to make common cause, and to endeavour strenuously to procure a legislative enactment which would place them alike upon one broad footing, and render the old and the new equally amenable to that public opinion upon which alone they thrive. What they would lose in the compulsory labour and pains necessary to afford their statements, they would more than gain in freedom from all suspicion; and if the fear of unfavourable comparisons between rival offices should deter them, let it not be forgotten that these very comparisons would tend to extrude unsuitable and unsuccessful adventurers, to diminish unsound competition, and to limit public favour to those offices which could really exhibit a fair share of custom, honest arrangements, moderate expenditure, and good grounds for presuming that they have not made promises which they cannot fulfil, not declared bonuses which are more than doubtful, and not adopted principles of valuation and computation which are too favourable to themselves, and which more honourable associations would neither employ nor sanction.

We scarcely need to allude to some abortive endeavours to secure legislative interference. Mr. Wilson introduced an unsuccessful bill upon the subject in 1857, and Mr. Sheridan, during the session of 1858, brought in and lost a bill of 195 clauses, designed to regulate assurance institutions. Whether the Executive Government will next session initiate a comprehensive measure, remains to be seen. Hitherto pre-occupation, or needless loquacity, have defeated all attempts at legislation. Nor have the labours of the Select Committee on Assurance Associations been productive of any practical result. All that we can expect from the Legislature, in relation to them, is accurate notification of financial condition, and the publication of those principal circumstances which affect their credit, and establish or invalidate their soundness. These things the public

have a clear right to expect — beyond these the public must pursue their own researches, or engage competent inquirers on their behalf.*

The rivalry of the various companies has promoted liberality to the public, even if it has generated a mutual jealousy among themselves. As a broad principle, large companies can afford to be generous; but competition is a wholesome additional stimulus to native good feeling; and life assurance institutions, like all others depending upon public favour, find that not only honesty, but also liberality, is the best policy. Hence it has come to pass, that a mean evasive office is almost the exception, and that offices in general not only fulfil their promises to the letter, but are frequently disposed to waive just opportunities of refusing the payment of questionable claims. They are so anxious to avoid the imputation of illiberality, and the publicity of litigation, that we have known them to be generous before they were just. Not a few sharp practitioners have availed themselves of this tendency, and it is now much more probable that the office will be the victim than the assurer, and the individual is more likely to deceive than the company.†

* One observation of the Select Committee is worth repetition:—
 ‘ With regard to the general condition of existing companies, so far
 ‘ as any evidence has been laid before your Committee, they feel it
 ‘ their duty to report that it is more satisfactory than they had been
 ‘ led to believe before they entered upon the inquiry. No doubt
 ‘ instances of great abuses and flagrant frauds have been disclosed by
 ‘ the witnesses examined; but in general these consisted of an open
 ‘ violation of all law, more akin to swindling than to regular trade,
 ‘ and such as it would be difficult for any legislature to prevent,’ &c.

† The Equitable boasts that it has never, ‘ but in two instances,
 ‘ disputed a claim out of its numerous and vast engagements.’ This
 is remarkable for a society that has paid away, in all forms, twenty-
 nine millions sterling! But other societies might speak of similar
 freedom from dispute. Unexpected judicial decisions, affecting life
 policies, sometimes occur. Such is the late decision in the Court of
 Common Pleas, as to the invalidity of policies in case of death during
 the days of grace, that is, the seven or fourteen days allowed for the
 payment of the premium after the date at which it is really due.
 Their validity had never been questioned before — and, naturally
 enough, policy holders were extremely alarmed. We should not
 have thought that such a question would have been raised. Now,
 however, offices are publishing their readiness to pay claims becoming
 such during the days of grace, and it would be well that they should
 all follow the example of a certain institution which inserts this
 clause in its policies:—‘ The within policy will not become void if
 ‘ the premium be paid within seven, fourteen, or thirty days (as the

The annals of life assurance, if made public, would reveal some remarkable instances of fraudulent assurance, and some few where there were good grounds for the darkest suspicion of murderous contrivance. The old case of Thomas Griffith Wainwright was very clear. He first heavily assured and then destroyed the life of his sister-in-law, Helen Abercrombie. That of Palmer, the poisoner of Rugely, is too recent to require more than an allusion; yet it is only in the middle of 1858 that the Prince of Wales office obtained the legal cancelling of Palmer's policy for 13,000*l*. It is to be feared that other cases have occurred, which could not be brought home to the guilty parties. Although these foul schemes are rarely attempted, yet all the offices require to be on their guard against concealment of disease and assumption of unreal health. Good medical examination of every proposer is the principal safeguard which an office can adopt; but especially by means of provincial agencies, bad or indifferent lives are frequently accepted. Those who are familiar with the various offices know that there is a scale of strictness amongst them, and that while most of them are sufficiently guarded, there are others where the entrance is comparatively easy and the procedure brief. The ordinary rule is to decline lives which have been refused at any other office; but we have known a man rejected one day at one office, and accepted the next day at another on the usual terms. Agents, too, are reluctant to act for an office which they consider too rigid in its judgments. The motto of every honourable company should be—No business rather than bad business; or—Immediate rejection rather than early claims. The recent instance of the Jodrell assurances is a remarkable instance of not only the liability of an office to be deceived, but also of its deceiving others.* The ex-

'case may be for quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly premiums) from 'the time within agreed upon, notwithstanding the death of any 'person, upon whose life the within assurance is effected, may have 'happened in the interval.' It is a useful precaution to get the age admitted on the policy, thus preventing any possibility of subsequent difference. We learn that some Jews have imposed on companies in Germany and England by producing false certificates of birth, making them considerably younger than in fact they were, and lawsuits have followed the discovery.

* The case of the Jodrell Policies was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, Guildhall, in December, 1856. Mr. Jodrell, the eldest son of Sir Richard P. Jodrell, was entitled to estates of the value of 12,000*l*. a year on the death of his father. In 1852 he effected a policy on his life, and the same year applied for a loan of 8000*l*. (on the security of his expected estates) to the Norwich Re-

perience of the companies has taught them lessons which they were little prepared to learn; and these curious ones amongst others: 1. That, notwithstanding the salubrity of the country—its freedom from the excitement, solitudes, nuisances, and confinement of the towns—yet the mortality, taken at all ages together, is annually less in town assurances than in those of the country. 2. That, although from the experience of the Government annuity office, females were always considered longer lived than males, yet the mortality amongst *assured* females is greater than amongst males; and 3. That the mortality in assured Irish lives is greater than either amongst town or country lives, and very nearly approaches (all ages being taken together) to within 5 per cent. of the Northampton table. This conclusion was drawn from 8,391 Irish male lives, and 845 female lives.

Few persons are at all aware of the great variety of circumstances arising in the course of human life and human relationship, to which the principle of life assurance is applicable. There is, indeed, scarcely a pecuniary contingency depending upon the continuance or failure of one or two, or even three associated lives, which cannot be converted into a pecuniary certainty by recourse to a respectable office. The same principle has been extended to railway and other accidents;

versionary Society. This society consented to advance the loan upon Jodrell's granting them an annuity for his life of 4000*l.* a year, to commence at his father's death, in order to secure the repayment of the loan. To protect itself against the possibility of Jodrell's dying in his father's lifetime, it assured the life of the son. The whole sum necessary to be assured on Jodrell's life was 26,000*l.* His life was declined by four offices (as the Norwich Society *fairly* acknowledged); but the Westminster accepted it for 1500*l.* The son died before his father. The Westminster thought it had been deceived as to the son's health, and declined to pay. Hence a long and important trial. The evidence fully showed that the life was bad, and that the deceased was seen drunk two or three times a week for three weeks in succession, thus inducing *delirium tremens*. The jury found that misrepresentation and concealment had been used by Jodrell and his agents, but not by the secretary of the Norwich Company. They also found that disease did exist. The whole evidence should be perused by all interested in these matters.

Another late case of consequence was that of *Mackay v. Stephenson*, in which Mr. Hunt had assured his life for 5000*l.* in the Economic, and died a year afterwards. The Economic refused to pay, on the ground of fraudulent suppression of information as to a recent attack of severe illness. A special jury decided that the policy had been obtained by fraud. The full trial is printed.

and there is no valid objection to its application to casualties and diseases in general. Thus healthy entrants might assure for a provision in case of paralysis, insanity, blindness, fracture of limbs, and all other incapacitating afflictions. Existing offices might add casualty tables to their present system, and in this way there are large opportunities for an accession of business. Amongst the more curious cases occasionally brought before actuaries, are those professionally called 'issue cases.' The individual entitled to a life interest in a certain property,—if another, now in possession of it, should die without leaving issue,—may resort to a life office to raise money upon his contingent life interest; to effect which he must assure *against the life-tenant's leaving issue*. Sometimes such contingency is naturally very remote; yet the transactions being peculiar, premiums of 20s., 30s., and even 40s. per cent. per annum have been demanded for such assurance, probably because actuaries have been unable to obtain a close approximation to the actual risk. From this illustration the reader may judge of the fertility of the applications of the principle to the most singular contingencies.

One signal benefit of life assurance institutions is the facility they afford for securing loans of money by policies as collateral securities. Only persons actually engaged in the finance of loans, debts, credit, and accounts can form an idea of the extent to which the different offices are made use of for this purpose. Although, in one point of view, too great facilities for borrowing are not without moral detriment, yet in another morality is the gainer by the extinction of the usurer with his exorbitant rates. For such cases short-term policies, or such as extend over five, seven, or ten years, are much in vogue, as the premiums for these are proportionately small.

To make policies for the whole term of life marketable securities, not only should the office in which they are effected be good and sound, but the policy itself should be indisputable. If disputable, it is scarcely marketable. Here, again, we see the great importance of the liberality of dealing to which we have just alluded. Policies in good offices, after five or seven years' standing, are always saleable, and a considerable number are sold by auction every year. We noticed the advertisement of a sale in Dublin of twenty-seven policies of assurance in various offices. It is worthy of remark, that they generally find purchaser, at fair values when effected in the first-class office. The offices themselves will state the value of their own policies for a fee; and the common practice is to obtain the office value, and that of an independent actuary, before the sale.

Assurers should remember that their policies do not acquire an appreciable value until they have been in force some years; and that the sums given by the office will be considerably less than the total premiums they have paid, putting bonuses and additions out of consideration; but if these have been added, their surrender will be paid for.

We have now completed the task which we had set to ourselves, having left many things unsaid for want of space. We have had no professional or party object to serve, and are neither blind friends of the old offices nor bigoted foes of the new. We think we have shown that all officials require to be carefully watched, and we have endeavoured so to illustrate the principles and practice of life assurance, as to indicate some of the prevailing tendencies to error. It is highly desirable that assurers should study their own interests, and thus emancipate themselves from unfounded fears on the one hand, and unfounded hopes on the other. If they would inform themselves upon the several points at issue, there would be but a brief span of existence for puffing advertisers, vulgar agents, half-qualified lecturers, ephemeral directors, smooth-tongued caterers, penny trash, and all-promising prospectuses. The actuaries themselves have taken a wise course in founding their Institute and printing their Journal, thereby vindicating for themselves the honour and credit due to a body of gentlemen for the most part able and accomplished, in a profession which calls into exercise the high qualities of forethought and judgment, as well as mere mathematical knowledge.

- ART. III.—1. *The Church Rate Question Considered.* By Lord STANLEY. London: 1853.
2. *Speech of Sir William Clay, Bart. On moving the Second Reading of the Church Rate Abolition Bill, March 5. 1856.* 2nd edition. London: 1856.
3. *Illegal Church Rates: being Practical Directions to prevent their Collection.* 2nd edition. London: Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, 2, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street.

A RESPECTABLE weekly contemporary, little given to sentimentality, recently published a pathetic appeal to the conflicting parties in the church-rate controversy, whether churchmen or dissenters, not to join issue or do battle on a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. As well might Hampden and the law officers of Charles the First have been adjured not to mix up the liberties of England with a paltry pecuniary claim for shipmoney. The stern realities of political life cannot be evaded in this fashion; and if the struggle must come, the formal ground of difference matters little. The question whether the whole or a section of the community are legally or morally bound to maintain the ecclesiastical fabrics of the Establishment, will most assuredly be discussed, both in and out of Parliament, with increasing vehemence, until it is authoritatively set at rest; at the same time, we do not see why it should inevitably involve or draw after it an internecine conflict between the endowed clergy and the advocates of the voluntary principle. Much, however, will depend on the temper with which the immediate topic is approached; and there can be no difficulty in showing that, in a case so curiously beset with doubts and difficulties, the language of reproach or recrimination would be singularly misplaced. The churchman is not in a position to charge the dissenter with designing to throw off an inherited obligation confessedly based on right and justice. The dissenter is not entitled to retort that the churchman is endeavouring to enforce, by an abuse of power, an unequal and oppressive tax. The law which enables the majority of the parishioners in vestry assembled to reject the rate, is a material deduction from the alleged grievance; and history, by explaining the origin of the impost, seriously diminishes the force of the main arguments by which the recusant conscience is addressed.

Blackstone and Burn, both apparently relying on Linwood, concur in stating that, at the first establishment of parochial

clergy, the tithes of the parish were distributed in a four-fold division: one for the use of the bishops, another for maintaining the fabric of the church, a third for the poor, and the fourth to provide for the incumbent. Lord Campbell, when Attorney-General, boldly declared that all the books of authority, lay and ecclesiastical, agreed in the position that the burden was at first laid and long continued upon tithes. 'Probably,' he adds, 'it was very gradually shifted to the parishioners, and their contributions to the expense were purely voluntary. The custom growing, it was treated as an obligation, and enforced by ecclesiastical censures.' His Lordship's authority on this subject was disputed at the time by Mr. Pemberton Leigh (now Lord Kingsdown) and the late Sir William Follett; nor is it easily reconcilable with the recorded judgments of Holt and Coke. But the point remained, and still remains, undecided, although we think, with Dr. Lushington, that, assuming Linwood to be correct, there is little difficulty in conceiving how the obligation was transferred. In the course of his examination before the Select Committee of 1851, that accomplished civilian said:—

'Q. 2358. Really the whole thing is fully explained if you only look at the history of church-rates; when you remember that the origin of church-rates was this, that the whole people of this country were Roman Catholics, and that in those days the idea of any man refusing to contribute to what was necessary for the performance of divine service and for upholding the fabric, was an offence in the sight of the Church, which would not have been endured for one hour, and the Church would have instantly pounced upon him; so it went on till the Reformation; and when the Reformation came, things were a little shaken; but then came the High Commission Court, and every person who refused to repair was put into the High Commission Court. I need not tell gentlemen here assembled, that Archbishop Laud was not backward in enforcing the repairs of the church or making church-rates. This went on till Charles the Second's time; then we have a series of litigation. Then in William the Third's time, when things began to assume another appearance, the litigation commenced with rather another aspect, and so we have kept on from that day to this; but it is quite evident what the principle was; the principle was, that every individual was *ex necessitate* a member of the existing Church, and no man living dare disavow himself so to be.'

'Q. 2359. Then the existence of Dissent has, in fact, introduced an entirely new element into the controversy?—Completely.'

The introduction of this new element was slow, and its expansion as a disturbing power was long, though not unaccountably, delayed. The opinion was almost universal, till about forty years ago, that both the making and levying of a church-rate

might be legally enforced; and if now and then some obstinate Quaker thought fit to refuse payment, his resistance was referred to the same honest and mistaken conviction which induced him to stand out against other ecclesiastical dues. Tithes and church-rates were almost universally classed together, as belonging to the same category of charges and resting on the same foundation of right. The essential distinction, resulting from the personal and voluntary nature of the rate, was first detected, proclaimed, and acted upon in the manufacturing districts, where the dissenting congregations were beginning to outnumber the members of the Establishment. In Sheffield, for example, no church-rate has existed since 1817 or 1818. It was the litigation ending with the final decision of the *Brain-tree* case, however, which overthrew the doctrine of the inalienable character of the liability, and eventually brought matters to the present crisis.

This celebrated case arose in 1837 by resistance to a rate made by the churchwardens on their own authority after the parishioners had virtually refused. Dr. Lushington held the rate valid. The King's Bench and the Exchequer Chamber held it invalid; but, unluckily, Chief Justice Tindal intimated a doubt whether a legal rate could not be made by the churchwardens in conjunction with a minority. The experiment was forthwith tried. The forensic war recommenced, and lasted, with various alternations of fortune, longer than that of Troy. In the Ecclesiastical Courts, Sir Herbert Fust differed with Dr. Lushington. In Westminster Hall, the validity of the rate was maintained by five judges against four: and in the House of Lords, it was declared invalid by the supreme appellate jurisdiction, which held that no legal church-rate can be made if the majority of the parishioners in vestry assembled persist in refusing it.

There still remained the dormant thunders of the 'Spiritual Court, and vivid pictures have been drawn of the trials and sufferings supposed to be in store for the chief agitators. But all apprehensions of this kind have hitherto proved futile, and their groundlessness sufficiently appears from Dr. Lushington's evidence:—

'I will take the case of a parish which obstinately refuses to raise a church-rate at all; now the proper jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court is not to say, "You shall make a rate," but its proper jurisdiction is to say to the parishioners at large, "You shall repair the church;" and if they do not repair the church, the two ancient remedies are, one to lay the parish under interdict, and the other to proceed against the recusant parishioners for refusing to concur in

those means which were necessary to have the church repaired, but not specifically to make a rate; because, if the parties choose to do the repairs without making a rate, then the duty and functions of the Ecclesiastical Courts are entirely at an end.

‘ Q. 2342. If the order of the Ecclesiastical Courts were disobeyed, what would be the consequences to the parties refusing?—Much depends (with great deference I say it) upon my being understood very accurately in this respect: if the Ecclesiastical Court is properly put in motion, and no mistake is made by the practitioners who endeavour to compel the repairing of a church, I believe that the Ecclesiastical Court has power to do it; but considering that these proceedings have been obsolete now for 150 or 200 years, there is a very great chance that there may be a miscarriage in some point of form, so that the power of the Ecclesiastical Courts could never be called into perfect effect.’

The 53 Geo. 3. c. 127. enacts that, in case of persons neglecting or refusing to pay obedience to the lawful orders and decrees of the Ecclesiastical Court, a writ *de contumace capiendo* shall issue for the purpose of compelling them. But what is to be done when the majority of a parish refuse or omit to repair the church, or to make a sufficient rate for the purpose? Are all of them to be laid hold of and incarcerated as contumacious, or on what principle is the selection to be made? Would bare non-attendance at vestry found a claim to the honours of martyrdom, or would attendance and refusal be required? Proceedings against whole parishes for joint and corporate contempts or delinquencies carry us back to the good old days of interdicts, when a community placed beneath the ban were deprived of many comforts and advantages in this world, and seriously alarmed touching their hopes and prospects in the next. We may take for granted that so old and rusty a weapon will never be taken down and refurbished for modern use; and the circumstance of its being the only weapon certainly goes far to strengthen Lord Campbell’s argument, that the impost, in its palmy days, partook more of the nature of a clerical encroachment than of a common law liability. ‘Will an indictment,’ he asks triumphantly, ‘lie against the inhabitants of a parish for not repairing a church, as against the inhabitants of a parish for not repairing a highway, or against the inhabitants of a county for not repairing a public bridge?’

As for the maxim, ‘wherever there is a right, there is a remedy,’ it may be reversed, and converted into, ‘wherever there is no remedy, there is no right.’ In proof of the personal nature of the tax, his Lordship referred to cases in which parishioners have been charged in respect of ships and stock in trade; and when churchmen urge that, be its tech-

nical description what it might, it has been immemorially regarded as a charge on land, the ready answer is, that the prescriptive title was founded upon a common error, and ceased when that error was cleared up. The purchasers of real property since the agitation commenced—at all events, since the decision of the Braintree case—may fairly contend that they are no more bound in honour to go on paying church-rates levied without consent of vestry, than to go on paying income-tax collected without consent of Parliament.

The incidental results of the Braintree case were little less annoying and embarrassing to the Church than its direct bearings. In the course of the discussion, the judges and counsel threw out a variety of suggestions which have been adroitly collected, sifted, and arranged by 'The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control.' This society, founded in 1844, has its local habitation in Sergeants' Inn, Fleet Street. It is ably represented in the Press by a monthly journal called 'The Liberator.' Judging from its expenditure in republications and its liberal offers of legal assistance or advice, the funds at its disposal must be ample. One of its avowed objects is 'The Discontinuance of all Payments from the Consolidated Fund, and of all Parliamentary Grants, and Compulsory Exactions, for Religious Purposes.' Church-rates are honoured with a large share of its attention, and we have now before us some twenty or thirty manifestations of its persevering hostility to them in the shape of pamphlets, tracts, reprints of speeches and articles, broadsides, and songs. Amongst them is a tract entitled 'Practical Directions to the Opponents of Church-Rates.' The nature and intention of the work are explained in the Preface:—

'Where a clear majority of the parishioners are opposed to church-rates, it is the best plan, since the Braintree case, to meet any proposal for a rate in vestry with a direct negative, and leave it to the votes. But in the more frequent cases in which the majority is doubtful, or the opposition is confined to individuals, this course, if success is really wished for, is the last to be thought of; and, happily, in these cases also, the same authority supplies us with the means of victory. It is the great merit of Mr. Courtauld that, by the manner and result of his conduct of the Braintree case, he has established the *right of individual parishioners, no less than of majorities*. The legal principles, which have worked themselves out in the course of that celebrated litigation, amount nearly to a reversal of all that had previously been acted upon as law. One or two individuals only, opposing themselves single-handed, if with clear-headedness and resolution, to the illegal practices (as they are now judicially declared to be) by which incumbents and churchwardens

have been in the habit, in parish vestries, of slurring over extravagant estimates and passing compulsory rates, can almost always prevent anything but a non-compulsory rate from being carried. As the object of Voluntaries is not to lessen the resources of the Episcopal body, but simply to render their contribution independent of legal enforcement, this result answers all their wishes.'

To give a specimen: it is now held to be the undoubted legal right of every parishioner to raise a discussion and take a vote on each item of the estimate; and there is no limit to the number of amendments that may be moved prior to going to a poll on the first question, whether any rate shall be levied at all. If the chairman lacks patience or discretion, the odds are that he will fail in some point of form or order, and the slightest aberration may prove fatal to the rate. Indeed, the power of a minority at a vestry meeting may be compared to that of a minority in the House of Commons who are determined to obstruct an obnoxious measure by moving adjournments.

The scenes to which such contests give rise, and the bitterness of feelings which they engender, are alone sufficient to inspire all men of right feeling with a disinclination to encounter them, quite independently of the probable nullity of the proceeding. Thus a witness quoted by Lord Stanley stated that, in Whitechapel, 'there were great struggles to get majorities in the vestry with regard to the smallness of the rate, and they went to such an extent that upon one occasion, when the Church party beat the other party, they absolutely had a hurrah in the middle of the church; a thing which frightens one; the idea of matters of this kind in a place devoted to religious purposes; and I heard oaths sworn in the body of the church.' This incident is immortalised in a verse of 'It is the Law, — a Church-Rate Song,' — printed by the Liberation Society.

'Then came two days of agitation,
Anger, scorn, and intimidation;
The church was the scene of this holy war,
Where the rector sat to lay down the law.
As the close drew near, amid the din,
Bets were laid as to who would win;
When at six o'clock, a loud "Hoo-ray,"
Proclaimed that "the Church had won the day."'

In St. John's, Hackney, great acrimony of feeling ensued, the agitation and excitement were very general, and one of the litigants died mad. It were useless to multiply instances of that which most of our readers must have learned from their own

observation, or might infer from the exciting character of controversies with which religion is any way mixed up.

When the victory has been won, and the rate is in a condition to be enforced, we have to harden ourselves against a species of opposition which appeals by turns to our warmest sympathies and our keenest sense of the ridiculous. Who can help pitying the aged prisoner for conscience sake, who, like Thorogood, the Chelmsford martyr, lay in gaol two years rather than pay five shillings and sixpence? Who can help laughing when the collector is ingeniously compelled to make prize of chairs, tables, and tea-kettles, and parade them through the streets? 'Here,' said Sir William Clay, 'is the account given by a local paper 'of what occurred at Neath: '—

"On this, as on previous occasions, porters were hired; but they evidently did their work most reluctantly. The trophies borne off from Mr. Ree's dwelling were four arm-chairs. These the porters carried for some distance, amid the gibes and hootings of the crowd, accompanied by the firing-off of pistols and small guns. On reaching the market gates, the porters fairly abandoned their load in pure disgust. At least half an hour now elapsed before the police could find any party to convey the seized goods to their destination. The furniture taken from Mr. Ree's premises was six chairs, some handsome dish-covers, and a copper tea-kettle. They must be sold by auction; but the difficulty will be to find an auctioneer, as we have been informed that more than 'one man of business' in that line has positively refused to have anything to do with the matter."

The opposition has not been confined to Dissenters. When new churches were built by voluntary contribution in extensive or popular parishes for which the preceding accommodation was inadequate, it was felt to be an intolerable hardship that those who maintained and frequented them should also contribute to the maintenance of fabrics which they could not and did not use. Their share of the injustice has been prospectively alleviated by a clause in Lord Blandford's Act, but the spirit it evoked, and in a minor degree evokes still, is a proof that resistance to church-rates does not necessarily imply hostility to the Establishment; whilst the passing of the clause is a distinct admission that an enforced contribution in addition to a voluntary one—if that can be called voluntary which cannot be decently or creditably refused—is a grievance which it is incumbent on the legislature to remove.

We are not aware that we can sum up the popular arguments better than by a short extract from the 'Church-Rate Catechism,' published and circulated gratis by the Liberation Society:—

‘ Question. What is a church-rate ?

‘ Answer. A tax levied on all the ratepayers of a parish for the repairs, and other expenses, of the place of worship frequented by the members of one religious denomination.

‘ Q. Is there any difficulty in obtaining a church-rate ?

‘ A. It is the most unpopular tax in England ; the only one, in fact, that is resisted.

‘ Is it resisted with success ?

‘ In nearly all the large towns it is now impossible to obtain church-rates ; and the inhabitants of the smaller places are, every year, in greater numbers refusing to make, or to pay, them.

‘ Q. How does the church-rate system work ?

‘ A. “ It has,” says Dr. Lushington, “ created more feuds than any other subject I know.”

‘ Q. What does a church-rate contest usually involve ?

‘ A. The parish church becomes a bear-garden ; the clergyman is brought into contention with the parishioners ; and, if a poll takes place, there is frequently as much excitement and ill-feeling, bribery and intimidation, as at a parliamentary election.

‘ Q. Does the strife end with the making of a rate ?

‘ A. No ; often the rate has been obtained by illegal means, and on that ground payment is refused ; or, if the rate be valid, payment is by some refused on conscientious grounds.

‘ Q. By what means are church-rates enforced ?

‘ A. By summonses and distress warrants ; by expensive litigation in ecclesiastical courts ; by means of magistrates, policemen, brokers, and auctioneers ; by taking men’s Bibles and beds, their silver spoons, and even their cooking utensils.’

There are no complete and accurate returns of the number of parishes in which church-rates have been carried or refused ; and if such returns existed or could be supplied, they would afford no adequate test of the extent of the evil or data for computing the relative numbers or influence of the contending parties. Lord Robert Cecil’s Returns are incomplete on the face of them. When he argued on the strength of them, that only 357 English parishes had resisted and refused rates, Lord Stanley replied : —

‘ Well, then, taking four classes of parishes—first, that class which was not very numerous, in which church-rates had been refused ; secondly, that larger class, in which no rate had been refused, simply because it had never been asked for ; thirdly, that class, in which rates had been levied upon a voluntary understanding that no one would be compelled to pay them ; and fourthly, that class of parishes in which rates were levied and paid without dispute, with the full knowledge of their illegality ; which rates, therefore, became nothing more than a voluntary contribution ; and, putting them together, there would be found a very large proportion of parishes, both urban

and agricultural, in which, either open or covertly, the voluntary system had been introduced.'

Sir George Grey and Sir George C. Lewis, computing the recusant parishes at ten per cent. of the entire number in England and Wales, showed that these contained not less than forty per cent. of the population, namely, about six out of thirteen millions and a half. It further appeared, from the last census, that there were 14,077 churches and chapels belonging to the Establishment, with sittings for 5,317,515; that there were 20,300 places of worship (exclusive of Roman Catholic) belonging to Dissenters, with sittings for 4,894,648. Suppose every Dissenter, on being required to pay church-rates, was to claim a seat!

The fallacy of arguments based on the limited number of parishes in which church-rates have practically ceased, was further exposed by Sir William Clay:—

'I hold in my hand a return from 238 rural parishes, taken without selection, in different parts of the country, during the last few months:—

In 109 parishes no rates were proposed—leaving of						
parishes where rates were proposed	-	-	-	-	-	129
Rates were carried in	-	-	-	-	-	99
but refused to be paid in	-	-	-	-	-	66
						33
Out of the 66 cases of rates refused, payment was						
only enforced in	-	-	-	-	-	14
Leaving, cases of rates carried and levied	-	-				47

It is a legal objection to a rate that efficient means have not been taken to enforce payment in full of a former rate. Omission to levy, therefore, is a tacit surrender of all future right of imposition by the majority. Most ingeniously and forcibly, too, if not unanswerably, has the late Member for Finsbury challenged the doctrine that the minority in all cases of general government or local administration must abide by the decision of the majority:—

'The truth is, that the proposition, at this time of day, to vest in the majority of the vestry the power to refuse or grant a church-rate, proceeds on a misconception of the principle on which government by majorities proceeds, and the limits within which the submission of minorities can be claimed. In free countries, all questions, as the general rule, can only of course be decided by majorities; but the very basis of this rule or principle is the assumption that, in the

object under consideration, the majority and minority have an equal interest, the difference being only as to the mode of arriving at it. Government by majorities would be tyranny, not freedom, if a majority could tax a minority for its own especial benefit.'

Suppose the English and Scotch members were to combine to tax Ireland for exclusively British objects; or suppose, in imitation of our imperial neighbour, Parliament should compel the butchers and bakers of London to sell meat and bread under the market price, and tax the provinces to make up the difference. On the other hand it may be argued that if the minority who do not approve of the Anglican form of worship may, for that reason, refuse to contribute directly or indirectly to the national Church, a minority who may not approve of monarchy may, by a parity of reasoning, refuse to pay for what they would call the trappings of a throne; or the Quakers might refuse to pay war-taxes. 'There are certain fundamental principles,' said Curran, 'which nothing but necessity should expose to public examination: they are pillars the depth of whose foundation you cannot explore without endangering their stability.' We agree with the Duke of Newcastle that it is better to decide this question of church-rates, as it is our common and sensible fashion in this country to decide most social or political questions, with exclusive reference to its own individual merits or demerits; and so long as we keep to the plain and safe ground of expediency, there will be little chance of our differing materially with so rational and truly liberal reformer as Sir William Clay. We readily concede to him that this is a case in which the rights of the majority, where there is a majority, ought no longer to be invidiously or offensively enforced. Things are rapidly coming, if they have not already come, to a pass similar to that in which the late Sir Robert Peel found himself when he assented to Catholic Emancipation, and repealed the Corn Laws, or to that in which Lord Derby sullenly and ungraciously opened a side door for the admission of the Jews. What we mean is, that the very gentlemen, many of them called and calling themselves statesmen, who have been trifling with the question for a quarter of a century, who have missed half a hundred opportunities of settling it by a quiet compromise, who refused to deal with the Sibyl till she had burnt two-thirds of her mystic offering, may now think themselves fortunate if they are not forced to surrender at discretion or subjected to an ignominious defeat.

Sheridan, as recently quoted, used to say that a measure proposed and carried within one generation was quickly carried.

The generation which listened to the first proposal for abolishing or remodelling church-rates, is fast dying out. The motto of Lord Stanley's pamphlet is taken from one of his father's speeches, and runs thus:—

‘I am ready to acknowledge that church-rates, as they stand, form to the Dissenters a serious and substantial grievance.’ (*Earl of Derby, in the House of Commons, April 21. 1834.*)

It was very condescending of his lordship to admit so much at that time. We are very much mistaken if he is not speedily required to admit more. In the course of the following year (1835), Sir Robert Peel, who had in 1833 co-operated in abolishing Vestry Cess in Ireland, said:—

‘So far as any question can be important to the maintenance of social harmony, to the promotion of satisfaction among the Dissenters, there is not a single question excepting that of the Irish Church, which so much presses for an immediate practical settlement, as this of Church-rates. Surely the noble Lord (John Russell) is bound to proceed, and not leave unsettled for another year, a subject so pregnant with the seeds of discord and collision. In consideration of the interests of the Church establishment; for the satisfaction of a large body of the people; for the accomplishment of their own pledges; to promote subordination and obedience to the law; to suppress individual complaints of grievance; surely, to accomplish all these objects, a government, fit to be entrusted with the management of public affairs, would, without delay, take this matter into their own hands, and not suffer the law respecting church-rates to be made a theme of discussion in public meetings, and a subject of resistance by parochial martyrs for another twelvemonth.’

Emphatic words these, and not marked by the characteristic caution of the speaker, who probably did not contemplate in 1835 that one of the governments thus described by implication as unfit to be entrusted with the management of affairs, would be his own.

The first attempt to deal legislatively with the question was made in 1834 by Lord Althorpe, who proposed to abolish church-rates altogether, and replace the deficiency, which he estimated at 300,000*l.* a year, by charging five-sixths on the land tax, and getting the rest out of church lands in some fashion. The Bill pleased neither party, and was not pushed to a second reading.

The next and equally abortive attempt was made in March, 1835, by Sir Robert Peel, who was also for abolition, and proposed to take the required compensation from the consolidated fund. He would thus have got rid of the local squabbling and jobbing, and cases of individual martyrdom would have been

suppressed; but the annual agitation for the withdrawal of the charge would have been more systematic, and far more difficult to encounter, than that against the Maynooth Grant. The same objection might be urged against Lord Althorpe's, or any other scheme for taxing the entire community to support places of worship for a section, though a large one.

In March, 1837, Mr. Spring Rice (Lord Monteagle) carried a resolution to provide the required funds out of an increased value to be given to church lands. That this could have been effected, is far from certain; but the scheme was naturally displeasing to the clergy, who thought that whatever additional value could be given to church lands belonged to them. The episcopal body met at Lambeth, and (fifteen in number) voted a determined opposition to the plan, which for that or some other cogent reason was dropped.

Two plans emanating from the clergy have shared the same fate. A Bill brought in by the Archbishop of Canterbury enacted that church-rates should cease in every parish where the majority were resolved not to have them; it being provided that, with the view of placing the state of opinion beyond dispute, two vestries should be successively summoned and a negative vote be obtained from each. Never, perhaps, did a stranger proposal emanate from the Head of the Church, with the avowed object of promoting amity and peace. The machinery by which his Grace's laudable intentions were to be carried out, was in perfect keeping with the substance of the Bill as it seemed framed for the express purpose of producing a plentiful crop of litigation in the ecclesiastical courts. After the two refusals, and before the Act was to take effect, the churchwardens were to be summoned to show cause. This Bill was in every point of view an unlucky hit; for whilst shaking confidence in archiepiscopal legislation, it proceeded upon the admission that the will of the majority was the sole foundation of the claim.

A Committee of Convocation, appointed in 1855, recommended a scheme which, had it been adopted forty years ago, might have averted the controversy altogether, or, at all events, have extracted much of its acrimony. One of the most galling incidents of church-rates has been that many of the items bring distinctly home to the dissentient the very forms and ceremonies which he regards as relics of superstition, rags of popery, or idle unmeaning vanities at best. He might be required to pay not only for the sacramental bread and wine, but for crosses and candles. A usual charge was for washing the officiating clergyman's bands and surplice; and once on its being brought forward, an irreverent malcontent inquired whether the parish was not

also to pay for washing the parson's shirts. The Committee proposed to give up these portions of the tax, retaining only what was strictly necessary to sustain the fabric.

The Bill of Mr. Packe, the member for South Leicestershire, was in pursuance or anticipation of the Convocation plan, which he completed by providing a summary method of universal application for the recovery of the reserved portion. Well might Sir William Clay express his astonishment that such a plan should have been deemed practicable, even by Convocation, or that a man of the world should be blind to the impossibility of re-imposing a fraction of the tax in Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, and other populous districts, where for years it has ceased to exist. Independently of this difficulty, does Mr. Packe suppose that the contest now raging will be appeased by the withdrawal of the minor subjects of difference? He might as well hope to stop a wide-spread conflagration by tearing down the drapery or woodwork which first caught fire.

We are not quite sure who first suggested that Dissenters might be relieved on declaring or registering themselves as such, but Lord Stanley was the prominent champion of the plan, the vindication of which is the object of his pamphlet. It is worthy of remark that the scheme was defended by the father after it had been abandoned by the son. In the course of the debate in the House of Lords in July last, Lord Derby asked, 'If the dissenter claims exemption as a dissenter, how can I possibly give him that exemption except he proclaims himself to be one?' Lord Stanley, however, had got far ahead whilst his less progressive parent was painfully toiling up to the point from which he started. In February, 1855, the noble member for King's Lynn thus candidly recanted what, rather hastily perhaps, he had made up his mind to consider errors: —

I have voted for the abolition of church-rates, and shall do so again. When the matter was first brought forward for discussion in the session of 1853, I thought, and many others thought, that a compromise would be possible, which, while equally relieving Nonconformists from the unjust burden to which they are subjected, would serve to mitigate, in no small degree, the opposition and the dislike to any change, which were felt by the great body of Churchmen. That plan was proposed by another member of Parliament; I supported it in writing, and I voted for it in the division; it was fully and fairly discussed; and the result of the discussion, which then took place, upon my mind, was to convince me that, fair and equitable as that compromise might be in point of principle, it was encumbered and embarrassed with so many practical difficulties in the working, as to make it difficult for it to be carried through the House of Commons. and to make it quite impossible for it to be successfully carried out.

Well, then, I had only to choose between maintaining the law in its actual state, or voting for its total repeal. I thought it was a question not merely of policy—not merely of expediency—but of justice and right; and I therefore could have no hesitation as to the course I should take. I am quite aware that in some districts, especially in the rural districts, inconvenience would be caused for a time by the withdrawal from parishes and congregations of that compulsory legal support to which they are at present entitled. I do not overlook that objection, and I do not underrate its importance; but I think the inconvenience in question would be only temporary: I think it would be more than counterbalanced by the termination of that strife and dissension which we have so long witnessed in connexion with this question; and I think that the change is doubly important, not only on account of the intrinsic merits of the case, but because it will afford us the first trial, the first practical experiment, of that principle of self-support in religious matters which, whether we like it or no, whether we approve of it or no, whether we think it the best possible system or no, seems likely, perhaps certain, in the inevitable progress of public events, to be the principle of the next generation.'

Of the members of the present Cabinet, Lord Stanley is the one in whom the country is disposed to place most confidence, for he has already shown himself capable of doing good service in co-operation with the most enlightened men of all parties. Whatever falls from him, therefore, on subjects of great and durable interest, must be well weighed as likely to exercise a marked influence on coming events. Moreover, the speech just quoted offers a curious contrast to one of Lord Derby's, to which we shall presently call attention.

The course of our recapitulation has at length brought us to the measure which had the best chance of being carried, and, all things considered, best merited success. We allude to the Bill settled between Sir William Clay and Sir George Grey in 1856, which, we have reason to believe, would then have been accepted as a reasonable compromise both by the Nonconformists and the Church. Suggestions had been invited from every quarter, and every exertion had been made to please both parties. The co-operation of the Government in carrying it was confidently reckoned upon, when, from press of business, or some other unexplained reason,—certainly not from lack of zeal in the framer,—opportunities for proceeding with it were denied, and when the Session ended it was found amongst the 'murdered innocents.'

The Bill, as introduced, was a pure abolition Bill. The pith of the perfected measure is to be found in Sir George Grey's amendments, which were four in number, and provided—1. that no church rates should be levied in any parish where none had

been made for five years or should be refused either before or after the passing of the Act; 2. that persons should be exempted on declaring that they are not members of the Church of England; 3. that rents may be charged on sittings; 4. that rent-charges may be given by will or otherwise to defray expenses now chargeable on church rates, and that the incumbent and churchwardens should be a corporation for the purpose of holding such rent-charges.

The Nonconformists conceiving that they had reason to complain of the manner in which this Bill was thrown over, retracted their concessions, and declined to accede to any compromise at all; as if the merits of a measure could be affected by a temporary disappointment, or as if permanent legislation, involving great national considerations, should be mixed up with personal charges of unfairness, indiscretion, or neglect. There is something positively childish in thus refusing at one time what has been deliberately accepted at another; and both parties to the controversy have too frequently forgotten that the question is not which of them shall triumph over the other, but how an effectual remedy may be applied to an acknowledged evil.

Early in the ensuing session, Sir W. Clay, falling in with the humour of his clients, reproduced his original Bill without Sir George Grey's amendments; but he lost his seat at the general election of 1857, and the question was taken up by Sir J. Trelawney, who carried through the House of Commons, by considerable majorities, a Bill for unconditional abolition. The Duke of Somerset took charge of it in the Lords, and recommended it in a speech of striking ability on the 3rd of July last, when, after an animated debate, it was thrown out by the overwhelming majority of (including proxies) 187 to 36.

The Duke of Newcastle and several other influential peers, however, voted against the second reading, exclusively and avowedly on account of the impossibility of giving due attention to the measure at so late a period of the Session; and the debate was principally remarkable for the speech delivered by Lord Derby, who on this occasion confirmed and justified the strongest censure ever passed on his recklessness. We might add on his inconsistency, when we recall the part he took in carrying the Irish Church Temporalities Bill of 1833, which transferred the burden of repairing the fabrics of the Establishment from the laity to the clergy. But Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli have founded a new school of political morality for their own especial benefit; and to convict either of them of abandoning

or reversing a principle, is simply to provoke the complacent laughter of their followers.

It was said of Robin Hood's foresters that the most dangerous moment to fall in their way was just after they had done a good action for conscience' sake, such as making partial restitution or bestowing alms. It would seem that the present Premier is swayed by the same description of impulse. The day before the display in question, he had been engaged in a tardy and ungracious concession to truth and justice,—the measure for the admission of Jews to Parliament,—thereby rousing to the highest pitch the indignation and distrust of the main body of his supporters. In evil hour he thought to regain their favour by a fresh display of almost obsolete bigotry. Every untenable and refuted argument that has been urged in favour of church-rates was repeated; every irritating imputation on the motives of their opponents was revived. He gravely asserted that the real object of the agitation was the destruction of the Church; not seeing that, if so, her enemies would be obliged to him for keeping it up and embittering it. He stooped to the hackneyed sarcasm that religious scruples are always open to suspicion when they take the shape of a refusal to pay. He deliberately declared that 'the rate is, to all intents and purposes, as much as the poor rate or any other, or as tithes itself, a charge upon property.' He would allow nothing for the feelings of Nonconformists; he would deduct nothing from the indefeasible rights of the Church. The only conciliatory remark that fell from him was one to the effect that something might be done in the way of voluntary commutation, by raising capital to redeem or buy up the impost.

To estimate the value of this suggestion, we must come to some understanding as to the sum-total of the rates annually levied; the amount paid by dissenters or by persons who have no equivalent for their money in the shape of seat-accommodation or otherwise; and the amount received from other sources for Church purposes. According to a Return, compiled from other Returns by the Home-Office, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 9th June, 1857, these amounts, in and for the years 1832, 1839, and 1854, respectively, stand thus:—Receipts from church-rates: 446,495*l.*, 363,103*l.*, 314,659*l.* It thus appears that there has been a falling off of 131,836*l.* since 1832. There has been a corresponding diminution in the receipts from 'other sources,' mostly voluntary contributions. Under this head the three years stand thus:—In 1832, 217,464*l.*; in 1839, 143,709*l.*; in 1854, 170,195*l.* There can be no doubt that the decrease under each head may be partially traced to

the same cause. Many (including eminent Nonconformists) who subscribed liberally when there was no talk of a legal demand, have buttoned up their pockets at the bare mention of compulsion. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the other peers, lay and spiritual, who took the same side, gave up the difference between 1832 and 1854 as past praying or contending for, and calculated the threatened loss to the Establishment at 300,000*l.* a year; so that Lord Derby's voluntary commutation scheme would require a capital of nine millions.

It is quite true that the Free Kirk of Scotland, to the immortal honour of her sons, has raised no less than 3,000,000*l.* in thirteen years, being 300,000*l.* a year; and it is difficult for a zealous Anglican to parry the argument *ad verecundiam* when he is tauntingly asked if a rich country like England would not do as much for a Church which affects to be popular as well as national. But assuming that the members of the Establishment would not be found wanting in an emergency, it does not follow that the emergency should be created or accelerated for the purpose of putting their faith, enthusiasm, or liberality to the test. Why should we fling into the common stock, on the chance of getting it out again by some undefined method, so much of the tax as is paid by Churchmen, provided it can be separated from the rest without even damaging the machinery of collection. The tax has been abolished already wherever the Nonconformists are in force. They are not in force in the rural parishes; and we incline to think that Sir John Trehawney did not underestimate their remaining liability when he computed it at 75,000*l.* per annum. This sum would easily be made up by voluntary subscription, and we do not believe that any fabric that ought to be maintained would be permitted to fall. Setting aside the requirements for divine worship, the antiquarian and the lover of the picturesque must not suppose that they alone will fix a sorrowing glance.

‘Where longs to fall yon rifted spire
As weary of th’ insulting air, —
The poet’s thoughts, the warrior’s fire,
The lover’s sighs, are sleeping there.’

Mr. Courtauld, the hero of the Braintree Case, on being asked, before the Committee of the House of Commons, why he had continued paying ‘church-rate’ at Gosfield, whilst he was leaving no stone unturned to upset a similar claim at Bocking, replied, that Gosfield was the burying-place of his family. This answer was triumphantly cited by Mr. Packe, to prove the groundlessness of the alleged grievance, and the unreasonable

character of the agitation. Minds which can see nothing else in it must be curiously constituted.

In illustration of the elasticity of the voluntary principle when left free, the Duke of Somerset said :—

‘He had presented a petition from Boston, where no church-rate had been levied for twenty years. No difficulty had been felt in meeting the expenses of the church, which were cheerfully raised by subscription ; whereas during the time when church-rates were levied for extraordinary repairs of the fabric of the church, though greatly needed, church-rates could not be obtained ; but since they had ceased, not only had the sum of 12,000*l.* been raised for extraordinary repairs, but two new churches had also been constructed on the voluntary principle.’

By retaining so much of the rate as is not resisted upon principle, we shall retain nearly the whole of the funds already applicable to the repair of country churches, and the mode of dividing it is the chief problem to be solved.

In the debate on Sir John Trelawney’s Bill, both Sir George Grey and Sir George C. Lewis, after viewing the subject in all its bearings, expressed a decided opinion in favour of the schemes which exempt every rated or rateable inhabitant who should declare himself not a member of the Establishment. Dissenters, however, object to being registered or, as they say, ticketed, on the ground that they may thereby undergo a certain degree of humiliation or be even marked out for persecution. Churchmen apprehend that the wavering disciple may thus be forced into a premature declaration of dissent, or that a truant and repentant brother may be fixed in his alienation from the fold. Others object to drawing a line of social demarcation of any kind. But surely this is done already by the census we have quoted. Quietly to claim an exemption as not belonging to the Establishment, is a less hostile and offensive act than agitating or voting against a rate, or even than going about complaining of its injustice. The bare notion of increased liability to persecution is an absurdity, and we never heard of a genuine nonconformist who regarded the designation as a disgrace. As to new converts, or gentlemen of unformed opinions, they are not in the habit of hiding their light under a bushel, or of slipping about in the dark on the twilight from one faith, creed, or tabernacle to another. They commonly make a parade of their spiritual trials or strivings, and find gratification in notoriety. The less weight is due to these objections, inasmuch as they were waived in favour of Sir George Grey’s amendments, in 1856. If ‘ticketing’ be a degra-

dation or an insult now, it must equally have been so then, when the representatives of the dissenting interest assented to it.

But means may be found of indulging every sort of scruple; for it is not necessary to require the formal profession of not belonging to the Establishment. The exemption might accrue upon the simple assertion that the claimant was contributing to some other place of worship; which might be a district church not yet reached by Lord Blandford's Bill, a chapel of ease, a Roman Catholic chapel, or a meeting-house. In fact, the bare claim of exemption in this form would literally commit the recusants to nothing; and as to its apprehended abuse from motives of cupidity, the rate in rural parishes does not average more than two-pence in the pound, and generally falls far short of the amount which they have to pay on the voluntary principle.

Lord Grey, as has been his wont for some time on most subjects, took up peculiar ground. In the debate on the Duke of Somerset's Bill, he remarked: —

‘We have heard it said that this Bill is an injustice to the Church of England. That is not a proper way of describing it. I should describe it as a measure of injustice, a measure of robbery against the laborious poor of the land. The labouring poor of this country are entitled to have their churches maintained by the land of the country, and yet that legal obligation is now proposed to be swept away without any compensation or substitute being provided. What is this but undisguised spoliation of the poor by the rich! The poor do not pay these rates, but they profit by the result, and their highest interests are concerned in the maintenance of the churches of the land.’

If our suggestion is adopted, the poor will lose nothing; for the same amount will be levied for places of worship, and the labouring class have as much interest in maintaining the meeting-house as the church.

In the Bishop of London's excellent charge to the clergy of his diocese, Lord Grey's argument is earnestly pressed, and especially addressed to the wealthy owners of town property and the manufacturers; but his Lordship appears to have assumed that a scheme for the removal of this grievance is actually under the consideration of the Government.

Unless, however, Lord Derby has been misreported, he recently stated, in answer to a deputation, that his government did not intend to introduce such a measure; and on referring to Hansard, it will be found that the Prime Minister explained away, the day after it was uttered (July 13. 1858), the pledge given or understood to have been given by Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons.

It would be useless, and might prove mischievous, to permit the revival of church-rates in parishes where they have been avowedly discontinued and replaced by some adoption of the voluntary principle. It would be equally impolitic to give the signal for a fresh series of vestry battles. We should therefore adopt so much, and so much only, of Sir George Grey's first amendment as relates to parishes where no rate has been made for five years, or where a rate has been formally rejected, before the passing of the Act. The Mortmain Acts may safely be set aside to the extent of authorising permanent grants of property in lieu of rates for the maintenance of places of worship; and the proposal to raise money in aid by pew-rents should not be hastily rejected. The members of the Establishment will find their account in dealing frankly and cordially with the Non-conformists; and although these cannot complain of being excluded from dealing with a fund to which they decline to contribute, they should retain (with this exception) their right of attending vestries and every other parochial privilege unimpaired.

We are far from setting up the scheme thus broadly indicated as a complete or unimpeachable solution of the difficulty. We only say that, in the opinion of most enlightened and unprejudiced persons who have carefully studied the subject, it is the best.

‘ Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.’

If the recusants on religious grounds are exempted, they will perforce cease to agitate, and the Church will lose nothing but what may be easily replaced by the zeal and opulence of her own members. If she rejects the compromise on the strength of Lord Derby's professions, pure and unqualified abolition will be the alternative. The bigots of the House of Lords — who, like the French emigrants of the First Revolution, seem to have learned and forgotten nothing — had far better have taken their final stand on their Anti-Israelite prejudices than on their orthodox horror of Dissenters. ‘Cruelty and injustice,’ said Peter Plymley, ‘must of course exist; but why connect them with danger? Why torture a bulldog when you can get a frog or a rabbit?’ Why trifle with Mr. Bright when you might have gone on teasing Baron Rothschild or Alderman Salomons with comparative impunity? The Episcopal Bench, too, who supported the Premier to a man in July last, will do well to reflect how far in their zeal for the material props and adjuncts, they may be rapidly undermining the moral buttresses, of the Establishment.

- ART. IV. — 1. *Monumenti delle Arte Cristiane Primitive nella Metropoli del Cristianesimo disegnati ed illustrati per cura di G. MARCHI.* Architettura della Roma sotterranea Cristiana. 4to. . Roma: 1844.
2. *Les Catacombes de Rome.* Par LOUIS PERRET. 6 vols. folio. Paris: 1852–57.
3. *The Church in the Catacombs ; a description of the primitive Church of Rome, illustrated by its Sepulchral Remains.* By CHARLES MAITLAND, M.D. London: 1847.
4. *The Roman Catacombs ; or, some account of the Burial-Places of the early Christians in Rome.* By Rev. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, M.A. London: 1857.
5. *Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs.* London: 1857.

GREAT would be the excitement of the learned and the curious throughout the world, if it were suddenly announced that the daring and ingenious explorers of Babylon, Nineveh, or Memphis had discovered, beneath the accumulated ruins of those great cities, an immense labyrinth of subterranean communications,—a maze of several hundred miles in extent, carefully wrought by human hands in strata of rock peculiarly adapted to the execution and preservation of so remarkable a work. This interest would be still further increased, if it were ascertained that these mysterious abodes had served in past ages as the asylum of a persecuted religion and the receptacle of innumerable confessors and martyrs; that inscriptions still exist in great numbers, amongst these rock tombs, denoting the names, the profession, and, above all, the faith, of those who were deposited in them; that these contemporary records are sometimes accompanied by the symbols of martyrdom, and even by instruments of torture used in inflicting death; that many of these monumental records tally with the historical annals of the time; and, lastly, that from these crypts buried in the recesses of the earth, a spirit and a power went forth which has survived the overthrow of its imperial persecutors and the destruction of their proudest trophies, till by its influence a new law, a new civilisation, a new religion, sent forth its apostles throughout the habitable earth.

If some such impression might be anticipated from discoveries made in the far East, amongst the remains of nations long past away, and belonging to the dawn of society and knowledge, the researches which have recently thrown a fresh

and striking light on the monuments of subterranean Rome, appear to us to have a more direct and intense claim on the attention of our readers. They exist not in the deserted plains of Mesopotamia or the upper regions of the Valley of the Nile, but in the heart of Italy, on a site which has never ceased to attract the eager interest of European society. They belong to an age, imperfectly known to us indeed, because it is concealed from our view by the mystery which was necessary to the existence of the first Christian communities, and by the ruin which subsequently befell the Roman Empire; but many of the memorials they contain are contemporary records of primitive Christianity; the very dust in those vaults is the dust of men who carried with them the faith of the New Testament to their graves,—who witnessed the persecutions,—who must have seen their kinsmen, their friends, their pastors, torn from them by a thousand cruel deaths, or who shared their fate,—who received the lessons of Christianity from teachers who lived in or near to the Apostolic age—and who have left to us, even now, in the architecture and ornaments of the Catacombs, the type of the Christian Church and the germ of Christian Art.

No doubt for several centuries, and especially since the Reformation, the Christian monuments of subterranean Rome have been regarded with great suspicion by writers and antiquaries not belonging to the Romish Church. It was and is notorious, that from these Catacombs the Papal hierarchy had drawn the relics, the sacred oils, and the memorials of real or pretended saints, which gave a colour to some of its most superstitious practices, and a form to its legendary martyrology. Nothing could be more natural than that, in rejecting the whole tissue of fable which artifice or credulity had interposed between man and the true objects of worship and of faith, the source from which so many of these traditions had been drawn should be regarded as one contaminated by deceit. Accordingly, it was loosely asserted by Protestant writers of the last century, that the Catacombs of Rome were, after all, no more than the *arenariae* or sand-pits of antiquity, from which the materials for building the city had from time immemorial been extracted; that the pretended monuments and remains of the early Christians had been deposited there by the priests of a later age, to impose on the superstition of the faithful; and that no reliance whatever could be placed on the evidence of these works with reference to the state of the Christian world anterior to the accession of Constantine and the peace of the Church. A very slight acquaintance with the Catacombs themselves,—their amazing extent, their internal arrange-

ments for the purposes of sepulture, concealment, and public worship, their peculiar structure, their authentic ornaments and inscriptions, and their date, — suffices at once to confute this theory, which is at least as wild and unfounded as the most fanciful legend of the Romish Calendar. But the truth is, that the Papal authorities overshot the mark; and in their imprudent zeal for the traditions of the Church and the lives of the saints, they often gave a legendary and superstitious aspect to that which would have remained an object of interest and reverence to all Christians, if it had preserved a simple historical character. By removing the remains of many of the most distinguished amongst the early Christians from their original place of burial, marked by a contemporary inscription, to stately churches in the city of Rome, which have in later times been re-decorated with the florid ornaments of cinque-cento architecture, or even to abbeys and cathedrals in distant parts of Europe, the Romish Church broke the chain of positive evidence, and destroyed the associations which naturally cling to the last resting-places of those who have toiled or suffered for mankind. ‘*Nemo mar-tyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur,*’ was a wise provision of the Theodosian Code; but martyrs continued to be pulled to pieces and sold, as if it had never existed. To such lengths was this abuse carried, that the Catacombs themselves had almost ceased to be regarded as an object of historical or religious interest for more than 200 years; that is, from the time when they were explored and described by Bosio, at the commencement of the 17th century, till within a comparatively recent period. The graves of the early Christians had been rifled, partly by the barbarians, and partly by the popes under the pretext of removing the relics to places of greater security. In the 18th century the taste for antiquarian researches was concentrated on the remains of classical antiquity; and, amongst the innumerable museums of Rome, no systematic collection or arrangement of the monuments of the first ages of Christianity had been attempted.

It will not be disputed by any sect of Christians, that in as far as it is possible to disencumber the memorials of the primitive church of Rome from the artificial superstructure raised upon them in later ages by the Romish hierarchy, these researches assume a high degree of interest. The growth of the Church in Rome was, beyond all question, the most important event in the propagation of the Gospel among the Gentiles. It was to the little band of Roman Christians that St. Paul addressed, even from Corinth, the most elaborate and comprehensive of his epistles. It was to Rome that he sought to

direct the course of his mission, and thither, by his right as a Roman citizen, and by his appeal to Cæsar, he was ultimately brought.* Upon his arrival he addressed himself to the Jewish community in Rome, to which the first converts probably belonged, but finding 'they agreed not among themselves,' he made the sublime declaration of the apostle of the Gentiles and the preacher of good tidings to the universal earth: 'Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, *and that they will hear it.*' From this time forth he dwelt in Rome two whole years in his own hired house, and taught with all confidence, no man forbidding him; and the results of that teaching proved with what secret efficacy the new doctrine spread through all classes of the imperial city.

There, in the capital of the vast empire which overshadowed the earth, the conflict between Paganism and Christianity was to be fought out. Already, before the close of the apostolical age, the mystical visions of the Apocalypse had announced, in no ambiguous language, the impending doom of the great Babylon, drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus. Ten persecutions swept in vain over the heads of the Christian proselytes, — perpetual edicts of proscription remained in force against them, even under the most humane of the Cæsars, — unheard of numbers perished, as we know by the direct testimony of Tacitus and Pliny, in the tortures which polluted the circus of Nero, in slavery and oppression, in the bloody games of the Flavian amphitheatre, and in those massacres which, at certain times, spared neither age, nor party, nor sex, nor the blood of the noblest and wealthiest of the Roman citizens. But the Church survived. The teaching of the apostles was perpetuated and preserved; the sacred volumes of the Gospels and the epistles of the New Testament were saved; the simple rites of the Church were solemnised. For in those ages, however fiercely the Cæsarian persecution might rage in the city and throughout the land, there was a resting-place for every martyr, and a refuge for every confessor or neophyte in the faith, in the vast subterranean network which stretched its expanding web round the metropolis of the world, and secured by its silent progress to prefigure the growth of that humble and obscure faith which in less than three centuries rose triumphant over the power it had undermined.

* See the narrative of the journey of St. Paul to Rome, in the admirable life of the great Apostle, by the late Mr. Conybeare and Mr. Howson.

Well considered, this contest between the powers of the old world and the dayspring of the new world, — so unequal in its origin, yet so amazing in its result, — is to us and to all mankind the most momentous epoch in the history of our race. More especially in Rome, then undisputed mistress of the world, the organised but exhausted frame of the imperial government and of heathen society was assailed by this new idea, this hidden enemy, which seemed to gain life and strength by the innumerable victims whose blood watered the earth. To quote a noble passage from Dean Milman* : —

‘Rome must be imagined in the vastness and uniformity of its social condition, the mingling and confusion of races, languages, conditions, in order to conceive the slow, imperceptible, yet continuous aggression of Christianity. Amid the affairs of the universal empire, the perpetual revolutions, which were constantly calling up new dynasties, or new masters over the world, the pomp and state of the Imperial palace, the commerce, the business flowing in from all parts of the world, the bustle of the Basilicas, or courts of law, the ordinary religious ceremonies, or the more splendid rites on signal occasions, which still went on, if with diminishing concourse of worshippers, with their old sumptuousness, magnificence, and frequency, the public games, the theatres, the gladiatorial shows, the Lucullan or Apician banquets, Christianity was gradually withdrawing from the heterogeneous mass some of all orders, even slaves, out of the vices, the ignorance, the misery of that corrupted social system. It was instilling humanity, yet unknown, or coldly commended by an impotent philosophy, among men and women whose infant ears had been habituated to the shrieks of dying gladiators; it was giving dignity to minds prostrated by years, almost centuries, of degrading despotism; it was nurturing purity and modesty of manners in an unspeakable state of depravation; it was enshrining the marriage bed in a sanctity long almost entirely lost, and rekindling to a steady warmth the domestic affections; it was substituting a simple, calm, and rational faith and worship for the worn-out superstitions of heathenism; gently establishing in the soul of man the sense of immortality, till it became a natural and extinguishable part of his moral being.’

The test of this progress was the slow but uninterrupted advance of the Christian community till it had won over the numerical majority of the educated classes, overpowered the fierce hostility of the heathen populace, and attained, eventually, to the possession of the throne itself. Within forty years of the fiercest persecution of Diocletian, a Christian emperor reigned over the Empire; and hard by the baptistery of the

* History of Latin Christianity, vol. i. p. 26.

Lateran, which bore the name of Constantine, the Catacombs of Rome concealed the honoured remains of the vast army of martyrs, the soldiers of the Cross who had fallen in the struggle.

Such was the growth of the primitive Roman Church; and although there is, no doubt, great obscurity in its earlier annals, which has been increased by the attempt to create a history where, in fact, no authentic materials of history existed, yet there is hardly any period of antiquity which has left us more striking material indications of its character than the early Christian cemeteries of Rome do still at this day afford. The question then which now presents itself to our attention, and to which we purpose to devote the following pages, is, whether it be possible to bring back the study of these early Christian memorials to a true standard of accurate research; to throw off the mass of legendary and superstitious rubbish which has for ages concealed their real character, and blocked them up as effectually as the ruins and *detritus* which choked up their *lucernariæ* and their galleries; and to establish their real value and importance on the grounds of science and of history alone.

This attempt has recently been made to a certain extent, and with some degree of success. The publications now before us, and still more the labours of the Commission appointed by the present Pontiff for the study and preservation of Christian antiquities in Rome, tend in this direction, and have certainly made important additions to the materials for more exact comparison and investigation. In the early part of the 17th century, as we have already observed, all the known catacombs of Rome were explored by Anthony Bosio, who devoted his life to this labour. For nearly eight hundred years, the Catacombs had, at that time, ceased to be used as places of sepulture or of pilgrimage. The approaches to them were generally closed; the orifices or shafts through which light and air penetrated to the upper portions of them had been blocked up by the tillers of the soil; the passages had in many places fallen in; and it was only by great physical energy and address, that Bosio succeeded in procuring access to these subterranean labyrinths. He died before the results of his labours could be given to the world, but they were published in Italian in 1632, under the title of '*Roma Sotterranea*' and the work was afterwards reproduced in Latin, with considerable additions, by the Padre Arringhi. Nothing can exceed the confusion which prevails in these ponderous volumes. Monuments and inscriptions of every age are mixed together, and works undertaken for entirely different purposes at different periods are confounded under the same head. But Bosio himself was, nevertheless, an accurate and

honest, as well as an enterprising observer : his admmeasurements prove to be strictly correct wherever they have been compared, after an interval of more than two centuries, with the *cubiculi* or crypts and tombs he describes; his drawings from the tomb-paintings and the sarcophagi of the first Christian centuries may be identified at the present day in those catacombs which have been thoroughly explored by the Commission. Many other cemeteries which Bosio succeeded in visiting, are now closed, either because all trace of the entrance is lost, or because the galleries have fallen in, and the Commission has not at its disposal the pecuniary means which are required to open them : but as the details given in the '*Roma Sotterranea*' have been verified by recent discoveries, especially in the Catacombs of St. Agnes and St. Calixtus, in a very remarkable and unexpected manner, it may be assumed that his account of similar structures in the other cemeteries is not less accurate.

But here our approval of the labours of these first explorers of subterranean Rome must stop. Their observations and drawings may be trusted as to matters of fact, but the moment they travel into criticism their opinions are utterly worthless. To say the truth, almost all the writers who have approached this curious subject, and more especially the Roman Catholic writers, have allowed themselves to be carried away by their preconceived notions into a wide field of exaggeration. Some have enlarged to an incalculable extent this maze of unexplored excavations—some have fancied they discovered in this vast necropolis, tombs and remains of a much earlier period than those which the legible and recorded inscriptions denote—some have attempted, by a highly symbolical interpretation of every object employed in the decoration of the tombs, and even in the structure of these primitive Christian Basilicas, to discover hidden indications of all the later dogmas and practices of the Church of Rome. Padre Marchi, the author of the work which stands first on our list, is entitled to the honour of having revived in Rome the study of these interesting monuments. He has laboured incessantly in this task, and his volume contains, as we shall presently show, many observations of great interest. But Padre Marchi is a zealous and distinguished member of the Collegio Romano, and in every page of his work an exuberant desire to find evidence in support of the later Romish doctrines amongst these records of the primitive Church, predominates over almost every other consideration. Mr. Spencer Northcote, in a small English compendium of these discoveries, and Cardinal Wiseman, in his tale of *Fabiola*, appear simply to have taken for granted all that Padre Marchi tells them, and in their zealous

desire to interest their readers by the most picturesque memorials which the whole range of the cemeteries affords, they have brought into one focus the traditions and remains of several different periods of Christian antiquity. The French Government, animated by that laudable patronage of art which is one of its most honourable characteristics, has enabled M. Louis Perret to produce a work of extraordinary magnificence, purporting to represent, in no less than six folio volumes of coloured drawings and plans, all the most remarkable features of the Catacombs; and it is a curious circumstance, that this costly and splendid undertaking is the result of a vote of the Legislative Assembly of the *French Republic* of the 2nd of July, 1851. But the enthusiasm of art, or an excess of religious zeal, has led the artists employed on this publication to overdo it. Instead of giving to the world a fac-simile of the half-obliterated wall-paintings, or the rude, and sometimes unintelligible forms, indicated on the tombs, they have thrown into the drawings the force, colour, and expression which these designs appear to them originally to have possessed. The result is that the copies convey an impression of more finished performances than can be discovered in the present condition of the originals. The letter-press which accompanies the plates is strung together without discrimination or critical research, and conveys a very inaccurate notion of the results which scientific inquiry, as opposed to mere ecclesiastical tradition, has now reached. Nevertheless as a contribution to the history of the arts of design in antiquity, this publication is of considerable value. Some of the paintings in the *cubiculi* of the Catacombs are equal to the best-preserved remains of Greek and Roman mural ornaments—as, for instance, the celebrated decoration of the gallery in the Baths of Titus. They have none of the stiffness which afterwards characterised the early productions of mediæval Christian art, being, on the contrary, obviously formed on the contemporary classical models. As works of art the earliest works are the best. Sometimes it is possible to trace the hand of an artist more conversant with the fashion of a pagan age than with the symbolical figures of the Christians; but, with few exceptions, while the execution remains altogether Roman, the spirit, the modesty, and the grace of these Christian ornaments of the cemeteries, form a striking contrast to the loose and fanciful designs employed in the decoration of pagan architecture. The subject may be studied with great advantage in M. Perret's volumes, and the fac-similes he has given of a certain number of inscriptions are admirable.

Dr. Maitland has the merit in our eyes of being the first English Protestant writer who has entered minutely on these

investigations, but this circumstance has perhaps given his book too controversial a character. He supplies us with a considerable number of early Christian inscriptions copied from the Lapidarian Gallery of the Vatican, which had not before been published, and his account of the Catacombs themselves is judicious as far as it goes. Upon the whole, we consider Dr. Maitland's book to be one of real value and interest; but it is necessarily very incomplete; and as nearly twelve years have elapsed since the publication of the last edition, the latest and most important discoveries which have been made are, of course, unnoticed by him. These discoveries are mainly due to the youngest and most able member of the present Commission, the Cavaliere di Rossi, an antiquary of far higher attainments, of greater candour, and of greater ingenuity than any of those who had previously made the Catacombs an object of special research. The result of this accomplished gentleman's studies has not yet been given to the public; in fact, the renewed and critical examination of the Catacombs has not yet proceeded far enough for us to say with certainty that the whole evidence is at present known. But about 12,000 inscriptions of the early Christian period have been carefully removed from the cemeteries themselves, and are now classified by Cavaliere di Rossi, previous to their being fixed in the walls of the Christian Museum recently formed by order of Pius IX. in the Lateran Palace; these inscriptions will all be exhibited to the public, and copies of the whole collection, with an account of the position in which they were found, are announced for publication.

This work is considered by the Commission and by the Papal Government to be the most essential portion of the duty it has undertaken; and in fact, when the whole body of known inscriptions is before the world, it will devolve upon the criticism and scholarship of Christendom to determine their historical value, and to draw from them the inferences which these characteristic memorials can barely fail to suggest. The chronological arrangement of these inscriptions, extending from the first to the sixth century, is in truth the most difficult and essential portion of the task, for the importance of any given monument to the history of the Christian community depends almost entirely on the exact period to which it belongs. Hitherto this duty had been neglected, and the consequence is that extreme confusion has pervaded the whole subject. We have no doubt, however, that a more careful study of the localities, the characters employed, the monograms, and other peculiarities of the inscriptions, may lead to as correct a knowledge of the Christian monuments as that which has been attained for the

remains of classical antiquity. On this basis Cavaliere di Rossi rests his general view of the structure and history of the Catacombs, and he postpones the publication of a full statement of his own theory until the materials on which he founds it are complete.

We hope, however, within the limits we can allot to these curious inquiries, to show succinctly the present state of opinion on the structure and uses of the Catacombs themselves, and to indicate some of the most recent and striking of these historical discoveries. The former of these problems is one of purely scientific observation, for the present aspect of the subterranean excavations tells us all we are likely to know of their origin; the latter is a subject capable of much more copious illustration than we shall be able to afford to it, because the real signification of these memorials is rendered clear and intelligible mainly by comparing them with the literary and biographical details which have come down to us with reference to the persons thus brought, as it were, visibly before us.

Let us proceed, then, in the first instance, to state the prodigious extent assigned to the cemeteries by Padre Marchi and the present Roman antiquaries. Their opinion is thus briefly given by Mr. Northcote: —

‘Throwing aside exaggeration, the real extent of the Roman Catacombs, as far as it can be guessed at, is enough to strike us with wonder. Our estimate on the subject unfortunately can be but a conjectural one; for it is manifest that, even if we knew — which we do not — the entire length and breadth of the superficial soil undermined by the Catacombs, this alone would not suffice to give us the desired result; for, consisting as they do of a perfect labyrinth of paths intersecting each other in all directions, and, in many instances, repeated in several stories (so to speak) one below the other, all these must be measured, before we can have any real idea of the extent of the work of excavation. The incidental notices in the old missals and office books of the Church, and the descriptions given by ancient writers, mention no less than sixty different Catacombs on the different sides of Rome, bordering her fifteen great consular roads. Of these not more than a third part is open to us, and even of those that have been most visited, not one has ever yet been examined in all its ramifications; for the ruin caused by earthquakes and inundations, and still more by long neglect, — the quantity of soil accumulated in the galleries, and above all, the want of funds to carry on the work on a sufficient scale, present obstacles which it will take a long time to overcome.

‘We must be content, therefore, to make a merely conjectural statement, founded on certain portions which have really been measured with accuracy. The most perfect map of this kind which has

yet been published is of a part of the Catacomb of St. Agnes, on the Via Nomentana, published under the immediate superintendence of Father Marchi, and it is calculated to contain about an eighth part of that cemetery. The greatest length of the portion thus measured is not more than 700 feet, and its greatest width about 550; nevertheless, if we measure all the streets which it contains, their united length scarcely falls short of two English miles. This would give fifteen or sixteen miles as the united length of all the streets in the cemetery of St. Agnes alone, and, if we may look upon this as a fair specimen of the rest (for it certainly is larger than some and smaller than others), about 900 miles in all the Catacombs taken together.

‘As to the number of graves which would be contained in this immense extent of streets, it is impossible to speak confidently, for both the height of the streets themselves, and the number of graves in streets of equal height, differ in different cemeteries. Perhaps the average height may be stated to be about seven or eight feet, but in some places it reaches to twelve or fifteen; and always the depth between the several shelves or graves varies according to the quality of the soil in which they are dug. Then again, graves of all sizes, of men, women, and children, are mixed together with such irregularity that a good deal of space is often necessarily lost, not to mention the frequent interruptions occasioned by arched monuments (*arcosolia*, as they are called) and by the entrances to the chapels and other chambers. Altogether, therefore, though we may sometimes find, in a few rare instances, as many as thirteen or fourteen graves, one over the other, on the other hand we sometimes find only three or four; so that, taking the average, Father Marchi thinks we ought not to allow more than ten graves, that is five on each side, to every seven feet of road; and according to this calculation, the Roman Catacombs may be believed to contain almost seven millions of graves.’

We are not in a condition either to impugn or to give an unqualified assent to this astonishing calculation, but we confess that we cannot accept it without considerable doubt and hesitation. This, however, is the opinion of the men who have made themselves best acquainted with the Catacombs by repeated exploration; and assuming the facts to be as they are now stated, they immediately open a variety of curious and perplexing questions. Were these amazing excavations made for the sole purpose of sepulture and seclusion by the Christians only, or were they wholly or in part the result of perforations commenced for the extraction of *pozzolana*, and appropriated by the Christians to their own uses? If they were constructed by the Christian population of Rome alone, and by the *fossores*, who were inferior officers of the Church,—Anglicè sextons—how are we to account for the extraordinary amount of labour, supposed to have been performed in secret, though the cemeteries were all

immediately contiguous to the principal approaches to Rome, and what can have been done with the enormous quantities of tufa regularly extracted from the recesses of the earth, which may be taken, on a rough calculation, at one hundred millions of cubic feet of earth? But if these difficulties be surmounted, then during how long a period is it supposed that the excavations were in progress, for how many centuries were they employed for the burial of the dead, and what was the Christian population of the city which is supposed within this period to have required no less than seven millions of graves? How could interments on so vast a scale be carried on, especially when it was known, as it could not fail to be, that these cemeteries were the sanctuary and stronghold of a sect, detested by the Roman populace, dreaded by the more intelligent classes, and often persecuted with extreme rigour by the imperial government? We find no complete answer to these perplexing questions in the works before us. Probably there is some exaggeration in the area now assigned to the Catacombs themselves; for though they were undoubtedly numerous, many of them must have been far less extensive than those of St. Agnes or St. Calixtus. Enough, however, remains to place beyond all doubt their prodigious extent and the labour bestowed on them. Their complete history must be the result of further investigation; and the ingenuity with which Cavaliere di Rossi has proceeded from one fact to another, by a process of reasoning analogous to that applied by geologists to the earlier formations of the globe, leads us to hope that he will perfect his great work. On these points, however, Padre Marchi already supplies us with important, if not with conclusive, arguments and information.

The first condition to be considered in the structure of the subterranean cemeteries is the nature of the rock in which they are perforated. Recent geological observations on the soil of the Agro Romano, and the site of Rome itself, have determined the fact that the vast amphitheatre destined to witness so many of the greatest events in human history, and the most violent revolutions of political power, was itself formed by the action of volcanic fire, commencing before the Sabine or the Latin hills had risen above the plain—before the Tiber and the Anio had found their way to the sea. These igneous rocks bear indisputable traces of the different periods at which they were projected to the earth's surface, and still retain an entirely distinct character. The earliest of the series, which is found in the more immediate vicinity of Rome, consists of a red volcanic tufa, and it is sufficiently hard to be employed—as it has constantly been employed from the earliest ages—in

the buildings of the city. The massive blocks of the Cloaca Maxima, of the Tabularium of the Capitol, and of the recently discovered wall of Romulus which encircles the base of the Palatine, attest the durability of this *tufa lithoide*, as it is termed by the Romans; and geology traces its origin to the action of submarine craters, every vestige of which has disappeared. At a far later period fresh currents of lava, mingled with ashes and pumice, forced their way over the plain, and these proceeded from the comparatively modern craters still visible in the Alban hills; but this substance is far less compact than the primitive tufa; it is distinguished by the name of *tufa granolare*, and though it has just consistency enough to retain the form given to it by the excavators, it cannot be hewn or extracted in blocks; and in the lower strata it degenerates into the friable volcanic ashes known as *pozzolana*, which have been extensively used in all ages for mortar or Roman cement.*

The history of these volcanic formations has a direct bearing on the structure of the Catacombs. They are never hewn in the *tufa lithoide* or more compact tufa, though that stone was largely quarried by the old Romans for building purposes. To this very day the traveller may visit beneath the Passionist Convent of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo on the Cœlian, the immense grottoes, hewn perhaps by the Jewish prisoners of Titus, who were employed in the excavation of the materials used in the erection of the Coliseum. But nothing can less resemble a Christian cemetery than these tremendous caverns, in which it is said—though on doubtful authority—that the beasts destined for the fierce pastime of the amphitheatre were afterwards kept. The Christian architects carefully avoided these massive strata; and we believe it is ascertained that all the known Catacombs are driven exclusively along the courses of the *tufa granolare*. With equal care these subterranean engineers avoided the layers of *pozzolana*, which would have rendered their work insecure, and in which no permanent rock tomb could have been constructed. Thus we arrive at the curious fact, that in making the Catacombs, the excavators carefully avoided the strata of hard stone and the strata of soft stone, used respectively for building and for mortar, and selected that course of medium hardness which was best adapted to their peculiar purpose.

* The last edition of Mr. Murray's admirable Handbook of Rome contains (p. 287.) an excellent notice of the geology of the Agro Romano, which is no unimportant element in the local history of the city, where the strata of past ages of mankind lie confounded with the strata and volcanic currents of the earth itself.

The Romans, no doubt, had their *arenariæ* ; and probably we are to understand by that term, the sand pits from which *pózzolana* was dug. Cicero mentions (*Orat. pro Cluentio*) that the young patrician Asinius had been enticed into these dark abodes and murdered ; and when Nero, in the last frightful night of his life, took refuge in the villa of his freedman Phaon, between the Nomentane and Salarian roads, he was advised to hide himself in the adjacent sand-pit, but he vowed he would not go alive underground, and remained trembling beneath the wall.* But these *arenariæ* were totally unlike the Christian cemeteries ; and the comparison may be the more easily made as in some instances, as at S. Agnese, the shaft which gave admission to the Catacombs has been sunk from the floor of one of the Pagan excavations above ; so that on the higher level the broad and lofty quarry still remains, with such supports as were necessary to sustain the vault, whilst beneath, in a lower stratum, the Christians gradually formed one of the most extensive cemeteries known to exist in the vicinity of Rome. Possibly this contrivance served more effectually to mask the entrance to the lower passages, by concealing them altogether from external observation, whilst it afforded an easy means of removing the broken stuff from the deepest excavations. In the Roman *arenariæ* there are no vestiges of tombs, and not the slightest indication that they were ever used for purposes of sepulture. In the Christian Catacombs not a yard seems to have been excavated except for the purpose of making tombs : they line the walls *throughout*, as close to one another as the berths in the side of a ship, only divided by an intervening shelf of rock. Each tomb appears to have been made exactly of the proper size for the body which was to occupy it. Myriads are to be found adapted for infants only. In some instances they were enlarged to contain two bodies, the tomb being then called a *bisomum* ; or even more,—husband and wife, or other members of one Christian family. Every grave was closed, when filled, with tiles or with a marble slab. In one of the Catacombs visited by Padre Marchi, he found the gallery of Christian tombs abruptly terminated by a wall. On further examination, it was discovered that the *fossores*, or excavators, had come upon a sunken pagan *columbarium*, such as was used for sepulture by the Roman families. The Christians instantly closed the gallery and walled it up, leaving the *columbarium* outside,—a remarkable proof of their repugnance to suffer the presence of the unconverted heathen in their cemeteries.

* Merivale's Romans, vol. vi. p. 363.

There is no evidence that the Romans ever regarded this mode of sepulture with any feelings but those of abhorrence and contempt. To use the vituperative language applied by Horace to the site of Mæcenas' palace on the Esquiline, where, by the way, there is no catacomb, —

‘Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arcâ.
Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulchrum.’

The *puticoli*, into which the carrion of the Roman slaves might be flung, had not the slightest analogy with the decorous, careful, and expensive provisions made by the early Christians for the conservation of their dead. Throughout the whole extent of the Christian cemeteries, no trace has been found of any admixture of the pagan population. Every inscription, however humble, attests the Christian faith of him who was ‘deposited’ — to use the peculiar and appropriate expression* — within that narrow cell. The curt or desponding tone of the heathen mortuary inscription disappears. The Christian ‘sleeps,’ — and sleeps ‘in peace.’ No badge of slavery or of freedom is to be seen amongst his fellows, for in the sublime language which St. Paul himself had addressed to these very Romans, ‘the creature also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption ‘into the glorious liberty of the children of God.’

It is impossible to survey the half-obliterated memorials of this extinct race of men, and to compare them with the remains of Pagan Rome, without feeling that every broken fragment of a grave, every pinch of human dust and ashes scattered round, belongs altogether to a different faith, a different æra of the world's history, and that Imperial Rome had no hand in the mysterious structures which thus encompassed her walls, except when she peopled them with the victims of persecution. On this head we entirely agree with Padre Marchi, and we think he has demonstrated that the entire work of the Catacombs is Christian. But we acknowledge that we are at a loss to explain the means by which excavations of such magnitude could be carried on, within a few yards of the Via Appia or the Via Nomentana, without attracting considerable attention. It is impossible to conceive that the earth extracted could be furtively disposed of; and the most probable explanation is that the administration of the city opposed no obstacle to the work. The laws of Rome prohibited intramural inter-

* The heathen expression was *situs*, *positus*, or *compositus*; the Christian term, *depositus*, *depositio*, implying a different shade of meaning.

ment; but provided the bodies of the dead were conveyed outside the city, it would seem that no inquiries were made as to the manner in which they were disposed of. Nevertheless one of the difficulties attending the whole subject arises from the manifest inconvenience of accumulating this enormous number of human bodies in rock tombs and galleries, which had no effect in retarding decomposition, or in absorbing the effluvia. It is probable that the wealthy were embalmed, and in some of the tombs traces may still be seen of the lime in which the remains of the poor were embedded. A further question of some nicety might be raised as to the legal right of persons, not being owners of the surface of the whole soil, to bore at a depth of fifty or one hundred feet for any purpose whatever, more especially if the earth extracted were a saleable commodity. But to such perplexing speculations no satisfactory answer has been given: we must content ourselves with the fact that these vast excavations do unquestionably exist, and must have been made in their present form between the second and fourth centuries of the Christian æra.

The manner in which the rite of sepulture was regarded and solemnised by the early Christians, is peculiarly characteristic of the origin of their faith. It has been well observed by the Dean of St. Paul's, that the Roman Church of the apostolic age was but one of the confederation of Greek religious republics founded by Christianity; but this Church, as much or more than any of the Eastern Churches, had strongly retained the Judaising tenets and spirit of the first proselytes.* The Jews residing in Rome undoubtedly formed a considerable community at the time of the death of Christ; for although the date of their expulsion by Claudius cannot be strictly determined, it is clear from that event that they had already excited the jealousy of the Imperial Government. That the Gospel had previously been made known to some

* One of the monuments from the Catacombs, copied by Dr. Maitland, preserves this combination of the Greek, Latin, and Jewish types. The inscription is ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ, ornamented with the seven-branched candlestick and the Christian cup, and terminated by the Hebrew word 'Shalom' or Peace. It is also engraved in Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 37. Another of the inscriptions recently placed in the Lateran is evidently that of a Greek Jew ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΖΩΝ and that of his wife has since been discovered. Greek inscriptions are very common in the Catacombs, and sometimes Greek words in Roman letters, or Latin words in Greek letters. The grammar and spelling is frequently incorrect.

at least among them, may be inferred from the fact that Aquila and Priscilla at once joined St. Paul at Corinth. The Roman Jews inhabited the right bank of the Tiber, or what is now termed the Trasteverine quarter of the city; and they appear to have had a very early catacomb of their own, in the Monte Verde, contiguous to their place of abode. This catacomb was visited by Bosio in the beginning of the seventeenth century: he discovered in it monuments bearing the seven-branched Jewish candlestick and one inscription on which the word **CYNAΓΩΓ** (Synagogue) was legible: but the structure of the cemetery was singularly rude, and no Christian monuments were found in it — ‘in eo quippe haud ulla, ut in reliquis, Christianæ religionis indicia et signa apparebant.’ The attempt to penetrate into this excavation at the present time has, we believe, failed; but it is probable that Bosio’s account of it is correct, and that the Jews of Rome had a catacomb peculiarly devoted to their national mode of sepulture.*

This peculiar mode of sepulture was, however, endeared to the early Christians by other considerations and, above all, by the example of their crucified Master. The Evangelist John has recorded that, after the body of Jesus had been given up to his disciples by Pilate, ‘they wound it in linen clothes with the spices, *as the manner of the Jews is to bury*. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus.’ (John, xix. v. 40.) This solemn rite, connected, as it was, with the resurrection of our Lord, and the fundamental hopes of Christianity, was naturally regarded with the utmost veneration by the disciples. ‘To bury after the manner of the Jews’ became one of the earliest observances of religion; and, even amidst the horrors of persecution, it was faithfully adhered to, for the bodies of those who perished in the amphitheatre were generally given over for Christian burial.

This practice was, however, more than a usage derived from the Jewish custom of burial, or the example of the first disciples; it soon became closely connected with the faith of the Church. In death, as well as in life, the faithful brethren of that little flock lay apart, waiting for the great and terrible day which, according to the universal belief of the primitive

* ‘The limestone hills of Judea are perforated with numerous caves and fissures, and the site of Jerusalem itself is mined with vaults and galleries, excavated by the hand of man.’ (*Merivale’s Romans*, vol. vi. p. 396.)

Church, and the literal teaching of the Apostles themselves, was near at hand. Whether they lived surrounded by the perils of a hostile world, or whether they had fallen asleep in the faith, they were a peculiar people, waiting to be called, at the first blast of the archangel's trumpet, to join the heavenly host and receive the crown. To them the language of the Revelation of St. John, after the opening of the fifth seal, was the literal description of their own condition. They 'saw *under the altar* 'the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for 'the testimony which they held . . . and it was said unto them 'that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, 'should be fulfilled.' (Rev. vi. 9-11.) Hence the lively sympathy they felt for the spots which were consecrated by the remains of those who had gone before them: hence the jealous exclusion of everything which bore not the mark of a common faith: hence the gradual formation of a huge city of the dead, extending beneath and around the whole circuit of Rome, and awaiting that second Advent which was, ere long, to call this mortal to put on immortality. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, literally construed, probably increased the veneration of the early Christians even for the inanimate remains of the brethren, and the desire of preserving them in these rock tombs where, in fact, after a lapse of sixteen centuries, some of them are still visible. The tombs have suffered more from the brutality and cupidity of the barbarians than by the hand of time. Comparatively few of them escaped desecration when it was suspected, by the ferocious hordes which overran Italy, that treasures or ornaments might be concealed there. The great majority of them are now open, and the ashes they once contained, dispersed. But there is no doubt that, during the first five or six centuries of the Church, they were religiously guarded and considered the receptacle and depository of those who had borne witness for the faith upon the earth.

Amongst the dust and ashes of this primitive congregation innumerable lamps of terra cotta or bronze have been found, some personal ornaments, small glass vessels, on which are graven very curious specimens of early Christian art*, and here and there instruments of torture, which may be seen in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. A great number of the tombs are found to contain, in a niche, a small phial or glass

* The whole subject of these glass vessels, or as they are called 'Vetri Cristiani,' has been illustrated with great learning by Padre Garrucci in a folio volume, published in Rome in the autumn of 1858.

vessel, which appears to have been filled with a red liquid; and the 'Congregation of Relics' decided, in 1668, 'that whenever the palm and vessel tinged with blood were found, they were to be considered most certain signs of martyrdom.' This hasty and improbable assumption seems to us not to support examination, and we agree with Raoul Rochette that these vessels may rather be supposed to represent the sacramental cup—some of them bear the sacramental inscription *PIE ZESE*—and that they have no necessary connexion with the idea of martyrdom. The notions of collecting the blood of dead martyrs in a bottle, to be placed in their graves, is singularly childish and impracticable, and we are not aware that it is alluded to by contemporary writers.

These details may, however, be said more properly to belong to the second division of the subject—that, namely, which relates to the history of the Catacombs,—a history singularly varied in different ages. It is easy to distinguish in the records of these cemeteries, and even in their architectural remains, two leading periods of a very opposite character. During the first three centuries of the Church in Rome—days of darkness and of dread—when even this retreat and this resting place was oftentimes profaned or disturbed, the Catacombs were gradually filled, as we have seen, with the graves of the faithful, and he who descended into them was encompassed on every side by the mouldering remains of his fellow-believers. 'When I was a boy at Rome,' said St. Jerome, writing in a more tranquil age, 'in the pursuit of my liberal studies, I was wont, in the company of others of the same age and disposition, to wander on Sundays about the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, and not seldom to descend into the crypts, which being dug into the depths of the earth, are walled in on either side by the bodies interred there, and are so entirely dark as to fulfil the language of the Prophet, "the living are descended into Hell." Here and there the light admitted from above tempered the horror of this gloom, yet it was not the light of a window but of a loophole, and again we groped our way onwards in the darkness which Virgil spoke of—

"Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent."

But whatever awe these subterranean galleries may have inspired in later ages, they must have witnessed scenes of far greater solemnity, when the dead were borne along them with funeral torches to their narrow homes; when the pick of the *fossore*s were still perpetually extending this mysterious domain; when from time to time fugitives from sanguinary persecutions

fled hither for an asylum, pursued sometimes by their implacable enemies,—by whom, for example, Sixtus II. was butchered at the very foot of one of these subterranean altars; and when, hunted from the surface of the earth to the receptacles of the dead, the presbyters and catechumens of the Church assembled in the lowly vaults which were then the only secure churches of Christian worship. There were, indeed, fifty Christian churches in Rome, with a regular staff of priests and deacons, before the persecution of Diocletian—but on the proclamation of fresh measures of rigour, the Catacombs were the place of refuge, and even the Bishops of Rome frequently sought an asylum there.

It is difficult to determine the exact time at which the first Christian interment in the Catacombs took place. We have already seen that among the Jews in Rome, the practice was probably anterior to Christianity. But the earliest recorded inscription is of the year 102. The evidence on which the tomb of St. Alexander, called the sixth successor from St. Peter in the see of Rome, and said to have been martyred in 117, has been identified in a small catacomb seven miles from the city, is quite insufficient; and the monumental altar bearing his name there is admitted to be of the fourth or fifth century. A far more certain inscription, belonging to about the year 130, is given by Dr. Martland, following all the Roman antiquaries.

‘TEMPORE ADRIANI IMPERATORIS MARIUS ADOLESCENS DVX MILITVM QVI SATIS VIXIT DVM VITAM PRO CHO CVM SANGVINE CONSUNSAT IN PACE TANDEM QVIEVIT BENEMERENTIS CVM LACRIMIS ET METV POSVERVNT I. D. VI.’

‘In Christ. In the time of the Emperor Adrian, Marius, a young military officer, who had lived long enough, when with blood he gave up his life for Christ. At length he rested in peace. The well-deserving set up this with tears and in fear. On the 6th before the Ides of —.’

Still more characteristic is the inscription found over one of the graves in the cemetery of Calixtus, to a martyr of the Antonine period—about 160.

‘ALEXANDER MORTVVS NON EST SED VIVIT SVPER ASTRA ET CORPVS IN HOC TVMVLO QVIESCIT VITAM EXPLEVIT SVB ANTONINO IMP^o QVIVBI MVLTVM BENE FITH ANTEVENIRE PRAEVIDERET PRO GRATIA ODIVM REDDIDIT GENVA ENIM FLECTENS VERO DEO SACRIFICATVRVS AD SVPPPLICIA DVCTVRO TEMPORA INFAVSTA QVIBVS INTER SACRA ET VOTA NE IN CAVERNIS QVIDEM SALVARI POSSIMVS QVID MISERIVS VITA SED QVID MISERIVS IN MORTE CVM AB AMICIS ET PARENTIBVS SEPELIRI NEQVEANT TANDEM IN COELO CORVSCANT PARVM VIXIT QVI VIXIT IV. X. TEM.’

‘In Christ. Alexander is not dead, but lives above the stars, and his body rests in this tomb. He ended his life under the Emperor Antonine, who, foreseeing that great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good. For, while on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. O sad times! in which, among sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns, we are not safe. What can be more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? when they cannot be buried by their friends and relations—at length they sparkle in heaven. He has scarcely lived, who has lived in Christian times.’

In the third century it is evident that the Christian population of Rome had increased to an enormous extent—probably to a far greater extent than any historical annals of the time have yet shown. When the captivity of the Emperor Valerian led the Christian community to believe that the hour of the long expected revolution was at hand, the discomfiture of the empire gave fresh courage to the proselytes of the Church, and it has been held, with some air of probability, that half the population of Rome was already either openly or secretly Christian. The great persecution of Diocletian, which followed this premature gleam of hope, was the last violent reaction against the progress of the Church; and in spite of the efforts of Gibbon to underrate the numbers of those who sealed their faith in Christ with their blood, it is impossible to doubt that enormous multitudes of Christians were at that time exposed to indiscriminate massacre. The Catacombs consequently abound far more in the memorials of the third century than of the preceding times; and it is to this later age of the subterranean Church that the principal ecclesiastical arrangements and decorations, which are still to be seen in the Catacombs, must be ascribed.

The mode in which the cemeteries served for an asylum in the days of persecution is thus described by Dr. Maitland:—

‘The fact that the Catacombs were employed as a refuge from persecution, rests upon good evidence, notwithstanding objections founded upon the narrowness of the passages, the difficulty of supporting life, and the risk of discovery incurred by seeking concealment in an asylum so well known to the Pagans. These objections do not apply to a temporary residence below ground in time of danger; and it is not pretended that the Catacombs were inhabited under other circumstances. The recourse to such an asylum was no novelty in history, for long before that time, many “of whom the world was not worthy,” took refuge in dens and caves of the earth. In the excavations at Quesnel, not only persons, but cattle, contrived to support existence: added to which, we have, as will be seen presently, the direct testimony of several writers. Had the intricacies of the Catacombs been

known to the heathen authorities, or the entrances few in number, they would doubtless have afforded an insecure asylum. But the entrances were numberless, scattered over the Campagna for miles; and the labyrinth below was so occupied by the Christians, and so blocked up in various places by them, that pursuit must have been almost useless. The Acts of the Martyrs relate some attempts made to obstruct the galleries with earth, in order to destroy those who were concealed within; but setting aside these legends, we are credibly informed that not only did the Christians take refuge there, but that they were also occasionally overtaken by their pursuers. The Catacombs have become illustrious by the actual martyrdom of some noble witnesses to the truth. Xystus, bishop of Rome, together with Quartus, one of his clergy, suffered below ground in the time of Cyprian. Stephen, also bishop of Rome, was traced by heathen soldiers to his subterranean chapel: on the conclusion of divine service, he was thrust back into his episcopal chair, and beheaded. The letters of Christians then living refer to such scenes with a simplicity that dispels all idea of exaggeration; while their expectation of sharing the same fate affords a vivid picture of those dreadful times.

‘In the time of Diocletian, Caius is said to have lived eight years in the Catacombs, and to have terminated this long period of confession by undergoing martyrdom. Even as late as the year 352, Liberius, bishop of Rome, took up his abode in the cemetery of St. Agnes during the Arian persecution.

‘The discovery of wells and springs in various parts assists us in understanding how life could be supported in those dismal regions; although there is no evidence to prove that the wells were sunk for that purpose. One of them has been named the font of St. Peter; and however apocryphal the tradition which refers it to apostolic times, the fact of its having been long used for baptism is not to be disputed. Some of the wells were probably dug with the intention of draining the Catacombs.

‘St. Chrysostom, who lived not long after the days of persecution, alludes to the concealment of a noble lady under ground. In an indignant remonstrance against the festivities held over the graves of martyrs in his dissipated city, he compares with the luxurious revels into which the Agape had degenerated, the actual condition of those whose sufferings were celebrated in so unbefitting a manner. “What connexion,” he asks, “is there between your feasts, and the hardships of a lady unaccustomed to privation, trembling in a vault, apprehensive of the capture of her maid, upon whom she depends for her daily food?”

‘These circumstances sufficiently prove the habit of taking refuge in the cemeteries on any sudden emergency; and it is not difficult to understand how the concealment was effected. On the outbreak of a persecution, the clergy, heads of families, and others particularly obnoxious to the Pagans, were the first to suffer; perhaps the only individuals whose death or exile was intended by the imperial officers. Aware of their danger, and well versed in the signs of impending persecution, they betook themselves to the Catacombs, there to be supported by those whose obscure condition left them at liberty.

‘So well was this mode of escaping their vengeance known to the heathen, that several Roman edicts made it a capital offence to enter the cemeteries. The rescript of Valerian and Gallienus begins with this prohibition; and at the close of their persecution, Gallienus gave the Christians a formal license to return to the Catacombs. This permission was repealed by Maximian, on the renewal of the Diocletian persecution.’

• If it be in some measure difficult to conceive this prolonged underground life, which must after all have been confined to a comparatively small number of persons, owing to the absence of every species of sustenance, and for the most part, even of water, the same remark does not apply to the crypts or larger vaults, excavated and evidently used for the purposes of divine worship. These subterranean churches were filled with tombs, tombs in the floor, and tombs in the walls, whilst at the end the *arcosolium*, in front or by the side of which the officiating presbyter occupied a marble chair, gradually came to serve the purposes of an altar. There is, however, abundant evidence that this was not its original destination, and that the primitive practice was otherwise. It is apparent from all the paintings of Christian feasts, whether of the Agape, or the burial feasts of the dead, or the Communion of the Holy Sacrament, that they were celebrated by the early Christians sitting round a table. In one of the chapels of the cemetery of St. Calixtus, traces of the sockets to receive the four feet of a table in front of the tribune or apsis are distinctly visible; and this arrangement has so far been preserved in the most ancient Christian basilicas of the city of Rome, that to this day the high altar is not contiguous to the eastern end of the church, but placed in the middle of the choir, and the officiating priest turns his face westward *towards* the people, looking over the altar.

On this point, as it is nearly connected with the disputed question of stone altars, we must permit ourselves a short digression. There is in Rome one wooden altar, or rather Lord's Table, and this is placed by a remarkable exception in the very first of all the churches, the Lateran itself—*caput et mater omnium ecclesiarum*. The exception was so striking • that in the papal decretals which regulated and established the use of stone altars, an express exception was made for the table of the Lateran. The history of it is this. Tradition asserts that the Holy Communion was administered to the faithful in Rome by St. Peter on a wooden table; and it is affirmed that as early as the fourth century Pope Sylvester presented to the church of the Lateran a table on which this apostolic rite was believed to have taken place. One of the Salzburg Pilgrims (hereafter

referred to) goes so far as to attribute to Peter the manufacture of the table. 'Mensa quoque, modo altare, quam Petrus manibus suis fecit, ibidem est!' It is probable that the original table has long since perished, but a wooden table of great antiquity supplies its place and preserves the tradition, which may be seen to this day inside the high altar of the Lateran. M. Perret, who yields to none in Catholic orthodoxy, expressly admits this fact: —

'It is in the Catacombs that the type of altars in the form of tombs, as they were afterwards raised, must be sought. Nevertheless, the Christian altar called by St. Paul sometimes *altare* (Heb. xiii. 10.), and sometimes *mensa domini* (1 Cor. x. 21.), had at first the form of a table, because it was at table that our Lord instituted the Sacrament. It appears that originally this table was commonly made of wood, in order that in case of persecution it might easily be removed from one place to another; hence it is not wonderful that the Pagans reproached the Christians as having no altars.' (*Perret*, vol. vi. p. 55.)

It has been shown in the able discussion which this subject has lately undergone in our own ecclesiastical courts and the Privy Council, that this distinction between a table and an altar is in truth an essential difference, marking the line between the celebration of the Lord's Supper and the sacrifice of the Mass. It thus appears that the moveable wooden table, which is alone sanctioned by the Church of England, may be traced in the primitive ritual of the Catacombs; and that in proportion, as the celebration of the Sacrament was transferred from the table in front to the altar-tomb behind, the ceremony itself and the doctrine it embodied gradually assumed a different character. This view of the case is of course disputed by the Roman Catholic writers, who satisfy their own zeal or imaginations by finding, on the most slender evidence, traces of all the later practices of their Church. Thus, whenever Padre Marchi discovers a marble chair, the well-known seat or throne of the priest or bishop, he converts it into a confessional: the shelf, or credence table on which the sacred books or sacramental vessels were probably laid, is supposed to have served as a support for moveable pictures; and the tomb at the head of the vault becomes an altar.

It is not, however, our intention to give a polemical character to these descriptive observations, or to enter upon theological questions which would here be out of place: we content ourselves with the remark that no one can examine these records and ornaments of the Catacombs without being forcibly struck by the constant recurrence of evangelical symbols and allusions to the Old and New Testament, common to the whole

Christian world, whilst there is a marked absence of everything relating to the exclusive and peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome. It is gratifying to remark that the doctrines they convey, and the truths they represent, are, for the most part, those on which all Christians agree, as in the primitive faith, and not those on which subsequent differences have arisen.

The subjects painted are strictly historical. They are selected, with hardly an exception, from the Bible, and they were evidently intended partly to instruct the uninformed by pictures addressed to the eye, and partly to awaken the mind of the Christian to the symbolical meaning of these types.* Thus, the Temptation of Eve, Moses striking the Rock, Elijah ascending in the Chariot of Fire, Noah in the Ark, Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Young Men in the Fiery Furnace, Jonah and the Gourd, Jonah's deliverance from the Whale's Belly; and from the New Testament, the Good Shepherd, the Adoration of the Magi, in which alone the Virgin Mary is introduced, the resurrection of Lazarus, the delivery of the keys to St. Peter, the Sower, the Wise and Foolish Virgins, are continually repeated on the ceiling of *cubiculi*. In a few instances Pagan subjects were introduced, perhaps because Pagan artists were employed; thus it was fancifully conceived that Ulysses fastened to the mast of his ship presented some faint resemblance to the Crucifixion, and the Saviour was represented under the person or with the lyre of Orpheus, either as the civiliser of men, or in allusion to the Orphic poetry already interspersed with Christian images. The ornaments of the walls and roofs of the *cubiculi* were painted in the Roman taste, but every object became symbolical. Thus the Church was represented by a ship, the Navicella, or by a woman in the attitude of prayer; the anchor represented Hope in immortality; the stag reminded the faithful of the pious aspirations of the Psalmist; the horse was the emblem of strength in the faith; the hunted hare of persecution; the fish was an anagram of the name of Jesus; the dove and the cock stood for Christian virtues; the peacock and the phoenix for signs of the resurrection. But this is the sum total of these primitive paintings; no legends, no saints, few portraits even of apostolic persons; here and there, but seldom, a head of the Saviour; in one instance only, a female figure with a child, supposed to be the Virgin, but the subject and the dates are alike uncertain.† The earliest painted head of Christ is probably

* See Milman's *History of Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 499.

† Padre Marchi assigns this head of the Virgin Mary to the second century, but the introduction of the monogram of Constantine shows

not older than the fourth century. The bas-reliefs on the first Christian sarcophagi are perhaps earlier. But it is extremely remarkable that the early Christians never represented those scenes of the passion and death of our Lord which afterwards became the favourite subjects of Christian artists — the crucifix was unknown till long afterwards — and even the plain Cross, anterior to the monogram of Constantine, seems to have been secreted in the lowest depth of the Catacombs. The *nimbus* was never used by the early Christians or applied to their holy images until it had ceased altogether to be used in Pagan art.

The two great sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are constantly represented and alluded to in these paintings, but no others. Thus the administration of the Lord's Supper is depicted by a sketch of seven, or, in one instance, twelve Apostles, sitting on one side a table, on which is placed a dish containing loaves of bread and grapes, sometimes a fish, *Iχθys*. An attempt has sometimes been made to connect the fish with the doctrine of transubstantiation; but, in fact, it is much more probable, that this scene represents the meal near the Sea of Tiberias, described in the last chapter of St. John's Gospel. There is in the whole range of these paintings and symbols no Host, no adoration of the Sacrament, no sign of a transcendental character; nor is there a vestige of holy water, extreme unction, incense, confessions, worship of saints, purgatory, and other Romish observances.* Martyrs and martyr worship did not

it to be of a far later period. Some of the painted sepulchral glasses found in the Catacombs present an unequivocal representation of the Virgin Mary with uplifted arms and the *nimbus*, the name MARIA being inscribed above the figure; but these paintings appear to us to convey no more than that veneration which has in all ages of the Church been paid to the Mother of our Lord, and which the Church of England professes.

* An able and learned writer has stated in the 'Dublin Review' (vol. xxi. p. 427.), the Roman Catholic view of the evidence to be found in the Catacombs, and has pointed out the frequent use in them of prayers for the dead. But this evidence goes no further than to prove that ejaculatory inscriptions, — such as *PAX TIBI, VIVAS IN DEO, SPIRITUM TUUM DEUS REFRIGERET, ROGA ET PETE, ORA PRO PARENTIBUS TUIS*, and the like, were common among the early Christians, — a fact which we certainly do not contest, and which has been judicially admitted by the Court of Arches, although the Church of England discourages the practice from a dread of the abuses resulting from its supposed connexion with *the doctrine of Purgatory*. But there is a long distance from such inscriptions as these to the usage of prayers for the relief of souls from a state

exist at the same time. Lastly, although it is probable that the separate cells of each chapel, intersected by the corridor, were respectively occupied by male and female worshippers, yet no seclusion of the sexes could be observed there.*

These matters have been fully discussed by Dr. Maitland, to whose work we refer our readers. Mr. Northcote, on the other hand, protests, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, against building any argument, real or supposed, on the silence of the inscriptions or the absence of certain dogmatic teaching. Yet Mr. Northcote, four pages earlier, has drawn a precisely similar inference from the fact that no titles of rank or dignity, and no badges of slavery, are to be found in the entire range of the Catacombs. He justly contends that this circumstance can only be explained by the precepts of a religion which taught that there was no respect of persons. In like manner we argue that the absence of images of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, in the primitive portions of the cemeteries, shows how little such practices or opinions were known to those who formed and decorated these cemeteries with the simple historical scenes of Scripture.

Such was the state and such were the uses of the Catacombs during the first three centuries of the Church in Rome. But in the fourth century, the baptism of Constantine, the proclamation of peace and toleration to the Church, and the powerful impulse given by these events to the propagation of Christianity, changed the aspect of these subterranean retreats. The practice of burying the dead in crypts which were already hallowed by the remains of so many confessors and martyrs still prevailed, and amongst the inscriptions collected by Bosio some are as late as the sixth century of our era. But the age of martyrdom was passed. The perils which had driven the early Christians to these gloomy tabernacles were over. The Christian Church began to expand from the recess hollowed in the rock into edifices which took their form and their name from the basilica or seat of justice of the Roman authorities. The *monumentum arcuatum* which bent over the grave of the martyr, feebly illuminated by the tiny

of intermediate suffering, which is the modern doctrine of the Church of Rome. (See I. Curt. Eccles. Reports, p. 893, Brecks v. Woolfrey.)

* 'The Council of Elvira, however,' says Dr. Maitland, 'prudently forbade women to pass the night in cemeteries. "Placuit prohiberi ne feminae in cimiteriis pervigilent, eo quod sæpe sub obtentu orationis, latenter scelera committant."'

lamps of those who groped their way to the shrine, swelled into the apsis or tribune of a temple, in which, however, the same disposition of seats and reading desks was long retained.* But whilst the Church was emerging from the Catacombs, these cemeteries, which still contained the bones and ashes of the first champions of the faith, were invested with unspeakable sanctity in the eyes of the people, and it may be assumed that the priests were not slow to avail themselves of these devotional sentiments. The sacred places were only to be approached with awe. The relics they contained were gradually invested with miraculous powers, and exceeded in value all the treasures of the earth. Pilgrims of all lands, in which the Gospel had been preached, began to flock to Rome, and in Rome the most attractive spots were the tombs of the first Christians. The Catacombs became from the fourth to the eighth century the scene and the object of countless acts of devotion. To admit these pilgrims, the narrow shaft and the dim aperture of the days of persecution were no longer sufficient. Staircases were opened — the galleries leading to the principal tombs were enlarged — the *lucernariæ* were widened, and churches erected over or near the entrance to each of the principal cemeteries. Those of St. Agnes, St. Sebastian, and many others, are still in existence. It requires a careful and a practised eye to distinguish between the genuine, original structure of the Catacombs and the additions made to them in later ages for other purposes. Probably also some of the ornaments to be found over the principal tombs are of a more recent date than the tombs themselves. But for three or four centuries the distinctive characteristics of the cemeteries remained unaltered.

It is stated that amongst the pilgrims who resorted to these interesting spots in the course of the seventh century and the pontificate of Honorius, two pious travellers from the diocese of Salzburg have left to posterity a precise manual or handbook

* The church of St. Clement near the Lateran is the edifice in Rome which has most completely retained its primitive arrangements — the marble chair of the bishop — the choir separated from the church by a low marble balustrade — on either side the *ambones*, that is a pulpit and a reading desk, precisely in the form used by the Church of England and adapted to her worship. The present church of St. Clement is of the eighth century; but underneath this church a subterranean church of the fourth century has been discovered; and still deeper in the earth, beneath the subterranean church, the remains of a pagan temple of the earliest period of Roman architecture have recently been excavated.

of their visit to the churches and cemeteries both within and without the walls of Rome. They are said to have visited the Imperial city in the early part of the seventeenth century and in the reign of Pope Honorius — but these curious itineraries remained unpublished till the latter portion of the last century, when being found amongst a Salzburg manuscript of the works of Alcuin, the last editor of that writer gave them to the press.* These guide-books have but recently been studied and applied to the spots they describe. They were of course wholly unknown to Bosio and the explorers of the seventeenth century. Yet they not only correspond accurately with the directions and observations contained in the '*Roma Sotterranea*' of that period, but they have proved of some service in establishing the site and identity of other monuments, and have contributed to furnish Cavaliere di Rossi with a clue to this labyrinth. Indeed, it was chiefly on the faith of these guides, that the reigning Pope was induced by the Commission of the Catacombs to purchase a vineyard in which the true entrance to the Calixtine Catacomb has now been found, and thus the most curious discoveries of the last few years have been made. Considerable confusion had been introduced in the names or designations of the cemeteries lying between the Via Latina, the Via Appia, and the Via Ardentina; but the Salzburg Pilgrims distinctly affirmed that the entrance to the Catacomb of St. Calixtus was on the right of the Appian Way, somewhat nearer to the city than the Church of St. Sebastian, the Prætesta Catacomb being to the north, and that of St. Domitilla to the south. They also stated the names of the principal persons buried there, and in particular referred to the Pontifical crypt which they said contained the tombs of at least four of the Popes of the third century, whilst St. Cornelius and St. Cæcilia were interred in other parts of the cemetery.

We borrow from the text of M. Perret's work the following succinct account of these researches : —

* Alcuini Opera, fol. tom. ii. ex Typograph. Monasterii Emerani, 1777. The statement in the text is that given by Padre Marchi. We have examined the '*Itineraries*' themselves, but we are unable to discover on what evidence this date has been assigned to them, as in fact they contain no date at all, and no indication of their authors. Frobenius, the editor of Alcuin, suggests that they may have been written by Alcuin himself, as they were discovered between two of his letters in the Salzburg library; but this would be entirely at variance with Padre Marchi's theory. They were probably composed before the removal of the relics by Pope Paschal.

‘Down to the year 1854 it was almost universally believed that the centre of the cemetery of St. Calixtus was in the excavations under the basilica of St. Sebastian. The tombs of the pontiffs interred in that catacomb were shown there, and St. Urban was supposed to have deposited the body of St. Cæcilia — *inter collegas episcopos* — in the same place. Since that time, M. di Rossi, relying on authentic monuments, has combated the prevailing opinion, and proved that the tombs of the pontiffs and of St. Cæcilia are under certain vineyards on the Appian Way. The excavations made under his directions have demonstrated the truth of his views.

‘In this vineyard stands an ancient edifice, which (though now used as a farm building) may be regarded as an ancient Christian basilica. Near this edifice is a large staircase leading to the upper level of the cemetery, but, till lately, blocked up with earth and ruins. An immense quantity of rubbish closed the approaches and the crypts to which this staircase originally led. No sooner had a few feet of the chief entrance been cleared, than a fine range of masonry was discovered, reaching to the level of the soil. On the right a large door opened upon a crypt which was equally full of earth and rubbish: but the stucco of the vault was soon laid bare and found to be covered with Greek and Latin inscriptions, scratched upon it by the numerous pilgrims who had visited this spot,—an evident proof that it was one of peculiar importance. Most of the inscriptions were mere names or monograms scratched on the plaster. Thus, a certain Elaphis had written ΕΛΑΦΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΜΕΤΑΝ ΕΧΕΤΕ,—a Dionysius, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΜΕΤΑΝ ΕΧΕΤΕ. Some of them were invocations of the pilgrims, not for themselves, but for those dear to them: *ζη εν Θεω, vivat in Domino, vivat in Deo*; sometimes *vivat in Θεω*, and similar expressions.’ *

In one of these, not mentioned by M. Perret, the name of Sophronia repeatedly occurs, evidently traced by the same hand. ‘*Sophronia, dulcis Sophronia*,’ marks the track of the faithful pilgrim along the walls, until at length, in the crypt of St. Cornelius, which is in one of the most remote parts of the catacomb, the same touching remembrance occurs, with this addition, ‘*Sophronia, dulcis Sophronia, vivis in Deo!*’ By these and similar indications Cavaliere di Rossi was guided in the researches which have lately been crowned with still more remarkable success. A staircase, partly of the fourth century, now conducts the traveller by about twenty-four steps to a passage broader than the galleries of the dead usually are, and thence to a sepulchral chamber. On the sides of this chamber are tombs bearing in rude letters the names of ANTEΠΩC (A. D. 235), FABIANUS (A. D. 236), LTCIOT (Lucius, A. D. 256), and EUTYCHIANUS (A. D. 275). Each of these names is followed by the short designation EPIS. ET. MAR. Dean Milman expresses an opinion that Fabian is the first Bishop of Rome whose martyrdom is historically authenticated; but it will be observed that in this crypt the tomb

of Fabian is found side by side with his immediate predecessor Anteros, Cornelius lay in another part of the same cemetery, and Lueius, who succeeded Cornelius, lay beside Fabian. The history of these early bishops is doubtless very obscure, but that they actually existed, and were bishops and martyrs of the Church in Rome, may fairly be inferred from the discovery of tombs bearing their names and titles in the very place of sepulture where they were stated to have been interred. The title of 'martyr' was however sometimes applied to those who lived under the persecutions, though without enduring actual martyrdom. All these prelates are mentioned by Tillemont in the third volume of his Ecclesiastical History, and the fact of their interment in the cemetery of St. Calixtus is particularly noticed.

The central tomb under the *arcosolium* of this crypt is nameless and empty; but as it is known that Pope Sixtus II. was buried in this catacomb, after having suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Valerian, A.D. 258, in the adjoining galleries of the Prætesta, there is a strong presumption that this was his grave. This presumption is fortified by a striking piece of evidence. Pope Damasus, towards the close of the fourth century, rendered himself remarkable for the care he bestowed on the sacred edifices of Rome, for his skill in composing a species of bastard epigram, and for his zeal in having these compositions cut in marble in Roman letters of a peculiar form and of extreme elegance. The inscriptions of Pope Damasus are some of the most beautiful in the world, and the hand of the workman he employed is so peculiar that it is almost impossible to mistake it when once it is known. A fac-simile of one of them is given with great success by M. Perret, vol. v. plate 39. Many of the original inscriptions have of course perished, but they are preserved in considerable numbers by contemporary historians, and amongst them the following lines are recorded. They were written by the Pope to be placed in or over a sepulchral chamber in the cemetery of St. Calixtus, and they describe the holy persons interred there, with whose remains Damasus was too modest to confound his own.

' Hic congesta jacet quæris si turba piorum
Corpora sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulcra,
Sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia cœli.
Hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste tropæa,
Hic nymærus procerum servat qui altaria Christi,
Hic positus longa vixit qui in pace sacerdos *.

* Supposed by Cavaliere di Rossi to be Pope Melchiades, who lay in another crypt of the same catacomb.

Hic confessores sancti quos Græcia misit,
 Illic juvenes, puerique, senes, castique nepotes,
 Queis mage virgineum placuit retinere pudorem,
 Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra,
 Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum.'

What had become of this celebrated monumental inscription, which was, as it were, the title and frontispiece of the catacomb itself? Our antiquarian readers will sympathise with the excitement of Cavaliere di Rossi when he found, amongst the rubbish cleared from the chapel, a broken fragment of a marble tablet containing the word 'Hic' in Damasian characters, three times repeated, one below the other. The commencement of the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines of the well-known inscription flashed on his mind; and, in short, after a careful search, and an ingenious reconstruction of the whole tablet, which had been shattered into 126 fragments, the entire inscription was recovered, and may now be seen as legible as when Pope Damasus had it executed some 1450 years ago.

The discoveries made in this catacomb did not end here. It was stated by the Salzburg Itineraries and by other authorities, that Cornelius, who succeeded to the see of Rome next after the martyrdom of Fabian (A.D. 249), was interred in a remote part of the same cemetery. During the earlier excavations a broken slab had been discovered with the syllables LIUS . . . TYR. . . upon it, and this had been deposited in the Kircherian Museum. Some time afterwards, the other portions of the same slab, with the syllables CORNE . . . , MAR . . . were found to have been built into an adjoining wall. The two fragments fitted, and now form the tablet which once covered the grave of CORNELIUS, MARTYR.* Hard by the spot is a rude wall painting representing the saint; and by his side St. Cyprian, whose name is introduced; a remarkable confirmation of the intimacy between these two eminent men, who resisted, with equal firmness, the progress of the Novatian heresy, the one in Carthage, the other in Rome; and both died the death of martyrs.

The legend of St. Cæcilia has been so disguised by the Roman martyrologists, that it is difficult to establish for her a positive historical character. Yet some of the particulars of her reputed life and death are confirmed by evidence which demonstrate, at least, the antiquity of her story. The church of St. Cæcilia in Trastevere, was certainly in existence in the year 500, when

* Cornelius suffered martyrdom at Civita Vecchia on the 14th September, 252, and was buried in St. Calixtus' cemeteries.

Pope Symmachus held a council there. It was then believed to have been erected on the site of the mansion of Cæcilia herself, and the chapel in which she is supposed to have suffered the first attempt on her life, still contains the conduits for steam or hot air, showing it to have formed part of the baths of a Roman palace. The legend goes on to relate that after she had converted her husband, Valerian, to the faith, he and his brother were first put to death and buried by her care in the cemetery of St. Calixtus. Her own execution speedily followed; and having distributed her goods to the poor, and desired that her house might be converted into a place of Christian worship, she too expired, and was buried by St. Urban in the same catacomb. The story is a touching and a graceful one; but, as Tillemont observes, there is no evidence that she ever saw St. Urban at all; and he conjectures that she suffered in Sicily about the year 178. However, he adds, with real or affected submission to authority, '*il nous suffit*' that the Church placed her in all its oldest martyrologies and in the Litanies of the Saints. Our present concern is not with the saint, but with the tomb which was believed to contain her remains — whether apocryphal or not is immaterial. The records of the pilgrims relate, that in the seventh century the tomb of Cæcilia was resorted to as a place of great sanctity *within* the sepulchral chamber of the Popes. In the ninth century, Pope Paschal I. removed her remains to the church consecrated to her within the city; and, to descend to more recent times, when we find ourselves within reach of actual testimony, the sarcophagus in which these remains were placed by Paschal, was opened with great solemnity, in the year 1599, in the presence of Cardinal Baronius, who has left an exact description of the ceremony and of the appearance of the body. 'She was lying within a coffin of cypress wood, enclosed in a marble sarcophagus, not in the manner of one dead and buried, but on her right side, as one asleep; and in a very modest attitude, covered with a simple stuff of taffety, having her head bound with cloth, and at her feet the remains of the cloth of gold and silk which Pope Paschal found in her original tomb.' This attitude was seized with great felicity by the sculptor Stefano Maderno, who executed the recumbent figure which may still be seen over her shrine.

Could then any traces be found of the crypt in the catacomb of St. Calixtus, in which the alleged body of St. Cæcilia was originally deposited, and where — whether it was authentic or spurious — it certainly was held in high veneration for several centuries anterior to the removal by Pope Paschal? We have

already mentioned that this crypt was recorded to be *within* the Pontifical Chamber, and, a closer search being recently made, traces of a passage were discovered by Cavaliere di Rossi on the left hand of the *arcosolium*; the passage was cleared, and found to lead into an inner sepulchral chamber. Here lay an open tomb, from which the body had been removed, and on the wall may be seen the painted figure of a woman (an object of unfrequent occurrence in the Christian cemeteries), by whose side stands a venerable figure designated by the name of Urban. Whether, therefore, 'divine Cæcilia' is to be regarded as a myth of the Romish Church, or whether a martyr of that name was actually interred there under the circumstances described, there is a chain of direct evidence connecting the present tomb, which was erected only two centuries and a half ago, with the remains existing in the Catacombs probably as early as the third century.

This example may serve to show the nature and effect of the last change the Catacombs were destined to undergo. We have seen that from the fourth to the eighth centuries, they had become the resort of innumerable pilgrims, and the plaster, or soft tufa of the walls is still marked in a thousand places with the *graffiti* or scratches of those, who, like more modern visitors, seem in all ages to have had a passion for leaving their names to be deciphered by posterity. But, towards the ninth century, partly from fear of the incursions of barbarians, especially of the Lombards, partly from a desire to give additional sanctity to the churches and shrines within the city of Rome, the popes encouraged the removal of the remains of the early Christians from their real places of interment to other sanctuaries. The progress of superstition had led to the belief that every altar ought, if possible, to be consecrated by the relics of a martyr. The Catacombs afforded an inexhaustible supply of these memorials; the chain of local evidence which gave an interest and a meaning to the actual tombs of the early Christians, was altogether broken; the cemeteries were literally rifled, and their contents were promiscuously transferred to the marble altars and the gilded shrines of a faith widely different from that simple creed for which so many of them had died.*

* This most objectionable practice has not only prevailed throughout the later ages of the Romish Church, but, we are sorry to say, is not even now entirely abandoned. Dr. Wordsworth has recently exposed in his 'Notes in Paris,' published in 1854, a most remarkable case of this kind, which forcibly illustrates the gross abuse of which

This transformation seems to us to explain, in a very striking manner, some of the characteristic practices of the later Romish Church, from which Protestant Christians most cordially dissent. Planted, as it were, in the earlier ages of the Church, within the recesses of these subterranean crypts which were dedicated to and peopled by the dead, the offices of religion began to partake in some degree of *tomb-worship*. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was transferred, as we have seen, from the table in front of the *arcosolium* to the slab behind it — *retro sanctos* — and beneath that slab slept a martyr, so that the very idea of the altar became connected with the relics of a saint. The churches of the Christian metropolis which arose in great number and magnificence, after the ascendancy of the faith had been proclaimed, aspired to vie in sanctity with those mysterious sepulchres which had witnessed the first trials and triumphs of the Christian community. The relics and supposed remains were therefore removed; and the early Christians who had been laid centuries before in the cells of the Catacombs, anticipating cer-

we complain. Some time ago the following inscription was discovered in the Catacombs of Rome near the Via Salaria :—

AURELIÆ THEUDOSIÆ
BENIGNISSIMÆ ET
INCOMPARABILI FEMINÆ
AURELIUS OPTATUS
CONJUGI INNOCENTISSIMÆ
DEPOS. PR. KAL. DEC.
NAT. AMBIANA.
B. M. F.

The Congregation of Relics decided that this lady was a Christian, which is probable, — a martyr, which is uncertain — a saint *and a native of Amiens in France*. The pope decreed that the name of St. Theudisia, a name wholly unknown even to the Roman Calendar, should be added to the ritual of the church of Amiens: and her body (or what was supposed to remain of it) was actually transported to Amiens on the 12th October, 1853, and received there in the cathedral with extraordinary splendour by twenty-eight mitred prelates. Cardinal Wiseman preached the first sermon on the occasion. All this rests on the assumption, made in defiance of the laws of grammar, that the words NAT. AMBIANA agree with 'Theudisia' and mean, as the Abbé Gerbet says, '*née Amienoise*.' Dr. Wordsworth, however, suggests that these words stand for 'Natione Ambiana', — a more correct form of expression — meaning that she was of the nation of the Ambiani. Amiens was called *Samanobria* and not *Ambianum* until the time of Gratian (A. D. 382), when the age of martyrdom had long passed away.

tainly no earthly disinterment, were brought to the light of day, and invested with legendary histories and miraculous powers. Such was the exact course the doctrine of the veneration of saints appears to have followed from its origin in these very Catacombs; and when it is considered how large are the temptations it offers to the frauds of one class of men and to the credulity of another, it is not surprising that the result has been injurious to religion and debasing to mankind. The more curious, therefore, is it to compare the simplicity of the original tombs and the humility of their evangelical ornaments, with the prodigious superstructure raised by Rome on this foundation. But in removing the remains of the early Christians to more pompous receptacles, the popes appear to have been unconscious that they were destroying part of the actual historical evidence of the primitive Church; to substitute one tomb for another is to raise grave doubts of the authenticity of both.

We hope, on every account, that a more candid and judicious spirit now prevails in the management of this department of Christian antiquities; and the reputation of Cavaliere di Rossi as an antiquary and a scholar, stands too high for him to lend himself in any way to these devices, which are absolutely destructive of that which is of interest to the whole literary world, as long as it is reserved for the purposes of history and not prostituted to those of superstition. The publication of the entire collection of the Christian inscriptions of Rome is a great work which cannot fail to shed additional lustre on the reign of the present pontiff, who has certainly not been wanting in the encouragement and assistance he has been able to bestow on Roman archæology. The funds for the purchase of the vineyard leading to the entrance of the cemetery of St. Calixtus were provided, not without difficulty, from the Pope's own purse, and Pius IX. was one of the first persons who proceeded to visit these curious discoveries. We trust, therefore, the success of this experiment may encourage the Papal Government to re-open the Catacombs for the only legitimate purpose they can serve, namely, as the repository of the remains of the primitive Church. The different sects and opinions of the present day may find in these memorials various meanings; but as long as they are preserved in their genuine simplicity, they cannot fail to add an interesting page to the records of mankind. •

- ART. V. — 1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Company.* 1857.
2. *Hudson's Bay, or Life in the Wilds of North America.* By R. M. BALLANTYNE. Edinburgh: 1848.
3. *Report of the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement.* Printed by Order of the Legislative Assembly of Canada. Toronto: 1858.
4. *An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with reference to the grant of Vancouver's Island.* By J. E. FITZGERALD. London: 1849.
5. *The Hudson's Bay Territory and Vancouver's Island, with an Exposition of the Chartered Rights, Conduct, and Policy of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Corporation.* By R. M. MARTIN. 1849.
6. *Report from a Select Committee of the House of Representatives (of Minnesota) on the Overland Emigration Route from Minnesota to British Oregon.* 1858.
7. *The North-West Coast, or 'Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory.* By JAMES G. SWAN. New York: 1856.
8. *The New El Dorado, or British Columbia.* By KINGHAM CORNWALLIS. London: 1858.
9. *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of British North America.* By PAUL KANE. 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1859.

THERE is not wanting a kind of rude resemblance between the geographical conformations of Northern Asia and Northern America. Each has been provided by nature with great rivers running north and south, — the Ob, the Yemissei, and the Lena, in Siberia; the Mackenzie, the Coppermine, and the Back or Great Fish River, in the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. But the gift in both cases has been rather splendid than useful; for all these six streams discharge themselves into the Frozen Ocean, at points utterly inaccessible for the purpose of commerce, as if they had been bestowed in irony to show how easy it is for nature to neutralise her noblest agencies. Both regions are enclosed on the west by long chains of mountains—the Ural, which dips rapidly down into the great plain of Russia, and the Rocky Mountains, whose base is on the shores of the Pacific. Siberia is bounded on the east by the vast gulf of Ochotsk, and North America by the frozen shores of Hudson's Bay. If Siberia be superior in the length and volume of its rivers, British America has the advantage of possessing streams which, rising from the Rocky Mountains, intersect the continent

from east to west, and water the vast valley lying between the high lands, from whence spring the Mississippi and the Red River of the north on the one side, and the Mackenzie, the Coppermine, and the Fish River on the other. Nor is the climate of these two vast regions dissimilar. The winter is, at the same latitude, of equal length. Both present the same phenomena of ground frozen to an immense depth below the surface, which never thaws in the warmest summer, and of trees ice, bound to the very heart which splinter the axe of the woodman like glass. In both the cold is something incredible to European nations, extending frequently to seventy degrees below zero of Fahrenheit, or a hundred and two degrees below the freezing point. But though the climate is so severe, in neither case does it appear to be unhealthy. The spring is sudden; the summer though short, is warm; and the powers of animal and vegetable nature seem to compensate themselves by extraordinary vigour and activity, for the short respite allowed them from the long torpor of winter.

Neither of these regions can as yet boast of a history. The life of the Siberian exile is consumed in a constant struggle with the inclement influences by which he is surrounded; and with the single exception of the settlement, founded by the late Lord Selkirk, at the Red River, no attempt has been made to establish in British America, north of Canada, and of the 49th parallel of north latitude, anything resembling a civilised community or a settled government. Causes are, however, at work, which bid fair speedily to dispel this state of things in British North America. Leaving then Northern Asia to the course of progress to which she may be destined, we propose to inquire what is the duty, and what should be the policy, of England with regard to those vast territories, which may be denominated the English Siberia. Their destiny will not assuredly be allowed to unfold itself with the calm and regular development which is reserved for Northern Asia, cut off from Europe by the Ural Mountains, and from the tribes of Central Asia by the vast fortress of the Altai. A number of causes combine to force the question of the future condition of these territories on the earliest consideration of the public. Canada is pressing towards them on the south-east frontier. The United States are approaching them on the south, from Minnesota; while the recent gold discoveries on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers have emptied half California into a region unknown and untrodden, till within the last year or two, by any, except a few tribes of Indians and the servants of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Companies.

Until the close of the last session of Parliament, the whole

of the British dominions on the continent of North America, with the exception of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the coast of Labrador, were under the government of a single corporation—the last of those great proprietary companies, by whose agency so much of our commerce was originally planted and fostered, and to whom we mainly owe the colonisation of North America, the opening of our trade with Russia and the Levant, and the conquest of an empire in the East Indies. Though political economy has exploded for ever the notion of carrying on commerce, colonisation, or conquest by means of corporations protected by strict monopolies, it would be unjust to deny, that at a time when our knowledge of geography was extremely imperfect, when there was no police of the seas, when every distant enterprise was involved in doubt and mystery, and trade had to be carried on with fierce and barbarous nations, results were obtained by these corporations which could hardly have been hoped for from the private trader. They are gone, and the state of things which produced them; but it would be ingratitude to assert that their establishment was generally either dictated by corrupt motives, or inexpedient with reference to the then conditions of society.

The corporation to whose lot it has fallen to rule for many years past, with an absolute sway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, owes its institution to the fiery Cavalier whose name occurs so often for good or for evil in the history of the great civil war. Chiefly at the request of Prince Rupert, Charles the Second, on the 2nd of May, 1670, issued a charter to Prince Rupert and his associates, by which Prince Rupert, Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, William, Earl of Craven, Henry, Lord Arlington, Anthony, Lord Ashley, and other knights and gentlemen, were incorporated by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay; and to this corporation the King granted 'the sole
' trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes,
' creeks, and sounds; in whatever latitude they shall be, that lie
' within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's
' Straits; together with all the lands and territories upon the
' countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers,
' creeks, and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually pos-
' sessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by
' the subjects of any other Christian Prince; and that
' the said land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one
' of our plantations or colonies in America, called Rupert's
' Land;' and furthermore the Crown granted to the adven-

turers and their successors 'the whole and entire trade and 'traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes, and 'seas into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or 'land out of the territories, limits, and places aforesaid.'

This charter was obviously drawn up in the most complete ignorance of the geography of the land which it professed to grant, and it might seem difficult to decide, applying its words to modern knowledge, what land passed to the corporation. It is enough in this place to say that an opinion was given by Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Holroyd, Mr. Cruise, Sir James Scarlett, and Mr. Bell, that under these words the Hudson's Bay Company were entitled to all the land, the waters of which fall into Hudson's Bay; and that upon this view the Company and the Legislature seem to have acted in framing the arrangements under which the territory has been governed during the last three reigns.

It is not our purpose to dwell upon those circumstances in the history of the Company which are merely matters of antiquarian curiosity. The concern seems to have been at first a very lucrative one, and the Company is accused, not without some show of justice, of having had recourse to the modern expedient of watering its stock, that is, of nominally increasing its capital, so as to make the amount of its profits appear less enormous. It is open to considerable question whether the Company understood their charter as conferring territorial rights to the extent now claimed under the legal opinion to which we have referred. Their operations seem in the first instance to have been confined to the shores of Hudson's Bay, and it is asserted that it was only in the beginning of the present century that they extended their fur-trading operations as far as the valley of the Assaimboine in the vicinity of the present Red River Settlement. There is also considerable doubt whether at the time the charter was granted, nearly a hundred years before the cession of Canada to Great Britain, the Crown of England was possessed of the territories which it professed to grant; and it may possibly have been some uncertainty on this question which induced the Company to obtain an Act of Parliament in the reign of William and Mary, confirming its charter for a period of seven years, after the expiration of which period it was left to stand on its own resources, and has actually maintained itself till the present day.

During the eighteenth century the Company fell into that state of inactivity which pervaded so many more important institutions, till it was aroused from its slumbers by the formidable competition of the North-west Company, under

the energetic guidance of the discoverer of the great river which bears his name, a Canadian by birth, Sir Alexander Mackenzie. The basis of the operations of the North-west Company was Montreal, from whence its traffic was conveyed through the great chain of lakes to Fort William on Lake Superior, and thence by a canoe route containing sixty-four portages, and extending over nearly seven hundred miles, to the shores of Lake Winnipeg; while the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company were all carried on from England through the stormy and difficult navigation of Hudson's Straits. In 1812 the Hudson's Bay Company gained a new and powerful ally in the late Lord Selkirk, still known to the Indians by the name of the Silver Chief. This nobleman, a person of much energy and resolution, conceived the idea of indemnifying Great Britain for the loss of the American Colonies, by the foundation of fresh settlements to the north; and, having obtained a predominating influence in the councils of the Hudson's Bay Company, procured from them in 1812 a grant of the land now occupied by the Red River Settlement, and set to work in earnest to colonise it. From that period till 1820 the most violent competition, attended by many conflicts and much loss of life, raged between the two Companies, until in 1821 they agreed to unite, and an Act of Parliament was passed, empowering the Crown to grant licenses from time to time to the amalgamated Corporation for exclusive trade in the Indian territories for periods not exceeding twenty-one years. The last license for twenty-one years was granted in 1838, and will therefore expire in the present year. From these transactions, which we have purposely stated as summarily as possible, leaving those who seek more detailed information to find it in the authorities prefixed to this article, it results that the Hudson's Bay Company is possessed of the territory between the Atlantic Ocean and the Rocky Mountains north of Canada, and the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, under two distinct titles,—the charter of Charles the Second, under which they claim to own in fee-simple all the land whose waters run into Hudson's Bay, and the license of exclusive trade granted under the Act of 1821, extending over all the district, north of the land comprehended in the charter, whose waters, the Mackenzie, the Coppermine, and the Great Fish River, empty themselves into the Northern Ocean.

The point which is principally interesting to us at this time is in what manner the Hudson's Bay Company have executed the trust of governing these vast territories, and whether their agency on the whole has been beneficial to the interests of the British Empire, and of the Indian population whose destinies

are committed to their charge. Our object is to ascertain as far as possible the present state of things with regard to these vast regions which circumstances are now forcing upon our attention; and one element in coming to a right conclusion must necessarily be the estimate, which, upon an impartial consideration, we are disposed to form of the merits or demerits of the government by which they are at present administered. The Hudson's Bay Company, although possessing certain attributes of delegated sovereignty, is essentially a mercantile speculation, its main object being to realise a good dividend for its shareholders. In this object, at any rate, it has succeeded, for on its capital of five hundred thousand pounds it pays a dividend of ten per cent., or fifty thousand a year. It is no mean triumph of commercial enterprise to extract this large amount of profit from materials so unpromising as the swamps, the stunted forests, the icy plains, the dreary lakes, the obstructed rivers, and the inhospitable climate of British North America.

The motto of the Company, '*Pro pelle cutem*,' is true as well as witty, for it is by no ordinary toil and danger that these results are obtained. The servants of the Company are selected from among the hardy peasantry of Aberdeenshire, and the frugal inhabitants of the Orkney Islands; men trained in poverty and self-denial, who have justified by their courage, their constancy, and their integrity, the preference of the natives of the sturdy North for this rough and dangerous service. The business of the Company is carried on in posts scattered at wide intervals over these scarcely habitable regions. The Indians, who are employed in hunting the fur-bearing animals, bring their peltries for sale. No money is employed in the traffic, but a substitute for it is invented similar to that which enabled Homer, who also was unacquainted with the use of money, to compare the value of the arms of Glaucus and Diomed, the one being worth a hundred oxen, the other nine. The unit of value, by reference to which the transactions between the Indians and Company are regulated, is the beaver. The tariff, according to which the skins are purchased, is formed on the principle of giving for the more valuable skins less, and for the less valuable more, than they are worth. The object of this proceeding seems to be to protect the more valuable animals from extermination, since, if the Indian were encouraged to destroy those that bear the highest price, it is obvious that the more precious kinds of fur would become extinct, and the less valuable kinds would be unduly multiplied. When the Indian brings his fur for sale, he receives for each skin a stick for every beaver which it is worth, and, passing over to the other side of the store, he purchases with

these sticks blankets, guns, hatchets, and whatever else he stands in need of, till all his sticks are exhausted, and then departs for his home. It is obvious that by accustoming the Indians to the use of firearms, instead of bows and arrows, and to articles of European manufacture instead of those they once fabricated for themselves, they are placed very much in the power of Europeans; since, if these supplies were withdrawn, it would be impossible for men who have lost their native arts, without acquiring new ones in their place, to return to their original condition. This power, it is only just to say, the Company have used for the benefit of the Indian, and also, no doubt, for their own. They have contrived to keep entirely free of those destructive feuds between the two races which have been the shame and reproach of civilisation, when brought into contact with barbarism. While the frontiers of the United States, from the Everglades of Florida to the mountains of Oregon, have been, and still are, the scene of a war of extermination, waged with equal ferocity and doubtful success between the White man and the Red, it is the pride and boast of the Hudson's Bay Company that they alone have found means of conciliating the Red Indian; and while the aborigines have been made the means of acquiring wealth for their employers, they have also been saved, not only from war with the Whites, but from the dreadful contests which they would incessantly have waged with each other.

We cannot cite a better witness on this subject than Mr. James G. Swan, an intelligent American gentleman, author of 'Four Years' Residence in Washington Territory,' by no means a friend to the Hudson's Bay Company, for the extinction of which he is sincerely anxious, as he considers it a grasping monopoly, and exceedingly hostile to the interests of American citizens.

'It has been supposed by many that the Whites and Red men of the western frontier cannot live together in one community in peace; but this is not so, as the course of the Hudson's Bay Company will tend to show. That immense monopoly has spread itself all over that great region of the North, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and for many years has been in constant intercourse with the savage tribes throughout that country, a territory larger than the whole of the United States; and instead of wars of extermination or constant border raids and feuds, a lasting friendship has been maintained, which appears to grow stronger every day.

'The Hudson's Bay Company, in their treatment of the Indians, have combined and reconciled policy with humanity. Their prohibition to supply them with ardent spirits appears to have been in all cases rigidly enforced; and although many of the employes of the Company have furnished the Indians at times with spirits, yet such

servants have invariably been dismissed or degraded when found out. Encouragement is also held out by the Company to induce their people, who are mostly French Canadians, to intermarry with the native women, as a means of securing the friendship and trade of the different tribes.

'As there are, or rather were, few or no white women in those territories, it will easily be seen that a great many half-breeds are now growing up, who will in time form an important part of the population. The Company afford means for the education of these half-breed children, and, as far as possible, retain them among the Whites; and, whenever found capable, give them employ in the service of the Company.

'The course pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company shows that they understand the Indian character to perfection. And if, by adopting some of their views, our Government can bring about a state of feeling among our own Indians, similar to those of the tribes in British North America toward the Hudson's Bay Company, it would seem to be worth the trial, and would be productive of good, both to the Indians and our own people.'

Something, though by no means all that could be wished, has been done for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. There are two bishops, a Catholic and a Protestant, in the territory, and a number of Protestant missionaries supported by religious societies in England. By accustoming the Indians to live peacefully beside the Whites, and to abstain from war and bloodshed among each other, the way has unquestionably been prepared for the labours of the missionary; and a still more powerful assistance is given by the settled policy of the Company to prohibit, wherever its control is firmly established, the use of ardent spirits among the natives. There is no doubt that in thus doing what is best for the Indians, the Company is also doing what is best for itself; since it is clearly contrary to its interests to expose those on whose labour it relies for the material of its traffic, to the demoralisation and disease which inevitably wait on the introduction of ardent spirits among savages. But the benefit is not the less real, and its amount may be best estimated by a comparison of the state of the Indians in those parts of the territory where the monopoly, and consequently the power of the Company, is absolute and undisputed, with their state in those frontier regions where competition drives the Hudson's Bay Company, and their American or Canadian opponents, to employ spirits as a means of attracting the fur trade to themselves. We may add to this that the Hudson's Bay Company are at pains to prevent the extinction of the fur-bearing animals by prohibiting the killing of the female during the breeding season, and also to obviate the waste which would ensue from the slaughter of the

fur-bearing animals during the hot weather, when the fur is loose and consequently of little value. In fact, against the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company in their capacity of fur traders, and, as a consequence of that occupation, as managers and governors of the Indian tribes, there is, we apprehend, very little to be said.

The Hudson's Bay Company has made two essays at colonisation, in neither of which can it be said to have been very successful. It felt itself compelled to purchase back again from Lord Selkirk the Red River Settlement which it had granted to him. To a company engaged in traffic with the Indians, and claiming and exercising the right to exclude the rest of Her Majesty's subjects from that traffic, the foundation of a settlement where population may be densely congregated, must necessarily be a source of infinite trouble and dispute. In the first place, the constitution of the Company, though well enough adapted to the wants of a corporation of fur traders, is by no means suited to the government of a colony. Important matters are settled by the Board of Directors in London, the executive is carried on by the principal agent on the spot for the management of the trade, and a legislature is supplied by the chief factors or senior servants of the Company, who assemble annually from their several posts at Norway House in the north, and Moose Factory in the south, in order to regulate the trade in which they are interested as partners; and, as incidental to the trade, the affairs of the country. Still, by the exercise of a rough common sense, and in the absence of any lawyer to find fault with their decisions, they contrived, though doubtless with innumerable faults of form and oversteppings of jurisdiction, to administer a kind of justice which at any rate protected life and property, and left everybody at liberty to look after his own affairs. Indeed, most of such troubles as they have had date from the time when they were weak enough to allow the law, under the shape of a learned recorder, to penetrate into this elysium of natural equity and wisdom unfettered by rule. Their principal trouble, of course, has been and is their monopoly. The settlers from the British Isles, many of them sprung from those brought by Lord Selkirk, others, the descendants of old military pensioners or of retired servants of the Company, naturally wish for a share of the lucrative Indian trade; nor has the Company any direct power from the charter of preventing them from encroaching on their traffic. The grant of exclusive right to trade is clearly void, both at common law and by the statute of Monopolies passed in the twenty-first year of James I.; and even were it valid, it is not easy to see

by what means such a grant can be enforced. This want, both of right and power, has driven the local managers of the Company from time to time to adopt strange courses. They have imposed import duties, to be remitted to those against whom there is no suspicion of illicit fur trading. They devised a conveyance of land in which the intending purchaser was made to covenant that he would not traffic for fur with the Indians; and on one occasion they seem to have gone so far as to require that letters should be sent to the Post-Office open for their perusal, in order to detect any such contraband transactions, though, it is but just to say, that this latter proceeding seems to have been strenuously disapproved of by the Directors in London. Troubles also they have had with the half-breed population of the settlement, amounting now to several thousand persons, especially with those of French descent. These half-breeds, the French more especially, retain so much of the Indian nature as to have in general a strong dislike for the pursuits of agriculture, and to addict themselves to the hunting for furs on their own account. They say that the country is theirs by hereditary descent, and maintain that they have thus a better right than that which any royal charter can bestow. They seem to be a headstrong and impracticable race, and, as was shown in the sanguinary dissensions between the two Companies, are soon excited to violence, and by no means slow to shed blood. There are seldom wanting persons who make it their business to fan these fiery passions into a flame, and so formidable has the attitude of the half-breeds been considered, that a detachment of troops was sent up to the Red River, under the command of Colonel Caldwell, in 1846, and another, we believe, in the course of 1857.

The Red River Settlement is the only part of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company in which agriculture has been attempted on any considerable scale. It lies in about fifty degrees of north latitude; but being nearly one thousand feet above the level of the sea, the climate is very severe, though not more so, it is said, than the less favoured parts of Lower Canada. The mean temperature of the three winter months is thirteen degrees of Fahrenheit colder than that of Toronto, in Upper Canada. Wheat can be grown there with success, although it runs considerable risk from summer frosts. From the swampy and level nature of the country the labours, and indeed the residence, of the husbandman are liable to be destroyed by the periodical ravages of enormous floods. Timber, too, is scarce, even for purposes of fuel, and coal there is none within any available distance, though a species of lignite is

said to be found at a great distance in the far north. But the greatest drawback the settlement has to encounter is the entire want of a market. It is accessible in three ways. First, the Hudson's Bay Company carry on their commerce from London through Hudson's Straits, which, lying in sixty degrees north latitude, are entirely blocked up by ice, except during two months of the year, and even during those two months are so far obstructed that the passage through them is both difficult and dangerous. The principal depôt of the Company on the shores of Hudson's Bay is York Factory, poetically described by Mr. Ballantyne, who has written an amusing book on his experiences in the fur-trading service, as

‘ A monstrous blot
On a swampy spot,
Within the sight of the Frozen Sea.’

From this charming place the canoes of the Hudson's Bay Company proceed up Nelson's River over thirty-four portages, at each of which it is necessary to unload the canoe and carry it and its contents for some distance. They then reach Lake Winnipeg, and coast along the shores of that stormy and dismal sheet of water, which the ice seldom quits before the end of May, and generally returns to before the end of October, until they arrive at the Red River Settlement. This route is so bad that the Company are often reproached with adopting it expressly for the purpose of rendering their dominions as inaccessible as possible; but, before we condemn them, we had better see what are the features of the other two routes.

The next route, which the Company is constantly urged to adopt, would lead up the St. Lawrence, through Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior to Fort William, a depôt which lies on the north-west coast of Lake Superior, and across from thence, by Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods, to the Red River Settlement, passing over no less than sixty-four portages. This route was the one employed by the North-west Company, and has no doubt been somewhat neglected since the amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company; but we think that any one who will carefully institute a comparison between it and the route by Hudson's Bay, will be disposed to think that in giving the preference to York Factory and Nelson's River the Company has been actuated solely by a desire to select the shortest and easiest line for communication with England. Both routes are inaccessible in winter, for the ice on Lake Superior prevents canoe navigation, without being sufficiently firm to be traversed on foot, and the rugged and barren northern

shore is regarded as impassable, at least for the purposes of regular traffic. The portages on the route by Lake Superior are much longer and nearly double in number those on the route by Hudson's Bay. When we add to this that the canal at the Sault Ste. Marie (the rapid of eighty feet in height, which bars the entrance to Lake Superior,) passes through American territory, while the Hudson's Bay route passes exclusively through the dominions of the British Crown, we think that we have alleged reasons enough for the preference of the Company for the Hudson's Bay route, without imputing to them the wish to create extraordinary difficulties in approaching a region which nature has already made more than sufficiently inaccessible. This route has recently been surveyed by Messrs. Gladman and Dawson, under the direction of the government of Canada; but their report, although it contains a recommendation for making a road, to avoid the present toilsome ascent from Lake Superior, and is written in a spirit favourable to the opening of this route, (the only one, it would seem, by which Canada can communicate with Lake Winnipeg,) does not in any degree shake the conclusions at which we have arrived, after the careful collation of a very large mass of discordant testimony; more especially as in this report the obvious difficulty to English commerce, implied by passing through a portion of American territory at the outlet of Lake Superior, is not, so far as we can find, even alluded to. The Parliamentary Committee, which examined this subject in 1857, seems to have been not unnaturally disposed to think that the difficulties of the route and the inferior qualities of the country were purposely exaggerated by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were called before them. Thus, in the evidence of Sir George Simpson, we have the following episode:—

' Q. 772. Mr. Gordon. If I understand you rightly, you think that no portion of Rupert's Land is favourable for settlement, but that some portions might be settled?—Yes.

' Q. 773. In your very interesting work of "A Journey round the World," at page 45, I find this description of the country between the Lake of the Woods and the Rainy Lake:—"From Fort Francis downwards, a stretch of nearly a hundred miles, it is not interrupted by "a single impediment, while yet the current is not strong enough "materially to retard an ascending traveller. Nor are the banks less "favourable to agriculture, and the waters themselves to navigation, "resembling in some measure those of the Thames near Richmond. "From the very bank of the river there arises a gentle slope of green "sward, crowned in many places by a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, "beech, elm, and oak. Is it too much for the eye of philanthropy to "discern through the vista of futurity this noble stream, connecting as

"it does the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steam-boats on its bosom, and populous towns on its borders?" I suppose you consider that district favourable for population? — The right bank of the river is favourable to cultivation; that is to say, the soil is favourable, the climate is not. The back country is a deep morass, and can never be drained, in my opinion.

'Q. 774.* Do you see any reason to alter the opinion you have expressed? — I do see that I have overrated the importance of the country as a country for settlement.

'Q. 775.* Mr. Labouchere. It is too glowing a description, you think? — Exactly so. It is exceedingly beautiful, the bank is beautifully wooded, and the stream is very beautiful.'

This high-flown account of the beauties of a portion of the route we have just been considering, deserves quoting, if it were only to show the manner in which the most erroneous impressions may be promulgated on the very highest authority. The Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was writing a book, and finding his subject a little dry, he in an evil hour bethought himself of relieving its monotony by the piece of fine writing which the research of Mr. Gordon brought to his attention at so unwelcome a moment. It must be admitted that the position of Sir George Simpson was not an enviable one; and yet, after all, the evidence of Sir George Simpson was right, and the passage in the book was wrong. The eye of philanthropy may conjure up what visions it pleases, but observation has completely established, to the satisfaction of the Canadian Commissioners, that the right bank of this river is a hopeless swamp, into which a pole may be thrust thirty feet without finding a bottom — in fact, a place altogether more fitted to bear on its bosom a crowded steamboat than a populous city.

As another illustration of this strange tendency to see what to ordinary eyes is invisible, we may quote the opinion of Mr. King with regard to the Great Fish River, on whose dreary banks, as we now know only too well, the last survivors of Sir John Franklin's unhappy expedition laid themselves down to die. Mr. King spoke from his own experience, having been surgeon and naturalist to Sir John Richardson's expedition, in 1833, in search of Sir John Ross. Mr. King is asked (Question 5664.), —

'And is it your opinion, with regard to that large continent which you have travelled over, that the portions within the limits you have pointed out (that is a district between the Lake Athabasta and the Saskatchewan), are the only parts of that district fit for colonisation? — Not at all, I mean, as arable land. *The whole of the Great Fish River, down to the Polar Sea, is the finest grazing country in the world, as far as grazing is concerned. Of course it is alluvial soil based upon sand, and, therefore, not arable land.*

We should suppose not; and, as far as grazing is concerned, we wish Mr. King had gone on to state what manner of animal it is which could support a colony by grazing in this, by the consent of all other persons, the most hideous and dreary desert into which the courage and audacity of man has ever enabled him to penetrate.

We have now to speak of the third route, which, it must be admitted, is far easier than either of the other two. The truth is, that though the accidents of political organisation have decided otherwise, the district of the Red River is, according to all geographical considerations, a part of the State of Minnesota. The river itself takes its rise in Ottetail Lake, in the very heart of that State. From thence it runs through a perfectly level prairie for about two hundred miles, until, at its junction with the Sioux River, it becomes, as is asserted, navigable for vessels of light draught, and so continues till it is lost in Lake Winnipeg. The route from the Falls of St. Anthony, the head of the navigation of the Mississippi, to the Red River Settlement, lies over a perfectly level prairie, well stocked with buffaloes, and capable of being traversed by carts and waggons in summer, and by sledges drawn by dogs in winter. A traveller who wished to reach the Red River Settlement would naturally go this way; but the American tariff, with its heavy duties, is a considerable obstacle to the transport of goods through the territories of the Republic. Furs are so light and so valuable, that they are able to support almost any difficulty in the way of carriage, but it is a very different thing when we come to deal with the less bulky and less valuable products of agriculture. The Hudson's Bay territories were, for some reason or another, not included in the Canadian reciprocity treaty; but this is an obstacle which, unlike swamps, shoals, and cataracts, may be removed by mutual conciliation and good will; and even if it were not, it is very probable that the exactions of the American custom-house might be found more tolerable than the insurmountable obstacles with which nature has surrounded the approach from England to the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The second experiment in colonisation upon which the Hudson's Bay Company has embarked, was the Government of Vancouver's Island, handed over to them by Lord Grey in 1849. If the Red River Settlement was too inaccessible, Vancouver's Island was, at least till the recent gold discoveries, too remote and too little known for the purposes of colonisation. A fur-trading company, especially if that trade be carried on under a claim of monopoly, is a singularly unfit agent for colonisation,

the very essence of which is the unrestricted liberty of individual enterprise; and we suspect that the Hudson's Bay Company has neither added to its pecuniary resources, nor increased the reputation which its shrewd and successful management of commercial transactions had obtained, by suffering itself to be led into colonising operations utterly foreign to its constitution and its objects.

We have now given such a sketch as our limits will permit of the history and operations of the Hudson's Bay Company, though it must not be supposed that we are unaware that almost every statement contained in it has been made the subject of bitter and angry controversy. No institution has been more furiously attacked and more vehemently defended than this Company. Its claim to a monopoly, its actual possession of a lucrative trade, its acknowledged unfitness for the purposes of colonisation, have raised against it a host of enemies. The very Aborigines Protection Society themselves are loud in their outcry against a power which, as we may show hereafter, alone stands between the Indian and immediate destruction. Those who desire its fur trade affect a wish to colonise its lands; and the Americans, who exclude us from their coasting navigation, and who have contrived, by trapping, Indian wars, and free competition, pretty effectually to dispose of their own fur trade, are shocked at the illiberality of the British Government, in not throwing open its North American dominions to their predatory operations.

In 1857, Mr. Labouchere, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. After a very full investigation, the Committee agreed to a report, in which they recommended that we should 'meet the reasonable and just wishes of Canada, to be able to annex to her territory such portions of the land in her neighbourhood as may be available to her for the purposes of settlement; with which lands she is willing to open and maintain communications, and for which she is willing to provide the means of local administration.' If Canada refused this offer, the Committee think some temporary provision for the administration of the Red River and Saskatchewan district may be required; they recommend the separation of Vancouver's Island; and they advise that districts not wanted for colonisation should be left, as now, a field for the exclusive trade of the Hudson's Bay Company.

We have now reached a point from which we hope to be able to consider, in all its bearings, the question we propose to our-

selves for discussion; which is, in what manner ought England to deal with the government of the territories which, at the time the Committee of the House of Commons reported, were under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company?

The question admits of considerable simplification. Adopting a local arrangement, and beginning from the west, we find that, as regards Vancouver's Island, and all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, a decision has already been arrived at. Vancouver's Island is erected into one colony, and the district of the Frazer and Thompson rivers into another, under the name of British Columbia; both being, for the present, placed under the administration of Mr. Douglas, late a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, and their Governor of Vancouver's Island. It is very probable, that an error was committed in thus forming two colonies instead of one; for British Columbia, though making a respectable figure on the map, is encumbered by enormous mountains, which are not likely to be the abode of man, and the alluvial tracts on the banks of its rivers, though fertile and beautiful, are limited in extent. The climate, also, is severe as the explorer recedes further from the sea and advances towards the north, and the Indian tribes, owing to their natural fierceness, their numbers, and the advantages of their rugged country, are likely to give considerable trouble to the settler. It is premature to pronounce an opinion as to the produce of the recently discovered gold fields; but one thing is certain, that the opportunity of digging the gold, even if it exists in the abundance which was announced, is exceedingly difficult to find. During the summer, the rivers are swollen by the melting snows of the Rocky Mountains; and in the winter a great part of the country, particularly on the upper streams, where the richest deposits are likely to be found, is covered under a thick coating of snow. The only period left to the digger seems to be what he can snatch between the melting of one snow drift, and the descent of another; summer and winter being alike unfavourable to his operations, and spring and autumn presenting a brief and precarious interval between the two. It would, therefore, have seemed wiser to have adopted a precedent from the eastern coast of America, and, as the island of Newfoundland has under its government the coast of Labrador, to have turned over British Columbia, at least for the present, to Vancouver's Island. Instead of this, Sir Edward Lytton, whose only revenue for the new colony consists of the precarious resource of the license fee paid by the gold diggers, and some trifling custom duties levied at the mouth of the Frazer, has commenced forming an establishment for which Parliament has made no provision, and which,

we believe, it will be impossible to support, under the most favourable circumstances, out of the slender revenues of the infant settlement. We hear of a Chief Justice, of course with a salary sufficient to support his judicial dignity; a Bishop is said to be in contemplation; a Survey Department is formed; and one gentleman, who had been rather hastily appointed Collector of Customs, has been sent out with the appointment of Harbour Master. All this is the more to be regretted, as the government of the colony seems to have been carried on, under circumstances of great difficulty, to the satisfaction of everybody, by Mr. Douglas. It would have been far better to have allowed him to expend such money as he could raise, in providing himself with the necessary assistance in administering the government, than to encumber him with a number of expensive officials whose salaries he has no money to pay, and who, if paid at all, will assuredly be paid, contrary to all justice and sound principle, out of the revenues of this country. We cannot more appropriately conclude what we have to say on the subject of British Columbia, than by the paragraph of the Queen's Speech relating to the establishment of the new colony:— 'The Act to which Her Majesty has assented, for the establishment of the colony of British Columbia, was urgently required in consequence of the recent discovery of gold in that district; but Her Majesty hopes that this new colony on the Pacific may be but one step in the career of steady progress, by which Her Majesty's dominions in North America may ultimately be peopled, in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by a loyal and industrious population of subjects of the British Crown.' The question we have to inquire into is, how far is this Royal wish likely to be realised?

Confining our attention, for the future, to the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, we may further simplify the question for consideration, by first examining what ought to be done with that portion of the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company over which they now hold an exclusive license to trade, but which, from soil, climate, latitude, or exposure, are entirely unsuited to agricultural settlement. This tract includes all those lands whose waters run into the Arctic sea, and, therefore, the banks of the Mackenzie, the Coppermine, and 'the finest grazing country in the world,' along the course of the Great Fish River. This desolate tract, we entirely agree with the Parliamentary Committee, should be left under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. The best way to state our reasons for this conclusion will be to suppose the contrary view to prevail, and the furtrade to be thrown open to competition. Of course, there would

be an end at once of all the precautions that are now taken for preserving the fur-bearing animals. The same indiscriminate war would be waged against the pregnant female as the male. The chase would be carried on in winter and summer alike, and the more valuable animals, no longer protected by the policy of the Company, would be speedily exterminated. The Indians would probably be replaced by trappers, and, as the inevitable destruction of the fur-bearing animals went on, would find themselves less and less able to procure, by their labour, that clothing and ammunition which have become to them necessities of life. We cannot replace them in the state we found them in; we cannot expect the fur traders to maintain them in idleness; and we may feel quite sure that competition in the fur trade would bring with it its invariable result—the introduction of ardent spirits to complete the destruction of this unhappy race. And all this ruin would be pure loss. Happy homes, and cultivated fields, inhabited by a civilised population, may console philanthropy herself for the extermination of the aboriginal races. But in these desolate regions, if we once destroy, we cannot replace. It is as easy to blot out of the book of life the aboriginal races as the animals which they pursue; but when the last fox has been trapped, and the last Indian starved to death, the white man, who has caused this havoc, has nothing to do but to withdraw from the land he has desolated, and leave it to the ruin which he has so powerfully assisted the rigorous climate and desolate soil in producing.

We have been supposing, hitherto, that the withdrawal of the license for exclusive trade would expose the Hudson's Bay Company to a powerful competition; but this may, after all, not turn out to be the case. To say the truth, this license of exclusive trade is somewhat of a bugbear, and terrifies less the more it is examined. It would puzzle the most acute lawyer to tell us how the Company should proceed, in order to enforce that license against an interloper. No means are provided by the Act authorising the issue of the license, and it would be too strong a construction to argue, that the mere exercise of a trade which the Crown was authorised to hand over to another, would of itself constitute a misdemeanour. The license has undoubtedly its use, but it is rather against foreign governments than the subjects of Her Majesty. All foreign governments are bound to respect our municipal law in our own dominions; and therefore should the Americans, for instance, seek to establish themselves on the Hudson's Bay territory, as between the two Governments, the fact that such a license existed would be a conclusive argument against intrusion. It is quite

possible that it might be found that the Hudson's Bay Company could enjoy its exclusive trade in these remote countries, very nearly as well without the license as with it; but by thus breaking off all connexion between the Company and the Government, we should lose that control which the Colonial Office indirectly exercises over the proceedings of the corporation, and the right of insisting on those different stipulations in favour of the Indians which now form a part of the license. We cannot colonise these northern regions. We cannot turn them to any account for the public interest; and we should, therefore, do wisely to retain our hold on those who can and do derive from them the only advantage they are capable of yielding. Thus, whether we consider that the withdrawal of the license would or would not raise up competition against the Hudson's Bay Company, the step appears alike inexpedient. In the first case, because competition carries with it the destruction of the fur-bearing animals, and the Indian tribes, and the bloody dissensions between the Whites, which have already occurred under similar circumstances; and in the second case, because, without destroying the monopoly, we should be depriving the Government of this country of the only means it possesses to mitigate and regulate it. We conclude therefore, so far as relates to those districts on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, over which the Hudson's Bay Company exercises jurisdiction, not by virtue of its charter, but of the license to trade granted under the Act of 1821, it is expedient that the exclusive privileges of the Company should be continued for a further period, and we are strengthened in this view by the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1857. This region comprehends the Lake Athabasta, the Great Slave Lake, the Great Bear Lake, and the three great rivers, so often alluded to, which empty themselves into the Northern Ocean, and extends about twelve hundred miles from north to south. The question which remains to be considered, is the future destination of the lands claimed under the charter,—those, namely, which are watered by streams which discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay.

On this point, the passage above quoted from the Queen's Speech would seem to be decisive. The Queen is there made to hope that British Columbia is only a step in the career of steady progress by which Her Majesty's dominions in North America may ultimately be peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Can these splendid aspirations be realised, and if so, by what means? Let us go to the other end of the chain, and consider the problem first in its relations to

Canada. In Canada there has been considerable agitation for the last two years with regard to the Hudson's Bay territory. This ferment originated probably in the same feelings which led to the old rivalry of the North-west Company. A new generation has arisen since the amalgamation, and naturally chafes at finding itself excluded from those advantages which by agitation, and even by civil war, its predecessors conquered. When I strike the sack, says the German proverb, I mean the ass; and when Canadian agitators talk of colonising the Red River and Sakatchewan, they are probably thinking more of the fur trade than of agriculture. It is not unnatural, however, that the great mass of the people of Canada should take these complaints in their more natural sense. They see the American Union extending from sea to sea, and naturally wish for a corresponding growth; and anticipating a time, as yet very distant, when the best lands of Canada shall have been occupied, they wish to have a Far West of their own. They profess also to be anxious that these western territories should not fall into the hands of the Americans, but should remain under the sway of the British Crown. Those who have embarked their money in the Grand Trunk Railway are anxious naturally for a westerly extension; and some may even seriously entertain the project, so much talked of and so little really believed in, of a railway through British dominions from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Nay, Lord Bury, who may be considered to represent the most advanced section of Canadian opinion, suggested, if we remember right, the feasibility of carrying a ship canal over the Rocky Mountains.

But Canada has another, and a much closer and more legitimate connexion with the destinies of the Hudson's Bay Company. By the Act of 1774, the northern boundary of Canada is described to coincide with the southern boundary of the territory granted to the merchant adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay. It is no doubt exceedingly important to Canada that its boundaries should be definitively settled; and as one of those boundaries is given by reference to the Hudson's Bay territory, Canada has incidentally a strong interest in having the limits of that territory strictly laid down. In order to forward these objects, and also probably to quiet popular clamour, the Canadian Ministry sent Mr. Draper, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Canada, to attend the sitting of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1857.

Mr. Draper, who, it is only fair to say, gave his evidence with the most commendable fairness and moderation, put forward two claims on behalf of Canada: the one, that the English Go-

vernment should take steps to obtain a judicial decision as to what constitutes the boundary of Canada; the other, that Canada should have, in the first place, a free right to explore and survey the country—in the second, to open communications with it in the usual way, by placing settlers on each side of the road with free grants—and, in the third place, to lay out townships and settle them within the Hudson's Bay territory, which, as fast as they were laid out and settled, should become portions of Canada. These views were substantially agreed to by the Committee and embodied in their report, and had Canada ratified the proposals of her ambassador, the question would probably by this time have advanced very near to a solution. But the Canadians seem to have been disconcerted by being taken so literally at their word. They have, indeed, sent out an expedition under Messrs. Gladman and Dawson, which reported in favour of the practicability of the route by Lake Superior; but having gone thus far, they seem to have stopped short. On the 13th of August, 1858, the Legislative Council and Commons of Canada agreed to an address to the Queen stating their opinion that the approaching termination of the license presents an opportunity for obtaining a final decision on the validity of the Company's charter, and the boundary of Canada on the north and west. That Canada, having questioned the validity of the charter for a century and a half, had a right to request from the Imperial Government a decision of the question. They pray Her Majesty that the boundary may be forthwith submitted to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, *but without any restriction as to any question Canada may deem it proper to present as to the validity of the said charter*, or for the maintenance of her rights; and, lastly, they say that Canada ought not to be called upon to compensate the Company for any portion of the territory from which they may withdraw or be compelled to withdraw.

In order to understand the position in which this address from the Canadian Parliament places the Home Government, we must now refer to the opinion of the law officers as to the validity of the Company's charter. In July, 1857, they advised the then government, that —

'The questions of the validity and construction of the Hudson's Bay Company charter cannot be considered apart from the enjoyment that has been had under it during nearly two centuries, and the recognition made of the rights of the Company in various Acts, both of the Government and the Legislature. Nothing could be more unjust or more opposed to the spirit of our law than to try this charter as a thing of yesterday, upon principles that might be deemed appli-

cable to it, if it had been granted in the last ten or twenty years. . . . In our opinion, the Crown could not now with justice raise the question of the general validity of the charter, but on every legal principle the Company's territorial ownership of the lands granted and the rights necessarily incidental thereto, as, for example, the right of excluding from this territory persons acting in violation of their regulations, ought to be deemed to be valid.'

The law officers agree with Mr. Draper's suggestion of a quasi-judicial decision of the question of boundary, but state that this cannot be done without the consent of both parties; that is, Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company.

The next step, therefore, was to obtain the assent of the Hudson's Bay Company; and, in answer to an application to that effect, the Company write on the 18th of June, 1857, that —

'As they are desirous to throw no obstacle in the way of the settlement of the doubts that have been raised by the people of Canada, as to the extent of the territory to which the Company are entitled under their charter, they will be prepared to recommend to their shareholders to concur in the course suggested. They further state that assuming the object of the proposed inquiry is to obtain for Canada land fit for cultivation and the establishment of agricultural settlers, the directors are already prepared to recommend to the shareholders of the Company to cede any lands that may be required for that purpose. The terms of such cessions would be a matter of no difficulty between Her Majesty's Government and the Company.'

The Hudson's Bay Company have declined to accede as a consenting party to the reference proposed by the address of the Canadian Parliament, stating that they are willing to consent to the reference of the question of boundary to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but that if the validity of their charter in general is to be attacked, they cannot be expected to give any consent to that proceeding. To this Sir E. B. Lytton replies by a threat of immediate legal proceedings, and an announcement that he shall punish the contumacious conduct of the Company by a refusal to renew their license. And thus matters stand at present.

The question has thus assumed a very serious shape. In the first place, it is quite evident that had the negotiation been left in the hands of Mr. Draper, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the then head of the Colonial Office, Mr. Labouchere, there would have been no difficulty, either with regard to the settlement of the question of boundary by agreement, or to the acquisition by Canada of whatever land she requires for actual cultivation, on terms involving no pecuniary sacrifice worth considering. Mr. Draper's terms were so reasonable that they

were at once agreed to by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Parliamentary Committee; the evident meaning of the Company's despatch being, that they were willing to cede such lands as Canada might require for the purposes of *bonâ fide* settlement for a merely nominal consideration, as an acknowledgment of their right to the property they gave up, and consequently to the property they retained. But, unfortunately, the age of reason was of short continuance. The Canadian Parliament took the matter out of the hands of Mr. Draper, and Sir E. B. Lytton succeeded to the official position of Mr. Labouchere.

We have read with some regret the address of the two houses of Parliament of Canada, abridged above. The possession of any lands of the Hudson's Bay Company which they might require for settlement, was offered to them by the report of the Select Committee on performance of the conditions suggested by their own representative, Mr. Draper, as to making roads and communications, locating settlers, and laying out townships. They took a year to consider of it, and then agreed to an address in which they tacitly suppress these conditions, and claim to take as much of the land of the Hudson's Bay Company as they please, without paying anything for it, and without complying with the terms on which it is offered.

As regards the boundary question, although they know it is the opinion of the English law officers that it could only be raised by consent, they claim at the same time to have the benefit of the consent of the Hudson's Bay Company for the purpose of trying the question of boundary in a convenient form, and also to act adversely to them by impeaching before the Privy Council the validity of the charter altogether. That is, they seek at once to determine the question of boundary, and to raise at the same time another question which would render the boundary discussion utterly superfluous. We cannot doubt that the opinion of the law officers with reference to the impropriety of calling in question the general validity of the Hudson's Bay Company charter on behalf of the Government, is founded on law, reason, and justice. In 1749, Sir Dudley Ryder and Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, after hearing counsel, advised the Government of the day, of which they were the law officers, as follows: 'Considering how long the Company has enjoyed and acted under this charter without interruption or encroachment, we cannot think it advisable for His Majesty to make any express or implied declaration against the liability of it till there has been some judgment of a court of justice to warrant it.' That is a hundred and ten years ago, and it would be indeed surprising if that protection, which, in the opinion of

these eminent lawyers, a possession for eighty years flung around the Company, should not be allowed now to avail them. We can imagine no conduct more unworthy of the Crown of this country than the pettyfogging course of seeking, after two hundred years' possession by the Hudson's Bay Company under their charter—after a recognition of the rights of that Company in the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Paris—after an Act of Parliament in 1774, defining the boundary of Canada by reference to the territory 'granted to that Company,'—after one Act confirming its privileges for seven years, and another saving its rights—after the opinion of the law officers in 1749, in 1850, and in 1857, given distinctly in favour of the rights of the Company, the course, we say, of seeking, after all this recognition and possession, to deprive the Company of its charter at the suit of the Crown itself. We venture to say that should a *scire facias* or *quo warranto* be filed for this purpose at the suit of the Crown, it will be an act of oppression and bad faith, to which no parallel can be found since the time when Charles the Second seized into his own hands, by a similar abuse of legal technicalities, the charters of all the principal towns in the country. Whoever may impeach this grant, it should not be the Crown from which it emanated; and he will be a bold Minister that counsels such a step. Another objection to the proceeding is, that it is sure to be as futile as it would be unjust. No lawyer at the present day would maintain that the grant of exclusive trade to the Hudson's Bay Company can be supported; but it is equally clear that such illegality would not vitiate the remainder of the charter. The legal maxim is '*utile per inutile non vitiatur*;' and though the grant of an exclusive right to trade was beyond the power of the Crown, the grant of the land was not. The tendency of our Courts is greatly to support long possession, and it is idle to suppose that after an occupation of such length, and such notoriety, they would seriously enter into the question of whether the Crown was possessed of what it granted, or whether any part of the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company was then in the possession of the subjects of any other Christian prince. The Crown ought not to be dragged into this litigation. If Canada feel herself aggrieved by the charter, and be advised that she can overthrow it, the Courts of Law are open to her, and legal ingenuity will not be slow to suggest many ways in which the Hudson's Bay Company may be forced, like any private proprietor, to prove their title to the land, and thus to invite the opinion of a court of justice as to the validity of the charter under which they hold it. Canada was, as the Legis-

lative Council and Commons remark in their address to their Queen, no party to the charter, and it is therefore perfectly competent to her in good faith to question its validity; but neither is it easy to discover the legal grounds on which Canada can set forth any rival claims. When the Hudson's Bay Company was formed and invested with the government of these territories, Canada was a *French* province; the two regions were separated by the international wars and hatred of England and France; and the first disputes were those which arose between the French and English governors; it is obvious that the claims of Canada cannot now be placed higher than they were at the time of the surrender of Canada itself to the British Crown.

From what we have already said, it will not be difficult to collect the opinion which we entertain of the course which Sir Edward Lytton has adopted in this matter. He is anxious to force the Company to consent, not merely to a trial of the question of boundary, which they are quite willing to do, but to facilitate by every means in their power the attack which Canada meditates on the validity of their charter, and, through it, on their very existence. This is not fair. No man is bound to furnish arms against himself; and if the Colonial Secretary wishes to destroy the Hudson's Bay Company, he should seek to work out his purpose without their assistance. But Sir Edward Lytton goes further. Because the Company not unnaturally refuse to consent to a reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, for the purpose of deciding whether lands which they have held for two hundred years, and on which they have invested half a million of capital, be theirs or no, he tells them he means to withdraw from them the license of exclusive trade over the lands not included in their charter. Now whether this license ought to be renewed or not, is a question of public policy very proper for the decision of the Colonial Secretary on its own merits; but to use this power as a means of extorting from this corporation terms obviously prejudicial to their pecuniary interest, seems as great an abuse of the power vested in the Crown for the public good as well can be imagined. If it be against the public interest that the license should be renewed, let it be refused; if otherwise, let it be granted; but on no account let the Crown descend to stipulate for unfair advantages in return for the performance of its public duty.

The truth is, that the question of boundary between Hudson's Bay Territory and Canada, the only one with which, as we understand the matter, Government has properly anything to do, is not a matter of legal right but rather of public policy, and

might very easily be settled with a little temper and management, without calling in the agency of the Privy Council, or involving the Crown in an unseemly conflict with an ancient and respectable corporation. It does not by any means follow that the decision of the Judicial Committee, though it might solve the law, would meet the expediency of the case. It might award to the Hudson's Bay Company land which they do not require, but the loss of which might be a serious injury to Canada; or, on the other hand, it might give to Canada land not wanted for the purposes of settlement, but whose loss might seriously harass the operations and compromise the interests of the Company. It is clearly a case not for litigation, but for negotiation between the Company and the colony under the mediation of the Home Government. Nor are even the data for such a negotiation wanting. It appears that on several occasions, when Canada was in the hands of the French, the Hudson's Bay Company themselves offered to fix their boundary by a line beginning at Cape Perdrix on the coast of Labrador, and sloping down to the south-west till it strikes the forty-ninth degree of north latitude. Here is at once a starting point for negotiation; and we cannot doubt if we were fortunate enough to possess a Secretary of State for the Colonies, who, instead of flinging his sword into the scale against the weaker party, would be content to conciliate instead of irritating, and mediate instead of threatening, this boundary question might very easily be settled, and the efforts now used to force it into a court of law, where the whole question of the charter would be opened, would be quite unnecessary. But we go further than this. If a portion of the Hudson's Bay Territory is required for colonisation it can be had, as appears by their letter of the 18th of July, on Government's own terms.

Shall we, then, transfer the government of the regions contained in the Hudson's Bay Company's charter, or at least of so much of them as can ever be needed for agricultural settlement, immediately to Canada? Before we make up our minds to this step, we have to satisfy ourselves of these three things: First, that Canada is able to govern these territories; secondly, that she is willing to do so; and, thirdly, that she will be able to govern them better than the Hudson's Bay Company has done. As regards the first question, we have the authority of Mr. Draper for saying that Canada is not at present able to undertake the duty. A large portion of her territory is still unsettled, and it is natural that her attention should be turned to the colonisation of the basin of the Ottawa and its tributaries, and the settlement of the shores of Lake Huron, before she

launches into a vast wilderness separated from her most advanced settlement by some fifteen or sixteen hundred miles of impracticable desert. The Canadian revenue is sorely burdened by debts, and cannot bear the heavy additional charge which will be necessary to bring these remote countries within her reach. Nor have we any reason to suppose that Canada is herself desirous of such an acquisition. The Canadian Address does indeed speak of the right of Canada to have such land as she may want without paying for it, and of the injury she has sustained through the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company; but there is not a word that would lead us to suppose that she is ready at her own costs and charges to realise the aspirations of the Royal Speeches, and form a chain of settlements from her boundaries to meet the eastern border of British Columbia. It would be strange, indeed, if it were otherwise. Whatever England may do, Canada, we suspect, is not prepared to incur large and uncalculated expenses for the purpose of forming a new colony of lands utterly unable to defray the expenses of their own government.

Besides, how is such a government by Canada to be carried on? Will she attempt to govern it as the United States govern their territories, and, being herself a dependency of Great Britain, turn these remote regions into a dependency of her own? Or shall Canada incorporate the Red River Settlement with itself, and give the half-breeds, of whom its population principally consists, a voice and a representative in her legislature? To either of these plans there is this, as it seems to us, insuperable objection, that the Red River Settlement, be it a territory, or be it a province of Canada, can only be reached by passing through a portion of the United States,—the canal, namely, by which alone Lake Superior can be entered.

Supposing, however, that Canada either could or would undertake the government of the Hudson's Bay territory, what advantage would be gained? The Red River settlement is 1800 miles from Montreal. Canada would be at a heavy loss, for she must administer law and provide police for vast regions far too poor to repay even a very small part of the expenses of their government. Communication would be entirely interrupted during the winter, and in summer would be excessively slow, precarious, and difficult. The probability is that in the anxiety for retrenchment on some public emergency, an expenditure so utterly unproductive would be cut off, that in the end the territory would be left altogether to govern itself. Now it is the peculiarity of the Hudson's Bay Company, that the necessities of their trade force them to maintain throughout

their country a police and control which, though rude, is quite as good as these vast deserts out of their own resources can be made to support. Employing the Indians for hunting, and trusting their lives and property among them at distances of hundreds of miles from each other, the servants of the Company have the highest interest to keep the Indian from the excitement of ardent spirits, to prevent the tribes from fighting with each other, and to teach them to respect the lives and properties of Europeans. Thus trade makes them support their own police, and the resources of the country are thus made to produce peace and order to a degree which no government with the ordinary machinery of regular police could possibly effect. It would be very difficult to show that the government of Canada, at the distance of 1800 miles, and with no other interest in preserving order than that which governments ordinarily have, could or would do as much. For these reasons it seems pretty evident that the government of Canada neither could, would, or ought to take upon itself the management of those lands which are now held under the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Shall we then create another new colony, and, starting from the Rocky Mountains on the west, run along the 49th parallel to Lake Superior, and then, on this base, carve out of the northern part of the American Continent a state extending five, six, or more degrees of latitude to the north? As far as we can judge of the tendency of affairs, this seems to be the proposition which the present head of the Colonial Office is most likely to entertain. It is to this country a question of vast political, and of no small financial importance; and it is mainly with a view of enabling our readers to apprehend the question in all its bearings, that we have spent so much space in examining the preliminary details. Of the soil and climate of this country we have already given some account. It is a land of lakes, rivers, and morasses, with a large proportion of primitive rock, and although it possesses a great deal of limestone, which is an ordinary indication of fertility, the promise is broken by the predominance of magnesia in the composition of the rock. Fuel is very scarce, coal has not hitherto been found. Where the land is good, as on the lower Saskatchewan, the Indians are numerous and warlike; where the land is bad, existence can only be supported by the chase of a few wild animals, and by a nauseous and poisonous lichen, known by the name of *Tripe de la Roche*. The shores of the Hudson's Bay are intensely cold and miserably barren, and though the climate mitigates its severity towards the west, the winters appear to

be colder and the summers shorter than in the corresponding latitudes of Europe. Shall we found a colony in this region? The founding of a colony depends upon the fiat of the Government. The success of a colony depends upon its capacity to attract private enterprise. What are the inducements which should lead emigrants to seek their home in such a country as the Hudson's Bay territory? It is not enough to tell us that corn may be grown and stock may be fed on these lands. It must also be proved that there are no other lands of superior natural advantages open to the choice of the emigrant. How many centuries after the southern parts of Europe had been colonised, was the eastern part of Prussia left barren and desolate, not because it was incapable of cultivation, but because more tempting lands were still vacant? There is not as yet, and will not be for many years, any such complete occupation of the more fertile lands and milder climates of the American Continent, as to drive settlers to the bleak and dreary plains of the icy north. Virginia has to be re-colonised. Pennsylvania and New York have still millions of acres of fertile land; and, further west, boundless fields of emigration are offered by the States that form the valley of the Mississippi and surround the great western lakes. Canada herself has as yet very imperfectly fulfilled her mission, for the valley of the mighty Ottawa, twin-brother of the St. Lawrence, which with its noble tributaries forms a sort of world in itself, is yet little more than a lumber station. In that vast region millions upon millions of emigrants may be absorbed before any one shall be driven for want of land to seek a poorer soil and ruder climate a thousand miles beyond the present limits of even Western civilisation. As far then as mere soil and climate go, we have no reason to suppose that the colony planted on the shores of Lake Winnipeg would prove sufficiently attractive to draw settlers within its borders. It may be, however, that there are some especial inducements to overcome these disadvantages; just as we see in the case of Frazer's River, where the belief in the existence of gold has been sufficient to overcome a repugnance to the floods of summer, the snows of winter, the inaccessible mountains, the dangerous river, and the savage Indians. The only inducement the Hudson's Bay territory offers, is the fur trade; and even could the future colonists possess themselves of the whole of that traffic, it would afford but a meagre support for a very small community of English colonists, and, owing to the necessary destruction of the fur-bearing animals and Indians by free competition, would give that support only for a limited period of time. But the

truth is, that it could only be after many years of severe struggle, if at all, that a colony situated on the Red River or Saskatchewan would be able to get any considerable footing in the fur trade, and then it would probably succeed to a wasted and ruined inheritance. On the vast scale of distance on which the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company are carried on, a plan and concert of many years, a regular organisation of posts, and a nice calculation of times and measures, are absolutely necessary, not merely to secure commercial success, but to preserve the lives of the agents of the trade. For instance, there are stations on the Mackenzie River so remote, that the capital employed upon them yields no return for seven years. Where is a new colony to find the capital, the organisation, the intelligence, the local knowledge, by which alone this wonderful triumph over the most dreadful obstacles in nature is achieved? Supposing these difficulties to be at length overcome; it is very improbable the conquest would be worth the labour it had cost. The Hudson's Bay Company, in consequence of the treaty of 1846, were obliged to retire from the banks of the Columbia River, but we never heard that they left to their American successors a very large amount of sport in the chase of the fur-bearing animal. We may, therefore, conclude that no colony could maintain itself on the profits of the fur trade, and that the notion of getting possession of it would turn out to be a costly delusion.

Many persons believe that the remoteness and inaccessibility of land has in itself a charm for the settler; and they read of the Far West and the annual wave of population, seventeen miles wide, that rolls towards it, till they almost fancy that people go to the west because it is far, and leave the east because it is near. This doctrine has been applied to the Hudson's Bay territory; and it has been inferred that the same reason which makes people prefer Upper to Lower Canada, and Illinois, Iowa, or Wisconsin to New England or New York, will necessarily send the intending emigrant to the banks of the Saskatchewan or the Red River. Minnesota, it has been said, has been colonised from the east, and why not Assiniboia? The Far West has hitherto meant the Valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, where the temptation offered by fertile land, in a mild climate with excellent water communication, is so great, that the intending emigrant found that it paid him better to transport himself to this cheap and excellent land, than to purchase the far dearer and less fertile soil of the Eastern States. This is the whole mystery of the Far West; a phenomenon perfectly explicable on the ordinary principles of human con-

duct, and not the least requiring to be cleared up by the assumption of a sentimental connexion between the remote and the magnificent.

The same thing has taken place in Canada. The Lower Province is cold and barren, the Upper is warmer and more fertile, therefore emigration has flowed through the Lower into the Upper Province, while Labrador, still colder and more barren, has received no emigration at all. Now that the warmer portions of the Upper Province have been filled up, emigration begins to fill the Ottawa, where the climate is more severe, each part of the colony being occupied exactly in proportion to the relative merits of its soil and climate. Applying this principle of the selection of lands by their relative merits, and assuming, as we have a right to do, that population will never settle in a country while one more eligible remains unoccupied, what period of time can we fix on sufficiently remote to represent the era when the pressure of population in North America on the means of subsistence, will drive a hardy band of settlers to seek for a home on the banks of the Red River?

As this point is one of very great importance, we shall cite the opinions of some of the witnesses examined before the Parliamentary Committee, omitting, of course, those of the servants of the Company, as being liable to the imputation of partiality or influence. Mr. John Ross, a well-known Canadian statesman, is asked: '76. Do you believe that those portions of the territory capable of being colonised are such as to afford sufficient attractiveness to bring colonists to that distance in preference to more attainable points of settlement much nearer the settled points of Canada?—I should say not at present. I should say they much prefer the nearer lands to more distant ones.' Colonel Lefroy, who was employed for nearly two years to make magnetical experiments in the Hudson's Bay territory, says: '163. The general opinion which I was led to form was, that agricultural settlement can make but very slender progress in that region.' Dr. Rae, the Arctic discoverer, who is no longer in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, is of opinion, from what he has heard of the Saskatchewan, that its banks might be cultivated, but that such cultivation would not pay from the impossibility of finding a market. When questioned as to the rest of the territory, he says: 'No person would go there to settle unless he was paid for it, and paid well. I apply my answer to the wooded country.' Sir John Richardson spent seven years in the Hudson's Bay territory: and in his evidence, from question 2899 to 2904, will be found an excellent general view of the structure and soil of the

whole of the region. His opinion is: 'Until the settlement of Canada has advanced close to the Red River, I do not think that any wise settler would go beyond that place, there being so much better land much nearer the market to be had at a very moderate rate.' (2902.) To these unequivocal testimonies might be added those of military officers who have commanded troops in the district, all to the same effect. We have purposely avoided citing the opinions of Mr. Ellice and Sir George Simpson, because, though entitled to great weight, they might be objected to as proceeding from advocates of the Company. What we have extracted is enough to show the impression of impartial men of high character speaking from their own observation of the capacities of the country for colonisation.

The best proof, however, remains, and that is the fact that colonists do not go to the Red River. There is nothing to prevent them; the lands are open for sale; there is hardly any taxation; English law is administered by an English lawyer who, before he went to the settlement, had attained the rank of Queen's Counsel in Canada; life and property are perfectly safe under the care of a detachment of Her Majesty's troops. The Company may not be zealous colonisers, but they do, and can do, nothing to prevent settlement, and, if there were any adequate motive, we do not doubt but settlement would take place. But there is no such motive. The climate and soil are uninviting, and any produce which might be raised could only be sent to the south to compete, in the overstocked markets of Minnesota, with similar produce raised on the spot. The country can only be reached by large bodies of persons through the United States; and it would be an unaccountable infatuation if emigrants should pass through a region where land is fertile and communication is easy, to seek a home in a remote and isolated country inferior in every respect to the unoccupied lands which lie on each side of the way to it. The only inducement which Government could hold out to emigrants would be the substitution of the rule of the Crown for the management of the Company; and, with every respect for the Colonial Office, we must be permitted to doubt whether this is a boon which would be very highly appreciated. When we see how Mr. Douglas, a mere fur-trader, has been able, under circumstances most trying and perplexing, without money, without official staff, without military help, to govern, to reduce to order, to feed, and to conciliate the vast mass of desperate and lawless men whom the recent gold discoveries flung on the shore of Vancouver's Island, we may reasonably

question whether the settler would gain much by the displacement of such administrators as the rough service of the Hudson's Bay Company seems to train, in order to make room for that peculiar class of persons who are generally selected to discharge responsible and onerous offices in Crown Colonies. The truth is, a colony has already been established at the Red River. It has conspicuously failed from defects of climate, position, and communication, and there is no reason to think that the failure would be less complete if the name of the Crown were substituted for that of the Company.

But all these considerations dwindle into insignificance, compared to the political importance of the step which, if we are to believe the Queen's Speech, the Government is about to take. It is beyond all question, that the natural approach to and outlet from the best parts of the Hudson's Bay territory is through the State of Minnesota. We have shown, and need not repeat, the insuperable objections to the other two routes by Hudson's Bay and by Lake Superior. Such commerce as the country has is destined to go to the south, and as far as its intercourse with the rest of the world is concerned, the Red River Settlement is a part of the States which are watered by the Mississippi. It is in vain to suppose that a Government can force commerce into any other channel than that which it naturally makes for itself. If the proposed colony is to buy everything from, and sell everything to, the United States, if it is only to be approached and only left through the United States, the result necessarily will be, that it will become politically assimilated to them, and that its dependence on the British Crown will become nearly nominal. The colonists will know that, in case of war with America, it is entirely out of the power of the Crown to protect them, and that they alone, of all the dependencies of Great Britain, are utterly out of reach of assistance from the mother state. We have shown how little chance there is of any considerable number of emigrants finding their way from these islands to the Red River. A man with the map of all the world before him will hardly go thither. But the case may be very different with regard to the American settlers in Minnesota. • We have some experience, as in the troubles between the State of Maine and Canada, of the eagerness with which the Americans will press forward to seize even upon the most unpromising districts, especially when these aggressions tend to bring their own government into contact with the Crown of Great Britain. Their most advanced settlement is at present about three hundred and thirty miles south of the 49th parallel, the boundary of British America, and their rail-

way has as yet only reached La Crosse, in about the 43rd degree of north latitude, about two hundred miles south of St. Paul's. But this gap will soon be filled up. There is no geographical obstacle whatever to their progress, and the time must come, before many years have expired, when they will reach the imaginary line which divides the level prairie between Great Britain and the American Union. Will they stop there; will not the temptation be irresistible to overflow the British colony, just as the Missourians occupied Kansas, and to settle upon her lands with every disposition to make the retention of them, under the Crown, as troublesome as possible to this country? We shall have no Hudson's Bay Company then to act as a buffer between the two countries; they will confront each other face to face, with every advantage on the side of the Americans. The British nation will be represented by a few unpopular officials; everything else will be American. Our officers will be situated as the representatives of the United States have been in the territory of Utah. In such a state of things, causes cannot long be wanting to wound our pride and stain our honour. Our very helplessness will increase our irritation; and unless both nations have grown much wiser in the interval which must elapse, we may find ourselves involved in a destructive war for the sake of this miserable nook of worthless land. No step is more ill-advised than to form a colony with the full knowledge that nature forbids us from protecting, and honour from abandoning it; especially if, in order to secure this object, we are to begin by destroying a government which, without costing us a farthing, maintains peace and order through a territory as large as Europe, and substituting for it an expensive and inefficient machinery of our own. It may be true that it would be desirable to form a chain of colonies along the whole length of the northern frontier of the United States; but this must be understood subject to the condition that those colonies should have free communication with each other, and should all have access to Great Britain during the whole year, without passing through foreign territory. Unless these conditions are complied with, we are merely colonising for the Americans, and exposing ourselves to the degradation of owning settlements which we cannot protect, govern, or surrender.

If this subject could only be regarded without passion or prejudice, and with a single view to imperial interests, the solution does not appear difficult. Things are not ripe for any final resolution. Canada is evidently not prepared at this moment either to accept or reject the offer of the Company to take these lands on condition of settling and making com-

munications to them. It is a gross exaggeration to represent American settlement as having reached the boundary line, and many years must elapse before the space which intervenes between St. Paul's and Pembina is filled up. Everything is in a state of transition and uncertainty. The creation of the new colony of British Columbia points to the possibility of the formation of an overland route by the northern Saskatchewan. Innumerable projects for an Atlantic and Pacific railroad are in the air. No one can tell what form will arise out of this chaos, and until we know, it would be the height of imprudence to commit ourselves to so decisive and irrevocable a step as the formation of a British colony which we are bound to defend at all hazards.* In this state of transition and uncertainty, we have the good fortune to possess in this fur company 'an expedient peculiarly adapted to the requirements of the time. If it has no other merit, it secures to us, if we are wise, time for circumspection and deliberation, and saves us from the necessity of taking any rash and ill-advised step. And yet all parties, agreeing in nothing else, seem to have combined for the purpose of destroying the corporation which at this moment renders us such invaluable service. The Colonial Minister, to whom it saves infinite trouble and anxiety, the Canadian Government, whose frontiers it preserves in tranquillity, nay, the very Aborigines Protection Society, whose duties it most efficiently discharges, all combine in the wish to extinguish it. Let it then be extinguished, but do not let us embark in the dangerous and expensive folly of colonising the country on our own account. Better to hand it over at once to the United States, and get some credit for liberality, than wait to see it wrested from us without the possibility of resistance and without the grace of a concession.

* These pages were already in the press when the latest work on the subject, Mr. Kane's 'Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of British North America,' reached our hands; and we are happy to find that Mr. Kane fully confirms, from his own personal observation, the opinion we have formed. His pencil has been employed with great success to represent the wild Indian tribes of these regions, and the wild scenery in which they dwell. He visited the Red River Settlement, penetrated to Fort Assiniboine, descended the Walla Walla and the Columbia, and has given us a most graphic and entertaining account of the frightful country he succeeded in crossing. We should be ready to rest the whole case on Mr. Kane's evidence, which is really conclusive, and we strongly recommend his most interesting volume to our readers.

ART. VI: — *Correspondence, Despatches, and other papers of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry.* Edited by his brother, CHARLES WILLIAM VANE, Marquess of Londonderry. London, 1849-53. 12 vols. 8vo.

IN a recent article, with the help of some modern publications, we followed the course of the Grenville, Portland, and Perceval Administrations: and we gave a succinct account of the negotiations which, in June 1812, led to the selection of Lord Liverpool as the successor of Mr. Perceval.* We propose in this article to continue our review of the events of this period from the accession of Lord Liverpool to the death of Lord Castlereagh in 1822; and on a future occasion to carry on our retrospect from 1822 to the resignation of the Duke of Wellington, and the advent of the Reform Ministry of Lord Grey.

The Administration of Lord Liverpool, like that of Mr. Pitt in 1783, was neither formed under happy auspices, nor was it upon its formation expected to be of long duration. Yet it lasted for fifteen years, and was at last only dissolved by the illness and resignation of Lord Liverpool himself, without any adverse parliamentary vote.

The negotiations with Lords Grey and Grenville on the one hand, and with Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning on the other, had equally failed; and the Administration of Lord Liverpool was in substance a reproduction of the preceding Government, with such shiftings of parts as were rendered necessary by Mr. Perceval's death. In his character of First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Perceval was replaced by Lord Liverpool, who resigned the War Department to Lord Bathurst, previously President of the Board of Trade. In his capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer he was replaced by Mr. Vansittart. In his capacity of Leader of the House of Commons he was replaced by Lord Castlereagh. The other changes were caused by the retirement of Mr. Charles Yorke and Mr. Richard Ryder.†

The new Prime Minister was the son of the first Earl of Liverpool, who had filled numerous official situations, had taken

* Edinburgh Review, Oct., 1858, Art. 1.

† Mr. Perceval's Cabinet in April, 1812, consisted of ten members, of whom six were Peers and four were Commoners. Lord Liverpool's Cabinet in September, 1812, consisted of twelve members, of whom ten were Peers, and only two were Commoners; viz., Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Vansittart.

a considerable part in public affairs, and was much distinguished by the favour of George III., but is now chiefly known as the author of the work on the 'Coins of the Realm.'* . He was born in 1770, and entered Parliament in 1790, a few months before he attained his majority; and soon took a prominent part in debate as a supporter of Mr. Pitt's Government. In 1801, upon Mr. Pitt's resignation, Lord Hawkesbury, being still a member of the House of Commons, entered Addington's Cabinet as Foreign Secretary, and in that capacity negotiated the Peace of Amiens. In 1803 he gained much reputation by his spirited answer to Mr. Pitt in the debate on Colonel Patten's motion of censure; and at the beginning of the following Session he was called up to the House of Lords, of which he became the leader. In this position he remained, with a transfer only from the Foreign to the Home Department, until Mr. Pitt's death, when he went into Opposition. Upon the formation of the Portland Administration he returned to the Home Office and the lead of the House of Lords. In the Perceval Ministry he held the Seals of the War Department, which he only surrendered in order to become First Lord of the Treasury in June 1812, having succeeded to the Earldom of Liverpool upon the death of his father in December, 1808.

As soon as the Government was formed, Lord Liverpool made an attempt to strengthen it by the incorporation of Mr. Canning, without Lord Wellesley, his partner in the late negotiation. The offer made to him was the Foreign Department, together with other subordinate offices for his political friends; but the lead of the House of Commons was to remain with Lord Castlereagh, who was, it appears, to become Chancellor of the Exchequer instead of Mr. Vansittart.† The Foreign Department must have had great attractions at this moment for Mr. Canning; he had held it from 1807 to 1809 under the lead of Mr. Perceval. The Peninsular war, of which he had been the originator, and in the prosecution of which he had from the beginning taken a peculiar interest, had now entered upon a more hopeful stage of its course; Ciudad Rodrigo had been captured in January, and Badajos in April. Lord Wellington had already commenced the advance which ended in the battle of Salamanca. Napoleon had, moreover, crossed the Niemen, and had begun his perilous and, as it ultimately proved, fatal march to Moscow: so that some gleams of light could

* Reviewed with high praise in this Journal for January, 1806, (vol. vii. p. 265.)

† See Wilberforce Corr., vol. ii. p. 232.

be seen to streak the dark horizon of Continental politics. Mr. Canning declined this offer because Lord Castlereagh, in yielding to him the Foreign Department, which he had now held since Lord Wellesley's resignation in February, did not at the same time yield to him the lead of the House of Commons. Mr. Stapleton, in his 'Life of Mr. Canning,' states that Mr. Canning referred the question to three members of the House of Commons, who were supposed to be peculiarly well qualified to form a judgment upon it; that they advised him to refuse the office without the lead of the House, and that he acted upon their advice but against his own opinion.* Mr. Canning, however, in a letter written at the time to Mr. Wilberforce, dwells upon the importance of the post of leader, and warmly justifies his refusal upon the ground that he was right in insisting on it.†

One of the first acts of the new Government, though right in itself, and only censurable because it came too late to avert war with the United States, was the revocation of the Orders in Council with respect to American vessels, a measure which Lord Castlereagh announced on the 16th of June, upon a motion of Mr. Brougham for an address to the Prince Regent to recall or suspend them. This decision, forced upon the Government by parliamentary argument, by the commercial distress, and by the voice of the country, involved an entire departure from the policy hitherto followed or supported by the existing Ministers, and therefore was regarded as additional evidence of their weakness.

Shortly after the formation of the Administration, Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning brought the Catholic question under the notice of both Houses, by motions for a consideration of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, early in the next session, with a view to a final and conciliatory adjustment. This resolution was met in the House of Lords by Lord Eldon, not with a negative, but with the previous question; and, in this subdued form, his amendment was carried only by a majority of one, the division in his favour being 126 to 125, and the peers present being equal. In the other House, the success of the motion was still greater; for it was there supported by Lord Castlereagh, and carried by a majority of 235 to 106. The result of these motions shows that if an Administration

* Political Life of Mr. Canning, vol. i. p. 67. The disappointment which the refusal of this offer subsequently caused to Mr. Canning is described by Mr. Stapleton, *ib.* p. 292.

† Life of Wilberforce, vol. iv. p. 46.

involving a strong Whig element, and one favourable to the Catholic claims, had been formed in this session, it might have succeeded in effecting a final settlement of the question. At this time, the demands of the war with Napoleon, and the manifest impolicy of keeping Ireland in a permanent state of disaffection, as a bait for invasion, and a chronic cause of weakness, created a disposition among the intolerant party in Great Britain to listen to reason*; which evaporated when the enemy had been defeated, and when peace had been restored. The fear of the foreigner now produced that willingness to do justice to the Catholics, which, in 1829, was reproduced in a more practical form by the fear of civil war.

The business of the session having been completed, and all ministerial negotiations being at an end, Parliament was prorogued on the 30th of July. The repeal of the Orders in Council had been too long deferred: war against Great Britain had been declared by the United States—and the prospects of the Government were gloomy, when the news arrived of the battle of Salamanca, fought on the 21st of July, a few days before the prorogation. This event (which was followed by the entry of the English into Madrid on the 11th of August) infused a new life into the Ministry: but the development of the Moscow drama, which speedily ensued, placed it in a new and far more hopeful position. Napoleon, before he left Paris for the Russian expedition, seems to have felt some uneasiness about the state of things in Spain; and, though he did not think the Peninsular war worthy of his personal interference, he attempted to extinguish it by a separate negotiation with England. By a despatch which the Duke of Bassano addressed to Lord Castlereagh, dated April 17. 1812, he proposed, 1. That the integrity of Spain should be guaranteed; that France should renounce all idea of extending her dominions beyond the Pyrenees, and that the existing dynasty should be declared independent: 2. That the independence and integrity of Portugal should be also guaranteed, and that the House of Braganza should have the sovereign authority: 3. That the kingdom of Naples should remain in possession of the existing monarch, and that the kingdom of Sicily should be guaranteed to the existing

* The argument derived from the danger of a French invasion of Ireland, in the disaffected state of the Catholic population, is repeatedly urged in Peter Plymley's Letters, and is varied with all the power of Sydney Smith's witty imagination. He calls the English Government an *anemocracy*, because it relies on nothing but the winds for the defence of Ireland.

family of Sicily: and 4. That, as a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily should be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces. Lord Castlereagh's answer, dated April 23. stated that if by the 'actual dynasty' of Spain, the brother of the head of the French Government was intended, the Prince Regent could not negotiate on such a basis; but that if the existing Government, which exercised the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. was intended, the Prince Regent was ready to enter into negotiation. With this answer the correspondence terminated; inasmuch as Napoleon clearly designed Spain to be a French dependency, governed through his brother as satrap. In May Napoleon arrived at Dresden, and at the end of June the French army crossed the Niemen. The scenes of this great tragedy now succeeded each other with rapidity, as if under the control of the avenging Nemesis of the Greek theatre: the battle of Smolensko was fought in August; that of Borodino in September. The French army entered Moscow on the 14th of this month; on the 15th of October the retreat commenced; the battle of Beresina fell on the 28th of November; on the 5th of December Napoleon abandoned his army; and on the 18th of the same month he arrived at Paris, having, since he left it in the previous May, pulverized that empire which then seemed to be made of adamant.

The suspense in which the country was kept by the events proceeding on the Continent prevented any concerted interference, by parliamentary motions, with the conduct of the war; and the session of 1813 was mainly occupied with two questions of domestic policy, namely, the removal of Catholic disabilities, and the renewal of the charter of the East India Company. The success of Mr. Canning's motion in the previous session had elicited from the country many petitions adverse to the Catholics; but Mr. Grattan's motion for a committee of the whole House to consider the laws affecting Roman Catholics was carried on the 2d of March by 264 to 224 votes. After some other intermediate divisions, the Bill introduced by Mr. Grattan was read a second time by 245 to 203; when the Bill was in committee the Speaker (Abbot) moved the omission of the words 'to sit and vote in either House of Parliament,' in the first clause, and carried his motion by a majority of four (251 against 247). Mr. Ponsonby, the leader of Opposition, then announced that the Bill was abandoned. With respect to the debates upon the East India Company, it is sufficient for our purpose to say that the political powers and the monopoly of the China trade were renewed for twenty years, but that the

trade with India was thrown open to the public. An amendment moved by Mr. Canning for limiting the monopoly of the China trade to ten years was negatived by 69 to 29 votes.

The position of the Princess of Wales, and her permanent separation from her husband, began to attract additional attention since he had become virtually king, and since the age of the Princess Charlotte was advancing to maturity. In order, however, to understand the events of this year, it is necessary that we should revert to the previous history of the Princess of Wales, and to trace the steps by which she had been brought into her actual relations with the Prince.

The Prince of Wales had, at the age of twenty-three, gone through, the ceremony of a marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, which, though it had no legal validity, produced the effect of satisfying her scruples and quieting her conscience. This remarkable event in the Prince's life, and his versatile though overpowering female attachments, strongly indisposed him to contract a binding and lawful marriage. At length, however, his pecuniary necessities—for his debts had reached a sum exceeding 600,000*l.*—induced him to comply with the wish of the King and of the country, and to consent to take a wife. The position of Princess of Wales, and future Queen of England, was naturally much coveted by the Protestant princesses of Germany*: but the two candidates who seem to have held the first rank in the estimation of the Prince and his advisers were Princess Caroline of Brunswick, and Princess Louisa of Mecklenburg. The former, now twenty-seven years of age†, was the niece of George III., being the daughter of his sister the Princess Augusta. The latter was the niece of Queen Charlotte; and subsequently became Queen of Prussia, the idol and heroine of the Prussian people, and the object of Napoléon's insults.‡ The Princess Louisa had the advantage both in youth and beauty; and her elevated character might, if she had become Princess of Wales, have exercised some influence in fixing the wayward tastes of

*•The Duchess Dowager of Brunswick, sister of George III., and mother of the Princess Caroline, told Lord Malmesbury, when on his mission to fetch the Princess in 1794, that all the young German princesses had learnt English, in hopes of attaining to the dignity of Princess of Wales. She added that she never would give the idea to her own daughter Caroline, and never thought that she would make that marriage, as the King had often expressed his dislike to the marriage of cousins german. (Diaries, vol. iii. p. 155.)

† She was born in May, 1768.

‡ She was born in 1776, and was, therefore, eight years younger than Princess Caroline of Brunswick.

the selfish and instable husband.* The Prince, however, having made up his mind to swallow the bitter pill of a wife, resolved to do it in the manner most acceptable to the King; and, therefore, to prefer the King's to the Queen's niece. One day, in returning from hunting, he suddenly announced to the King his wish to marry, and to marry the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick. The King said that he could make no objection to his own niece, but suggested inquiries about her person and manners. The Prince, however, whose resolution was already taken, expressed himself as satisfied.† In November, 1794, Lord Malmesbury was sent to Brunswick to demand the Princess Caroline for the Prince of Wales‡, and in the following month the King announced in his speech to Parliament the conclusion of a treaty of marriage.§

At the first meeting between the Prince and Princess, the Prince took an aversion to her appearance, which upon further acquaintance was speedily confirmed by her manners and conversation.|| Their nuptials were solemnized at the Chapel Royal, St. James', on the 8th of April, 1795. When the time arrived, the reluctance of the royal bridegroom was great; he drank so many glasses of brandy in order to strengthen his nerves for the marriage ceremony, that he could scarcely stand, and the Duke of Bedford, who walked in the procession by his side, had even some difficulty in preventing him from falling.¶ Among other

* Lord Thurlow said of the Prince, that 'he was the worst anchoring ground in Europe.' This dictum, which Lord Thurlow applied to his political conduct, was equally true of his domestic connexions.

† The account of this conversation was given by George III. to Lord Liverpool, and by him repeated to Lord Holland. (Mem. of Whig Party, vol. ii. p. 145.) It agrees perfectly with what is known of the Prince's views; it is believed by Lord Holland, and no reasonable doubt can exist as to its truth.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iii. p. 151.

§ A detailed account of her voyage, by the commodore who commanded the squadron which brought her to England, may be seen in Ann. Reg., 1821, p. 638.

|| Lord Malmesbury, *ib.*, p. 218-20. Lord Malmesbury was alone present at the first interview of the Princess with the Prince. The impression produced on the Princess by the Prince's appearance was likewise unfavourable. His reception of her was in the highest degree cold, repulsive, and rude.

¶ Lord Holland, *ib.* p. 122. Lord Malmesbury, who was present, perceived that the Prince was unhappy, and that he had had recourse to wine or spirits, *ib.*, p. 220. The Prince's state on this occasion is well attested.

things, the previous marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert weighed upon his mind; and disturbed a nature, vicious, false, weak, and self-indulgent, but not proof against remorse, or devoid of kindly impulses.

On the 7th of January, 1796, being exactly nine months, wanting one day, from the wedding-day, their only child, the Princess Charlotte, was born. The Princess had continued to reside at Carlton House, and it was there that her delivery took place; but the Prince is understood to have broken off all intercourse with her almost immediately after the marriage; and during the first year he resided chiefly at Windsor and Brighton. In April, 1796, a more complete separation between the parties was arranged through the intervention of Lord and Lady Cholmondeley; and the Prince addressed to the Princess a letter, in which he defined their future relations in the following terms:—‘Our inclinations,’ he said, ‘are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power: let our intercourse therefore be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in his mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing, at any period, a connexion of a more particular nature.’ In her answer to this letter the Princess says:—‘L’avcu de votre conversation avec Lord Cholmondeley ne m’étonne, ni ne m’offense. C’étoit me confirmer ce que vous m’avez tacitement insinué depuis une année. Mais il y auroit après cela, un manque de délicatesse, ou, pour mieux dire, une bassesse indigne, de me plaindre des conditions que vous vous imposez à vous-même.’* Thus, at the end of a year, and when their child was little more than three months old, the Prince dismissed his wife from his house, and separated her from his bed and board, without any cause assigned; for the plea of mutual unsuitableness

* These letters are printed in the *Genuine Book*, p. 227–29, with some notes, doubtless added by the editor, Mr. Perceval, upon the authority of the Princess. The Prince’s letter is dated, Windsor Castle, April 30. 1796. The letter of the Princess is dated May 6., and was written from Carlton House. Lord Thurlow called the Prince’s letter a ‘letter of license.’ The Princess Charlotte was baptized at Carlton House on the 11th of February. On this occasion the Prince and Princess of Wales received their Majesties and the Princesses at dinner, probably the last occasion on which the two former sat together at the same table.

meant in fact only that she did not suit his taste. The Princess herself, as her letter shows, submitted reluctantly to his conditions, and only required that the intercourse, once broken off, should not be renewed at his discretion, and without her free consent. In consequence of this correspondence, the Princess removed from Carlton House, and took up her abode in a villa at Blackheath, where she remained in comparative obscurity for a considerable time: she was received at Court on public occasions, but never met the Prince, and had little intercourse with the other members of the Royal Family. The King, however, partly on account of his dislike for the Prince, but chiefly from a regard for his own niece, always felt an interest in her, and extended to her a certain protection. The infant Princess was permitted to remain in the care of her mother, and it was not until 1804, when his daughter was eight years old, that the Prince remonstrated against this arrangement, and required that she should be transferred to his sole management. The King, however, denied that the Prince could be properly trusted with the care of his daughter, and insisted, as guardian of the Royal Family, that she should remain in the custody of the mother.*

The following year was an important crisis in the relations of the Prince and Princess of Wales. It came to the knowledge of the Prince, through communications made by the Dukes of Sussex and Kent, that Sir John and Lady Douglas, who had occupied a house near that of the Princess at Blackheath, and had been admitted to her familiarity, were prepared to make disclosures seriously affecting her character. Lady Douglas, the principal informant, having been requested to put her testimony in writing, submitted to the Prince, in Dec. 1805, a detailed statement of facts and conversations, the result of which was that the Princess had, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, become pregnant, and been secretly delivered of a male child near the end of 1802, which child was living in her house, under her protection. As this statement would, if supported by evidence, have affected the succession to the Crown, the Prince was undoubtedly bound to communicate it to the Ministers; and

* In 1718, upon a question referred to all the Judges by George I., it was resolved, by the opinion of ten against the other two, that the education and care of all the King's grandchildren, while minors, and the care and approbation of their marriages when grown up, belonged of right to His Majesty, as King of this realm, during their father's life. Blackstone Com., vol. i. p. 219. The latter part of this rule has been since superseded by the Royal Marriage Act.

Lord Grenville at once perceived, that if a child had really been born, the fact must be declared to Parliament.*

The information thus obtained was laid before the King †; who issued a commission, under the sign manual, on the 29th of May, 1806, to Lord Erskine, the Lord Chancellor; Lord Spencer, Secretary of State; Lord Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury; and Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice, to inquire into the truth of 'certain written declarations touching the 'conduct of H. R. H. the Princess of Wales.' The four commissioners, charged with this 'delicate investigation,' as it was called, considered their inquiry as an *ex-parte* proceeding; they therefore conducted it in secret, and without the presence of the accused party or her counsel; but the evidence was taken on oath; and on the 14th of July, they made their report, in which they gave a decided negative to the allegation that the Princess had been delivered of a child in 1802, or had been pregnant. The child then with the Princess was, they found, beyond all doubt born in the Brownlow Street Hospital on the 11th of July 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following.‡ So far the report was a clear acquittal upon the main charge, and relieved His Majesty and the country from the embarrassment which would have arisen if a male child had been born to the Princess in wedlock, which her husband would not have recognised as his offspring. But the commissioners proceeded to call the King's attention to certain particulars respecting the conduct of the Princess, disclosed incidentally in the evidence, 'which must, especially considering her exalted 'rank and station, necessarily' give occasion to very unfavourable 'interpretations.' They proceeded to specify the depositions of certain witnesses; they added their opinion that the circumstances referred to 'must be credited until they should receive

* See Mem. of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 142. 148.

† For an account of the transactions up to this stage of the business, see Memoirs of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 123-26. 140.

‡ Sir S. Romilly entirely concurred in this conclusion, *ib.*, p. 144. Lord Campbell, in his Lives of the Chancellors, alludes to a report as to the foreign parentage of William Austin. The story to which he refers is one which was unquestionably countenanced by the Princess of Wales herself, namely, that Sophia Austin's child was subsequently exchanged for an illegitimate child of Prince Louis of Prussia by a Brunswick maid of honour. How far the story is entitled to credit, we offer no opinion. That the child originally taken to Montague House was Sophia Austin's child is, we think, proved by perfectly conclusive evidence.

‘some decisive contradiction; and, if true, were entitled to the ‘most serious consideration.’ A copy of this report, with the accompanying documents, was communicated by the King to the Princess, by whom it was placed in the hands of Lord Eldon *, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Plomer. These advisers prepared a long controversial answer to the report, in which both the course of proceeding, and the evidence reflecting on the Princess’ conduct, were impugned in the most unreserved manner; it was couched in the form of a letter to the King, and was signed by the Princess.†

The inquiry being now completed, and the Princess having been heard, the matter was ripe for decision, and the King desired the Cabinet to advise him as to the course to be pursued.‡ The result of this reference was that on Jan. 28th, 1807, the Lord Chancellor transmitted a paper to the Princess, containing a message from the King which recited the opinion of the Cabinet that no further steps should be taken in the business, unless the law officers should advise the prosecution of Lady Douglas; and their advice that the King should no

* On the part taken by Lord Eldon at this period, as the adviser of the Princess, with some of her letters to him, see Twiss, *Life*, vol. ii. p. 23—8. In a letter to Lord Eldon of July 25. 1806, she speaks of the Ministers and the Prince in the following terms:— ‘The Princess is quite resigned to her cruel fate, from the period ‘that her honour was in the hands of a pack of ruffians, and who ‘are only devoted, and slaves, to her most inveterate enemy.’ (*Ib.*, p. 25.) The broken English of this letter shows that it was her own composition.

† The date of this letter was Oct. 2. 1806. It was drawn by Mr. Perceval, with alterations by Mr. Plomer. (*Mem. of Rom.*, *ib.*, p. 164.) Lord Holland states that Mr. Perceval caused a hundred copies of it to be printed at the time. (*Ib.*, p. 154.)

‡ An account of the deliberations of the Cabinet on this occasion, and of the King’s desire to embarrass his Ministers with the solution of this question, is given by Lord Holland. (*Ib.*, p. 151—54.) Lord Sidmouth (he says) called the business ‘a sad *blister*.’ The views of the Cabinet were embodied in a minute, dated Jan. 25. 1806, from which Mr. Wyndham alone dissented. He sent in a separate minute, declaring his conviction of the entire innocence of the Princess.

Lord Brougham states that the King wished to avail himself of the Delicate Investigation, in order to turn out his Ministers. (*Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 246.) There is, however, no published evidence of his having formed such a design. Lord Malmesbury describes his indifference to attempts to undermine them in October, 1806. (*Diary*, vol. iv. p. 353.)

longer decline to receive the Princess into his royal presence. The King proceeded to express his satisfaction at the decided opinion of the four lords upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against the Princess by Lady Douglas; but added that there were circumstances in the examinations, and even in the answers of the Princess, which he could not regard without serious concern, and he cautioned her to be more circumspect in her conduct for the future.* At this point the Prince interposed, and requested the King to take no further step until he submitted to him an additional statement. This remonstrance produced a delay in carrying the King's declared intention into effect: but while the matter was still pending, the rupture with the Ministry upon the Catholic question had taken place, and the Portland administration was installed. Lord Eldon and Mr. Perceval, the main advisers of the Princess in her late contest with the Prince, and in her attack upon the Commission of Inquiry, were now in office; and the new Ministers speedily passed a minute of Cabinet, concurring in the opinion of their predecessors that the two main charges alleged against the Princess, of pregnancy and delivery, were completely disproved, and declaring their own unanimous opinion, that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her, to which the character of criminality could be ascribed, were satisfactorily contradicted, or rested upon evidence undeserving of credit. They therefore recommended that she should be admitted to the King's presence, and be received at Court.† In consequence of this decision, apartments in Kensington Palace were assigned to her, and she appeared at Court receptions; but her private intercourse with the Royal Family underwent no change.

The result of the inquiry of 1806 had been to give a triumph to the Princess. The four lords acquitted her of the charges of pregnancy and delivery; the minute of the Portland Cabinet acquitted her of the charges founded on the incidental evidence. The King received her at Court, and she obtained apartments at Kensington Palace; allusion was even made to a prosecution

* *Genuine Book*, p. 199. In the message as originally framed by the Ministers, the sentence ran, 'His Majesty sees with concern and disapprobation;' but the King with his own hand struck out 'disapprobation,' and substituted 'serious concern.' Sir S. Romilly considers the affair to have terminated in a manner not very satisfactory to any party. (*Ib.*, p. 179.)

† This minute, dated April 22. 1807, is printed in *Huish's Memoirs of George IV.*, vol. i. p. 549.

of Lady Douglas for perjury.* The Prince therefore thought it prudent to abstain from further measures of aggression; while the Princess, having the custody of her daughter, was contented to observe the truce which circumstances seemed to have established. The Regency, however, disturbed this equilibrium; and the Prince, now master of his own child, subjected her intercourse with her mother to severe restrictions. The Prince was always unpopular, and the Princess was counselled to try an appeal to the public. Accordingly, in January, 1813, the Princess, acting on the advice of Mr. Brougham, addressed to the Prince a long letter of remonstrance, in which she complained of the restrictions under which her intercourse with the Princess Charlotte was placed, now limited to an interview once a fortnight; of the imputation upon her own character, unsupported by proof, and negatived by the inquiry of 1806, which these restrictions implied; of the injudicious seclusion of the Princess Charlotte, from the world, and her residence at Windsor; and of the improper delay in administering to her the rite of confirmation. This letter, sent to Lord Liverpool and Lord Eldon, by Lady Charlotte Campbell, was twice returned unopened; at last an answer was obtained that the contents of the letter had been made known to the Prince; and after further delay and correspondence, Lord Liverpool wrote to the Princess that in consequence of her demand, her letter had been read to the Prince, but that he had not been pleased to express his pleasure thereon.† The result of this ill-advised and almost

* Lord Eldon, who was the partisan and confidential adviser of the Princess of Wales in 1806, said to Lord Grey in April, 1813, in reference to the Delicate Investigation: 'My opinion is, *and always has been*, that, though she was not with child, she supposed herself 'to be with child.' (Mem. of Rom., vol. iii. p. 104.) The truth of Lady Douglas's statement is not now material, as the main fact to which she deposed was clearly disproved; but we are by no means satisfied that the Princess (who was fond of hoaxes and mystifications, not of the most refined kind,) did not tell her what she related. Lady Douglas's manner impressed Sir S. Romilly with her veracity. (Mem., vol. ii. p. 126.) See also his statement as to the handwriting of the anonymous letters, *ib.* p. 151.

Lord Malmesbury was consulted by the Princess of Wales in 1806, upon the subject of the charge made against her, and left a minute account of the transaction which the editor has not published. (Diaries, vol. iv. p. 355.)

† See Twiss, *Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 230–32. In a letter to Sir William Scott, written at this time, Lord Eldon mentions the Prince's unkind treatment of him, because he would not comply with the

puerile attempt to avoid all notice of a letter which had evidently been written as an appeal to the people at large was, that the document soon appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle.' The effect produced by this publication was such that the Prince found himself compelled to take some step for bringing the matter in dispute to a formal adjudication. Accordingly, he referred the letter, together with all the documents belonging to the inquiry of 1806, to twenty-three Privy Councillors, including the Cabinet Ministers, the three Archbishops, the Bishop of London, and the principal judges, with an instruction to report their opinion whether it was fit that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions. Twenty-one Privy Councillors signed a report containing an unqualified affirmative answer to this question.* Upon receiving from Lord Sidmouth an official copy of this report, the Princess addressed a letter to the Chancellor and the Speaker, protesting against the vague aspersions upon her character which it promulgated; throwing herself upon the wisdom and justice of Parliament, and

Prince's wishes as to the conduct which he should pursue with respect to the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte.

* The following passage in Sir James Mackintosh's Diary for April, 1813, relates to this transaction. 'Brougham, who is out of Parliament, was at first the Princess's sole adviser. When she published her letter, everybody thought that he had ruined her; but it has since appeared that he was only wisely bold, and that he had calculated exactly the timidity of [the Prince], the weakness of his case, the value of the first impression, and the embarrassment of Ministers, of whom some had been the Princess's confidential advisers, and all had concurred in formally pronouncing her innocence. Though they deserted her, yet they could not openly annul their own deliberate judgment. The extreme unpopularity of [the Prince], and the natural interest inspired by a wife abandoned by her husband, had a great effect. The result of these causes, combined with the most stupid blunders on the part of the other side, have given her the most complete victory. All the world is with her, except the people of fashion at the west end of the town.' (*Life of Mackintosh*, vol. ii. p. 258.) It is to be observed that when Lord Eldon, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Liverpool, and others of the present Cabinet, had concurred in the minute of April, 1807, they were the Ministers of the King, whereas now they were the Ministers of the Regent; which accounts for the change of their conduct.

By the 'blunders' of Ministers, Sir J. Mackintosh means the foolish attempt to refuse the Princess's letter. It is much to be wished that a new edition of Sir James Mackintosh's Diaries should be published, with the insertion of the names unnecessarily omitted in the present edition.

expressing her wish to be treated as innocent, unless she could be proved guilty.* The copy of this letter transmitted to Lord Eldon, was returned by him, with a recommendation to her not to make it public, and also with an intimation, by command of the Prince Regent, that her visits to her daughter at Warwick House were to be discontinued. The Speaker, however, took a different course. He read it to the House of Commons on March 2nd, 1813, and on the 5th, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone brought forward the entire subject in a motion for a copy of the Report of 1806, with certain of the documents attached to it.† The motion was opposed by Lord Castlereagh, and was negatived without a division; but it gave rise to a debate, in which Mr. Stuart Wortley (afterwards Lord Wharncliffe) made the following severe, but just remarks: ‘He had as high notions of royalty as any man, but he must say that all such proceedings contributed to pull it down. He was very sorry that we had a royal family who did not take warning from what was said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability. He would not have the Prince Regent lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct would bear him harmless through all these transactions. He said this with no disrespect to him or his family; no man was more attached to the House of Hanover than he was; but had he a sister in the same situation with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, he would say that she was exceedingly ill-treated.’‡

A copy of the Report of 1806 had, as we have stated, been placed at the time in the hands of Mr. Perceval, who had prepared it, with other illustrative documents, for the press, and had caused a large number of copies to be printed. Their publication had not taken place when he accepted office in March, 1807, and the edition was carefully suppressed.§ Some

* The two letters of the Princess, and the report of the Privy Councillors, are in Ann. Reg., 1813, p. 341–47. State Papers.

† See the account of this debate in Sir S. Romilly's *Memoirs*, with the full report of his own speech, vol. iii. p. 82.

‡ Mr. Horner, in a letter to Mr. Hallam, of March 7. 1813, says: — ‘What a hint to the Royal Family is conveyed by Wortley's speech; it is like some of the signs that appeared among the Tories, after the trial of the Bishops.’ (*Memoirs of Horner*, vol. ii. p. 142.) This allusion to the signs which prefigured the dethronement of James II., shows how serious was the view which Mr. Horner took of the Prince Regent's proceedings.

§ It is stated that the number of copies printed was 5000, and that

copies, however, were preserved, and were communicated to the newspapers, in which extracts appeared at this time, and shortly afterwards a reprint of the entire volume was published.* These publications gave rise to further motions and debates in both Houses of Parliament; in the course of which Lord Ellenborough, Lord Erskine, Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Sir Samuel Romilly defended the course which they had taken in reference to the inquiry; the results of which were now, seven years after the event, first made known fully to the public; but the matter was not pursued to any practical result.

(with the exception of a few) they were all delivered by the printer at Mr. Perceval's house. Some of the reserved copies, which fell into private hands, are said to have been bought up for large sums; and the Chancellor granted an injunction in March, 1808, to restrain the proprietor of a newspaper from publishing the contents of the volume. (Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 213. Huish's *Mem. of Geo. IV.*, vol. ii. p. 42-3.) Sir S. Romilly, vol. iii. p. 165., states that the injunction was confined to the letter of the Princess, in answer to the Report. But Lord Campbell's fuller account shows that it included the Report itself and other documents.

From an account of an interview with the King in 1807, before the change of Ministry, which Lord Eldon gave to Lord Grey, it appears that Lord Eldon wished to dissuade the publication of the book on which Perceval was bent. It further appears that the King was privy to the design. (*Mem. of Romilly*, vol. iii. p. 104.; *Twiss, Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 37.)

* The following is a copy of the title-page:—'The Genuine Book. An inquiry, or delicate investigation, into the conduct of H. R. H. the Princess of Wales, before Lords Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough, the four Commissioners of Inquiry, appointed by His Majesty in the year 1806. Reprinted from an authentic copy, superintended through the press by the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval. London, 1813, 1 vol. 8vo., pp. 246 + 108.' Lord Holland says that all the Ministers of 1806, except Mr. Wyndham, thought that the publication of the Report or evidence would divert the popular displeasure from the Prince upon the Princess, and that the advisers of the Princess would be desirous of suppressing them; but that both anticipations proved erroneous, for that all the publications of the documents of 1806 had proceeded from the advisers or partisans of the Princess, and that they had added to the unpopularity of the Prince. 'A share of the odium (he remarks) fell on all who either conducted or sanctioned any inquiry at the Prince's request or instigation.' (*Ib.*, p. 120.) Sir S. Romilly, who, like the Cabinet of 1806, thought that the publication of the depositions would not fail to destroy her reputation for ever in the opinion of the public, says that they were published by newspapers in the interest of the Prince. (*Mem.*, vol. iii. p. 86. 90.)

The Prince's conduct on this occasion brought upon him much obloquy, while the Princess became the object of strong and general sympathy. It was thought that an illustrious stranger, a woman and a mother, had been treated with harshness and injustice. The Common Hall of London, on April 2nd, 1813, almost unanimously voted an address to the Princess of Wales, declaring the indignation and abhorrence with which they viewed the foul conspiracy against her honour and life, and their admiration at her moderation, frankness, and magnanimity under her long persecution. The Common Council of London and other public bodies followed this example. Such were the first public manifestations of a domestic strife, which was destined at a subsequent period to create a profound agitation in the country, and even to bring the Crown into peril.

Parliament was prorogued for the session of 1813 on the 22nd of July; and the Napoleon drama was now moving on rapidly to its termination. The rising of oppressed Germany had taken place since the retreat from Moscow; and the campaign was in progress which ended in October with the decisive battle of Leipsic. The battle of Vittoria had been fought in June; after some unsuccessful attempts at negotiation, the allied armies crossed the Rhine, and entered France; and Napoleon, having in vain attempted to arrest their advance by a short but brilliant defensive campaign, abdicated his imperial throne in April 1814. In the meantime Parliament had assembled on the 4th of November 1813, and at this crisis of affairs, with the prospect of a speedy and successful termination of the war, the utmost unanimity prevailed in both Houses with respect to the policy suited to the occasion. When the Houses rose before Christmas, the Ministers moved and carried the adjournment until the 1st of March, which was afterwards prolonged to the 21st of the same month. Shortly afterwards the abdication of Napoleon, his removal to Elba, and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty were announced.

Lord Wellington, now created a Duke, received on his return to England the thanks of both Houses in person, and a public provision was made for him, in reward of his distinguished services. The treaty of peace with France, by which the war with that country had been concluded, was communicated to Parliament in July, and was acknowledged by addresses unanimously agreed to by both Lords and Commons. Some discussion arose about a stipulation for the abolition of the slave trade, but to the arrangements embodied in the treaty no objection was made. The joy at the cessation of the war and restoration of peace, was enthusiastic and universal. The

prorogation took place on the 30th of July, and the Prince Regent, delivering his speech in person, congratulated the two Houses upon the success of his adherence to the line of policy which had been pursued before the Regency; upon the full accomplishment of all the objects for which the war had been undertaken or continued; and upon the final deliverance of Europe, by the combined exertions of this nation and its allies, from the most oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured. He proceeded to lament the continuance of hostilities with the United States, but recommended the vigorous prosecution of this war. The Prince Regent had been honoured by a visit of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who, with Marshal Blücher and other distinguished persons, arrived at London in June: their public reception was highly flattering, and they remained in England nearly three weeks.

The feud between the Prince and Princess of Wales, which had been blown into activity by her letter respecting her daughter in 1813, was revived in 1814 by the visit of the Sovereigns. The Princess received from the Queen an announcement that her presence at the drawing-rooms to be given in honour of the illustrious visitors could not be permitted; inasmuch as the Prince Regent considered his own presence necessary, and he desired it to be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone could be the judge, that it was his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private. Against this decision the Princess remonstrated, in a letter addressed to the Prince, which concluded with the following paragraph:—

‘Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England; among others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law. From their society I am unjustly excluded. Others are expected of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your royal Highness in the peace of Europe. My daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire. This season your royal Highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and of all his Majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented by your royal Highness from appearing in my place, to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me.’

Of this letter no notice was taken by the Prince; but the Princess sent the correspondence to the Speaker, to be laid be-

fore the House of Commons.* Upon this correspondence Mr. Methuen on the 3rd of June founded a motion for an address to the Prince Regent, requesting him to acquaint the House by whose advice he had been induced to form his fixed and unalterable determination never to meet the Princess of Wales, either in public or private, and what were the reasons upon which it was founded. The motion, after debate, was withdrawn: but the same member made a subsequent motion, which led to the passing of a bill for settling on the Princess a separate annuity of 35,000*l*.

In the existing state of the relations between the Prince and the Princess, everything which they had in common necessarily became a source of discord; and thus their daughter, as she grew up and began to play her part on the stage, instead of a bond of union, acted as an incentive to fresh differences. The intended marriage with the Prince of Orange, which the Prince Regent desired to promote, was not encouraged by the mother; and it was so effectually resisted by the daughter, that it was ultimately broken off. The repugnance of the Prince Regent to the influence of the Princess over her daughter was so great, that he at length altogether interdicted their intercourse; and his interference so much irritated the Princess Charlotte, that on the 12th of July in this year, she fled from Warwick House, where she resided, in a hackney-coach to her mother's residence in Connaught Terrace, and was with some difficulty induced to return to a house where she should be under her father's superintendence.

The popularity of the Princess of Wales was now at its height. The charges made against her character were believed to have been dictated by malice, and disproved by conclusive evidence; and the conduct of her husband towards her was regarded as a course of cowardly and unfeeling persecution, prompted by his preference for his wife's illicit rivals. Nevertheless, she appears to have found that the public voice, however strong and unanimous, could not support her against the hand of power, which barred every entrance against her; and accordingly, in August, 1814, she left England for the Continent.† She first made some stay in her native town of Brunswick, and then proceeded to Italy.

* It is printed in the Ann. Reg. 1814; State Papers, p. 348-351.

† Mr. Canning stated in the House of Commons, 7th June, 1820, that the Princess of Wales had consulted him in 1814 on the question of her living abroad, and that he had advised it, upon the supposition of permanent separation from her husband.

The Princess Charlotte, who was now eighteen years old, remained unmarried until 1816, when she became the wife of Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg. The fatal termination of that apparently auspicious marriage in the following year, severed the last tie which connected the Princess of Wales with this country. She had never seen her daughter since her departure from England in 1814, and she remained upon the Continent until she returned as Queen in 1820.

However we may partition the shares of merit among the different nations in producing the first overthrow of Napoleon, it is certain that the policy consistently supported by Lord Liverpool's government, of prosecuting the Peninsular war with vigour, and of not negotiating with Napoleon, had in the end proved successful. Of this policy, Lord Castlereagh was the most prominent organ and representative; and though all the Ministers participated in the popularity which was the consequence of success, the public attention was concentrated upon him beyond any other of his colleagues.* Mr. Canning, who had been his rival for the leadership in 1812, found himself now completely eclipsed by the superior brilliancy of the Foreign Minister, and by the important part which he had borne in the resettlement of Europe. Accordingly, having in 1813 formally disbanded his party in the House of Commons, and dissolved his political connexion with Lord Wellesley †, (by which step he left himself free for individual action,) he was content at this time to accept the almost nominal post of ambassador to the Court of Portugal, and he sailed to Lisbon in November. The motive assigned by himself for this step was the state of the health of his eldest son, who died in 1820.‡ At the same time his friends, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Sturges Bourne, and Lord Binning, joined the Ministry; the former as First Commissioner of Woods, the two latter as Junior Com-

* On the personal eminence of Lord Castlereagh at this period, and on the general popularity of the Ministry, see the statements of Mr. Rush, the American Minister, in his 'First Narrative of a Residence at the Court of London' (Lond. 1833), p. 45.

† See Mem. of Reg., vol. ii. p. 36.; Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. iii. p. 106.; Mem. of Horner, vol. ii. p. 150.

‡ Lord Dudley, Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff, p. 50., states, that political disappointment was the real motive of this step. Mr. Canning offered to resign his seat for Liverpool, but his offer was declined by his constituents. Mr. Canning's conduct, in accepting this embassy, was attacked by Mr. Lambton in the House of Commons, in May 1817, in a formal motion of censure, but was successfully vindicated by himself. (See Lord Dudley's Letters, *ib.* p. 166.)

missioners of the Board of Control. He resigned his embassy in April, 1815*, but remained abroad until the spring of 1816, when he returned to England and entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Control.

This accession of debating force must have been highly valuable in the existing state of the government. The only changes which the Cabinet had undergone since its first formation were that Lord Camden had ceased to be a member of it, and his place had been supplied in 1812 by Mr. Bragge Bathurst as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1814, Mr. Wellesley Pole was likewise added to it as Master of the Mint. The Cabinet now consisted of thirteen members, of whom nine were peers, and four were commoners. The four commoners were Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Bragge Bathurst, and Mr. Wellesley Pole. This was its constitution, when Mr. Canning joined it in 1816, in the place of Lord Buckinghamshire. What therefore Lord Grenville remarked of Mr. Canning, in a letter written to Mr. Horner in July, 1813, was equally true in 1816; that 'he would be a very desirable acquisition indeed to a government so unusually weak as this was in House of Commons debate.'†

While Lord Liverpool and his colleagues were thus reaping the legitimate fruits of a policy which they had consistently supported, and to which they had adhered at seasons of adversity and danger, the Whigs were lowered in public estimation by their apparently unpatriotic resistance to a war which had ended in triumph. There were, no doubt, among the Whig ranks, persons whom Lord Dudley calls 'Whig Napoleonists;'‡ admirers of Napoleon, because they regarded

* General Napier states that Marshal Beresford had prevailed upon the Portuguese Regency to send 15,000 men of the old Portuguese troops, completely equipped, to the Duke of Wellington, before the battle of Waterloo; that the only real business which Mr. Canning had to transact in his embassy was to procure the execution of this agreement; and although nothing but an order for embarkation was needed, he frustrated the whole affair by making it the subject of diplomacy. (*Hist. of Penins. War*, vol. iv. p. 140.) As General Napier quotes no authority for this statement, his habit of decrying all civil, and of extolling all military officers, leaves us in uncertainty as to its credibility. A letter from Mr. Canning to Lord Castlereagh, dated Lisbon, April 22. 1815, in the *Castlereagh Despatches*, vol. x. p. 321. relates to this transaction.

† *Mem. of Horner*, vol. ii. p. 151.

‡ In a letter of Jan 17. 1816, he speaks of 'the Whig Napoleonists, those zealots for freedom, who have fixed upon a military despot as

him as the heir of the Revolution, as the maintainer of its principles of equality, and as the enemy of the legitimate thrones. Some of these were probably captivated by his power; by his military genius, his extensive conquests, and his all-pervading despotism; in short, they belonged to that school of which General Napier, the historian of the Peninsular war, may be taken as a type. But when Lord Dudley remarks on another letter that 'the opposition had staked everything upon 'Napoleon's success, and were grieved at his failure';* we cannot believe that he correctly represents the genuine feelings of those who opposed the Spanish war, because they thought it would be ineffectual for its purpose, but who were not on that account the enemies of their country. For example, Lord Grenville, whose voice was most loudly and most consistently raised against the campaigns in the Peninsula, was one of the most determined opponents of negotiation with Napoleon, and had condemned the Peace of Amiens when Mr. Pitt, his late colleague, Mr. Fox, with whom he was about to act, and nearly the unanimous voice of the nation, approved of it. So far as this Journal may be considered as an organ of the Whig opinion of the day, its language does not at all bear out the statement of Lord Dudley. Thus in an article on the State and Prospects of Europe, published in April, 1814, immediately after the first downfall of Napoleon, the following passage occurs, which seems to us to leave little to be said:—

'We do not think that an ambitious despot and sanguinary conqueror can be too much execrated, or too little respected by mankind; but the popular clamour at this moment seems to us to be carried too far, even against this very hateful individual. It is now discovered that he has neither genius nor common sense; and he is accused of cowardice for not killing himself by the very persons who would infallibly have exclaimed against his suicide, as a clear proof of weakness and folly. History, we think, will not class him quite so low as the English newspapers of the present day. He is a creature to be dreaded and abhorred, but scarcely, we think, to be despised, by men of the ordinary standard. His catastrophe, so far as it is yet visible, seems unsuitable indeed, and incongruous with the part he has hitherto sustained; but we have perceived nothing in it materially to alter the estimate which we formed long ago of his character. He still seems to us a man of consummate conduct, valour, and decision in war, but without the virtues, or even the generous and social vices, of a soldier of fortune;—of matchless activity indeed, and boundless ambition, but entirely without principle, feeling, or affection;—sus-

'their true ally and protector.' (*Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff*, p. 127.)

* Letter of June 22. 1816, *ib.* p. 145.

picious, cruel, and overbearing;—selfish and solitary in all his pursuits and gratifications;—proud and overweening to the very borders of insanity; and considering at last the laws of honour and the principles of morality equally beneath his notice with the interests and feelings of other men. Despising those who submitted to his pretensions, and pursuing with implacable hatred all who presumed to resist them, he seems to have gone on in a growing confidence in his own fortune, and contempt for mankind;—till a serious check from without showed him the error of his calculation, and betrayed the fatal insecurity of a career which reckoned only on prosperity. Over the downfall of such a man it is fitting that the world should rejoice.*

Napoleon being now at Elba, and the congress of Vienna about to meet, Parliament was opened again on the 8th of November by the Prince Regent, in a speech in which he deplored the continuance of the war with the United States of America. This unfortunate war, which had grown out of the British Orders in Council, and of which Mr. Canning's repudiation of the settlement made by Mr. Erskine in 1810 was the main provocation †, had been declared by the United States in June, 1812. It had been waged with much animosity on both sides, and with alternate success, until it was terminated by a treaty of peace signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, and ratified on the 17th February, 1815. The attack on New Orleans, so disastrous to the British arms, occurred on January 8th, in the interval between the signature and ratification of the treaty. It may be fairly presumed that if a total change of government had taken place at Mr. Perceval's death, and if some of the strongest opponents of the Orders in Council from the beginning, had become leading members of the new Administration, the American war would have been altogether averted, and at all events have been speedily terminated. The Orders in Council were the worst part of the war policy of the Tories, and led to the most pernicious consequences.

On the 2nd of December the House adjourned without having transacted any business of importance, and met again on the 9th of February, 1815. The deliberations of Parliament were proceeding in their regular course, and the House of Commons was considering a Bill proposed by Ministers for excluding foreign corn, intended to secure remunerating prices to the agriculturist

* Ed. Rev. vol. xxiii. p. 3.

† Sir A. Alison says that this resolution, 'although fully justified in point of right by Napoleon's violence, and by Mr. Erskine's deviation from his instructions, may now well be characterised as one of the most unfortunate, in point of expediency, ever adopted by the British government.' (Vol. x. p. 650.)

on the return of peace, and independence of foreign supply to the country at large; when the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba, his triumphant march to Paris, and his reoccupation of the imperial throne, threw everything into confusion. He landed at Cannes on the 1st of March, and on the 20th, he entered Paris, which Louis XVIII. had only left on the previous day. On the 6th of April a message from the Prince Regent informed the two Houses that in consequence of the recent events in France, he had given directions for the augmentation of the land and sea forces, and had lost no time in entering into communications with His Majesty's allies, for the purpose of forming such a concert as might most effectually provide for the general and permanent security of Europe. The address in answer to this message was carried in the House of Lords without a division; in the House of Commons, Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment requesting the Prince Regent to exert his most strenuous endeavours to secure to this country the continuance of peace; which was negatived by 220 to 37 votes. Motions were afterwards made in both Houses, by Lord Wellesley and Mr. Abercrombie, censuring Ministers for the improvident arrangements of the preceding year, by which the sovereignty of Elba had been granted to Bonaparte, and the Italian duchies settled upon his wife and son; and for not guarding him in Elba with greater care. The defence of the Government was that they had acquiesced in the plan agreed to by the allied sovereigns, because they did not consider it justifiable to incur a great addition of hazard and bloodshed for the sole difference between treating with Bonaparte and making him a prisoner. These motions were negatived by decisive majorities.

On the 28th of April, Mr. Whitbread moved an address, entreating the Prince Regent to take such measures as might be necessary to prevent this country being involved in war on the ground of the executive power being vested in any particular person. This motion he supported by a speech condemning the celebrated Vienna declaration of March the 25th, by which Bonaparte had been placed out of the pale of civil and social relations, and which was signed by the four representatives of England.* It was opposed by Lord Castlereagh on the part of the Government, and negatived by 273 to 72 votes.† On the 22nd of May, a message from the Prince

* Ann. Reg. 1814; State Papers, p. 366.

† An excellent summary of the arguments used on both sides in this debate, is given by Sir S. Romilly (vol. iii. p. 167.), who voted in the minority.

Regent was delivered to both Houses, communicating copies of treaties with foreign governments, by which England entered into certain engagements for the renewal of the war with Bonaparte. Upon the address in answer to this message, Lord Grey, in a copious and argumentative speech, stated his objections to the continuance of a warlike policy, and moved an amendment condemnatory of a war undertaken for proscribing the actual ruler of France. The principal feature of this debate, which ended in a majority of 156 to 44 for Ministers, was, that Lord Grenville differed from Lord Grey, with whom he had acted cordially for the previous eight years, and declared himself convinced of the necessity of war.* In the House of Commons, the same amendment to the address was moved by Lord George Cavendish. Mr. Grattan and Mr. Plunkett, like Lord Grenville, differing from their political friends, spoke eloquently in favour of war; the majority for Ministers was 331 to 92. The decision being thus in favour of a concerted action with the European movement against Napoleon, the final preparations were made for the four days' campaign, which in less than a month from these debates, ended in the battle of Waterloo. The rapidity with which events succeeded this battle is remarkable, and can only be explained on the supposition that France was thoroughly wearied of Napoleon's rule, and that Europe was thoroughly determined that it should cease. Napoleon himself brought the news of his defeat to Paris in the early morning of the 21st of June, on the third day after the battle. Within a few hours he became aware that his servile Chamber were in a state of rebellion, and were resolved upon his deposition; the rout and dispersion of his army had been so complete, and so little desire existed to organise a military force in his name, that no attempt at defensive operations was made by any one; on the 22nd he abdicated in favour of his son; on the 23rd, a provisional government was formed, and on the 25th he was transferred, virtually as a prisoner of state, to Malmaison; on the 3rd of July Paris capitulated to the English and Prussians; and on the 7th of July Napoleon surrendered himself to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, in the harbour of Rochefort. Thus

* Sir S. Romilly (*Mem.* vol. iii. p. 160. 162.), and Mr. Horner (*Mem.* vol. ii. p. 243-46.), both concurred with Lord Grey, although the latter had thought his party wrong in opposing the war in Spain. (*Ib.* p. 158.) Lord Wellesley took the same line. (See *Lord Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 249.) Mr. Canning, who was absent from England, could not take part in the debates on the renewal of war in 1815; but it may be considered certain that he would have supported Ministers.

in three weeks from the battle of Waterloo Napoleon was a captive on board an English man-of-war.

• The English Government, profiting by the experience of Elba, determined to keep him in safe custody, and, without permitting him to land, transported him to the island of St. Helena, for which he set sail in August, and which he reached, never to leave it again, in October; having passed from his petty sovereignty in the island in the Mediterranean, through the Tuileries and Waterloo, to his captivity in the island in the Atlantic, in eight eventful months.

The position of England as a belligerent was wholly different in June 1815, from that which it had been in April 1814. In the first overthrow of Napoleon she was only an accessary; in the second, she was a principal. Minute military criticism may find grounds for blame in Napoleon's management of the short campaign of 1815; and it is possible that partly from the diminution of his bodily vigour, partly from his imperial station, and partly from his confidence in his own military genius, his habits had become less active than they had been in his early campaigns. But it seems to us that his operations in 1815 clearly display his consummate generalship. The object of Wellington and Blücher was to fight in combination: no jealousy or misunderstanding existed between them. Each was bent on assisting the other, and on defeating the enemy, in whatever way this end could be accomplished. Nevertheless, Napoleon succeeded in attacking Blücher separately at Ligny on the 16th, and in defeating him: while he kept the English general in check: and the chief part of the battle of the 18th was fought against the English and their allies, before the Prussians could come up. Nothing but the excellent defensive dispositions of Wellington, and the extraordinary courage and endurance of his small body of British troops, prevented Napoleon from reaping the fruit of his bold, skilful, and successful tactics; by the unexpected excellence of these troops, his confident expectation of victory was frustrated, and the Prussian co-operation in the afternoon converted what would otherwise have been an undecisive battle into a complete rout. If the American war had not drawn off a portion of the best English infantry, the fate of the day would indeed have been less dubious. The English army and general bore the brunt of Napoleon's formidable attack at Waterloo; and they obtained the chief credit for the ultimate result. Wellington and Blücher, with their moderate numbers, immediately marched upon Paris. • No attempt was made to arrest their progress in this perilous advance; and Paris capitulated to them, on the 3rd of July, without firing a gun; before they

had been joined by an Austrian or a Russian regiment. Not a hand was held out to save Napoleon; he was glad to take refuge on board an English man-of-war, in order to save himself from a worse fate at home; there was no question of negotiating with him in the character of a sovereign, as had been done in the previous year: he surrendered himself unconditionally to the pleasure of the conqueror.* Although the Prussian army had, on the whole, played a less important part than the English army, in the campaign of 1815; yet that part was necessary to success; without the Prussians, there could have been no victory, nor indeed any battle in Flanders. Napoleon must have occupied Brussels without resistance. It must also be borne in mind, that the Prussians had the largest share in the battle of Leipsic, and took a prominent part in the advance upon Paris in 1814. The King of Prussia rode into Paris with the allies after the capitulation of 1814, and the capitulation of 1815 was signed by a Prussian general. This was not the case with any other power. No English general had any share in the capitulation of 1814, and no Austrian or Russian general had any share in the capitulation of 1815. Viewing, as we do, the rising of Germany after the retreat from Moscow, as the ultimate cause of Napoleon's overthrow, and considering the line which Prussia took in this patriotic movement—looking likewise to the material assistance which Prussia rendered in both the marches upon Paris—we cannot but assign to her a share second to none in the successful termination of this struggle. When we read the lofty and soul-stirring effusions of Körner's martial lyre, we are forcibly impressed with Napoleon's error, in supposing that men capable of appreciating such sentiments would patiently remain his slaves; his attempt to revive the Roman system of universal conquest was inapplicable to so intelligent and sensitive a population as that of northern Germany; and we must be permitted to think that Wellington and his English troops were better placed at Waterloo, in fighting by the side of the brave and enthusiastic Prussians, than when they were performing the hopeless and ungrateful task of attempting to infuse courage and discipline into the stupid, illiterate, Spanish peasants. †

* Lord Castlereagh stated in the House of Commons, 7th April, 1815, that it had never been the intention of the Allied Powers to treat Bonaparte as a prisoner, or to exercise a system of police or espionage with respect to him. They relied on the treaty of Fontainebleau, and upon the apparent determination of the French people to have done with him for ever, and to adhere to Louis XVIII.

† Mr. Canning, in his speech at Liverpool, of 10th Jan. 1814, and Lord Liverpool, in the House of Lords, Nov. 4. 1813, consider a coa-

Napoleon being now safely engaged at St. Helena, Parliament met on February 1. 1816, to make the settlement necessary on the firm re-establishment of peace after a war which had virtually lasted for twenty-two years. This settlement was chiefly of an economical kind; it consisted in the reduction of armaments, the remission of taxes, and the restoration of the standard of the currency after the Bank restriction. The income tax, imposed by Pitt in 1798, suspended for a brief period during the peace of Amiens, and raised to ten per cent., or two shillings in the pound, in 1806, had been patiently borne during the continuance of the war. But it had been imposed and maintained as a war-tax; and in the early part of the session of 1815, before the return of Napoleon from Elba, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced its immediate abandonment. The revival of the war subsequently rendered its continuance necessary, and the decision as to its ultimate fate was reserved for 1816. On March 18. Mr. Vansittart proposed its continuance at five per cent., or one shilling in the pound, being half the rate at which it had stood since 1806. But the impatience of this heavy impost, combined with the expectation that it would cease with the war, proved too strong even for this strong Ministry; and the resolution of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was negatived by 238 to 201 votes. 'When the result was announced' (says a contemporary chronicler) 'a long and loud cheering arose in the House, which was re-echoed by the crowd that filled the lobby and avenues; and the event was felt in general throughout the nation as a relief from an oppressive burden.* In this decision the Government acquiesced; they likewise voluntarily abandoned the war duties on malt. Lord Dudley, in a letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, expresses his satisfaction at this result, not because he is convinced that the income tax ought to have been repealed, but because he thinks that the Ministry wanted beating upon something. 'Their prodigious success,' he adds, 'which, without at all meaning to deny their merits and abilities, must be allowed by all reasonable men to have been vastly beyond their merits and beyond their abilities, had made their underlings insolent and the House too obedient; and a blow of that sort was necessary to remind the servants of the country that they are not its masters, and to give back to the constitution that spirit and activity which it was perhaps beginning to lose.†

lition of states, founded on the principle of national independence, as the cause of Napoleon's overthrow.

* Annual Register, 1815, p. 26.

† Letters, p. 136.

The summer of 1816 was the coldest and wettest which had occurred in England since 1799, and the harvest was both deficient in quantity and inferior in quality. Before the end of the year the price of wheat rose to 103*s.* a quarter.* Distress began to prevail not only among the agricultural, but also among the manufacturing population, together with its natural concomitant, discontent. Instead of meeting this state of things by a liberal and enlightened commercial policy, as recommended by Lord Grenville and other members of the Opposition, the Ministers resorted to restriction of trade for the relief of distress, and to coercion for the suppression of discontent. In 1815 they had proposed and carried a corn law which absolutely prohibited the admission of foreign wheat when the average price was under eighty shillings a quarter.† In 1817, such was the state of popular feeling that missiles were thrown at the Prince Regent's carriage in his way to the opening of Parliament. Secret committees of both Houses were appointed to inquire into dangerous meetings and combinations. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the suspension was renewed during the session. Other restrictive measures were likewise carried; the employment of spies by the Government was admitted and justified; Lord Sidmouth wrote a circular letter to lieutenants of counties instructing them that publishers of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings could be apprehended by the warrant of a justice of the peace, and held to bail. The trial of Watson for high treason took place in June, and ended in an acquittal. Other persons involved in the same accusation were discharged by the law officers. The trials of Hone for two blasphemous and seditious libels in December had a similar termination. After a time the distress, the disaffection, and the alarms diminished. At the beginning of the session of 1818 the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was removed: but 1819 was again a year of disturbance and political agitation. Public meetings were held in the open air, at the large manufacturing towns, for the discussion of political grievances, at which inflammatory addresses

* Tooke, *History of Prices*, vol. ii. p. 14. Sir S. Romilly describes himself as having seen the harvest still on the ground on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of October, in a journey through Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Surrey. (*Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 264.)

† This measure had created much popular discontent, and had led to serious riots in London. Members were assaulted on their way to the House, and the houses of the chief promoters of the Bill were attacked. (*Life of Sidmouth*, vol. iii. p. 125; *Mem. of Rom.* vol. iii. p. 157; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iv. p. 244.)

were delivered by Hunt and other popular rhetoricians. After the close of the session a meeting was held at Manchester, at which a collision took place between the yeomanry and the people, and several lives were lost. This event, known as 'the Manchester massacre,' gave rise to the assembling of Parliament in Nov. 1819, when the Government lost no time in proposing, and speedily carried, six coercive measures, which acquired an evil reputation under the name of the 'Six Acts.' Lord Fitzwilliam was at the same time removed from the lord-lieutenancy of Yorkshire, for having taken part in the proceedings of a county meeting convened on this occasion.*

The Cabinet in 1818 consisted of fourteen members, of whom eight were peers and six were commoners. The latter were Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Bragge Bathurst, Mr. Wellesley Pole, and lastly Mr. Frederick Robinson, who was brought into it at this time as President of the Board of Trade. He had been Vice-President since 1812. In 1819, the Duke of Wellington was added to the Cabinet as Master-General of the Ordnance, in the place of Lord Mulgrave, who retained his seat in the Cabinet without office.

While the Tory character of the Government remained substantially unchanged: the re-establishment of peace, and the necessity for the settlement of a domestic policy adapted to the economical and social state of the country, was gradually exposing the narrowness and insufficiency of the Tory creed, and exhausting the store of popularity which the Ministers had justly obtained from the success of their war policy. 'Time' was (says Lord Dudley) when the odds were ten to one 'against them; luckily for the country as well as for themselves, they have won the game; and they are now enjoying themselves in spending the stakes.' †

* The offence of Lord Fitzwilliam, as defined by Lord Sidmouth, was, that 'he took the leading part in calling a public meeting for a purpose the most disrespectful to the Prince Regent, and in utter disregard of his Royal Highness's admonition from the throne upon receiving the address of the city of London.' (Life of Sidmouth, vol. iii. p. 271; Twiss, Life of Eldon, vol. ii. p. 437.) Compare the article in this Journal for Jan. 1820, entitled 'The Recent Alarms,' vol. xxxiii. p. 187. The letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated Bagshot Park, Oct. 5th, 1819, and signed William Frederick, which the Duke of Buckingham's editor attributes to the Duke of York, and describes as proceeding from 'the highest military authority,' is the letter of the Duke of Gloucester. (Mem of Reg., vol. ii. p. 349.)

† Letter of Feb. 14. 1818; Letters, ib. p. 197. In a letter of Aug. 31. 1818, he remarks:—'The Government don't seem much beloved. 'It has quite spent the popularity of the war.' (Ib. p. 206.)

Lord Dudley, in 1819, describes the Administration as having 'suffered itself to be dragged through the dirt the whole session;' as 'having fallen into a state of discredit and insignificance;' as being 'a Ministry, but not a Government.' He remarks that the majority of the House of Commons seems equally determined upon two points; first, that the Ministry shall always stumble; second, that it shall not fall.* The language used by Mr. Tierney, in a motion on the state of the nation, on May 18. 1819, shows his belief that the Ministry did not then stand high in public estimation. At an earlier period it had been remarked that the currycomb of the House of Commons had completely taken off the gilding and lackering which Lord Castlereagh had brought from the Congress.† The qualities which enabled Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues to shine as a War Ministry, were not such as to fit them for working off the long arrears of internal improvement which had accrued during the period when the attention of the Legislature and the public had been engrossed by the more pressing cares of military and naval preparations. The Opposition had at the same time undergone little change. Mr. G. Ponsonby, a leader who had been more respected and beloved than followed, and who never exercised any great personal influence, died in 1817.‡ Mr. Tierney was chosen as his successor.§ In the session of 1817, Lord Grenville formally separated himself from Lord Grey, and announced in the House of Lords that he should cease to take any part in their debates.||

It was in this state of things, with a Ministry wedded to an unprogressive policy, and hostile to almost every sort of reform and improvement, which had recently proposed and carried a whole code of coercive measures, and whose popularity had fallen from its zenith at the peace to a low point of depression, that the death of George III. took place. This event, which occurred on the 29th of January, 1820, was not at the moment attended with any important political consequence. Since the commencement of the unrestricted Regency in February, 1812, the Prince of Wales had been virtually king; a demise of the Crown, however, rendered a dissolution of Parliament necessary. After a short meeting for the transaction of provisional business, Parliament was prorogued on Feb. 28., preparatory to its disso-

* Letters of May and June 1819, pp. 218. 223.

† Life of Mackintosh, vol. ii. p. 337.

‡ Mem. of Romilly, vol. iii. p. 307.; Lord Dudley's Letters, p. 171.

§ Mem. of Romilly, vol. iii. p. 365.

|| Lord Dudley's Letters, p. 159. House of Lords, June 16. 1817.

lution; the speech from the throne alluded, in the following terms, to the Cato Street conspiracy for the murder of the Cabinet Ministers, which was to have taken place on the 23rd of February, a few days previously, and which, from its bold and sanguinary character, had made a deep impression on the public:—‘If any doubt had remained as to the nature of those principles by which the peace and happiness of the nation were so seriously menaced, or of the excesses to which they were likely to lead, the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which has lately been detected, must open the eyes of the most incredulous, and must vindicate to the whole world the justice and expediency of those measures to which you judged it necessary to resort, in defence of the laws and constitution of the kingdom.’ How far this wholesale scheme of political assassination justified the measures of the Government for preventing public meetings in the manufacturing districts, and for curbing the press, may be doubted; but it created a feeling of sympathy with the Government, and, combined with events which speedily supervened, diverted public attention from the recent coercive legislation.*

Although the death of George III. did not directly produce any political change, yet one of the formal measures necessary at the commencement of a new reign, led incidentally to a step which entailed the most serious consequences; which convulsed the entire country, threatened the continuance of the Ministry, and even brought the Throne into danger. As soon as the Prince and Princess of Wales had become King and Queen, the passages in the Liturgy in which ‘Their Royal Highnesses, George, Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales’ were prayed for, became inapplicable. At a Council held on Feb. 12., at which the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Mannes Sutton, was present, an order was made that these words should be omitted from the Liturgy wherever they occurred.† The result

* Some curious details respecting the deliberations of Ministers upon the course to be taken, when they received the intelligence of the intended plot, are given by Mr. Rush, ‘Second Residence at the Court of London,’ vol. i. p. 287. 293. 319. Lord Castlereagh advised that the dinner should take place; the Duke of Wellington pointed out the needless danger of this course.

† See the Order in Council, in the Annual Register, 1820, vol. lxii. p. 748. A full account of the discussions between the King and his Ministers on the subject of the Queen, at this time, is given by Lord Castlereagh in his letter to Lord Stewart, of February 13th, 1820. (Castlereagh Despatches, vol. xii. p. 210.) The Ministers had consented to the omission of her name from the Liturgy, to denying her

was, that the prayers of the Church were offered up only for the King and the Royal Family; that the specific mention of the Princess of Wales was omitted, but that no specific mention of her as Queen, as had been done with Queen Charlotte and former Queens, was inserted. The motive for this step doubtless was, that the King was determined to avoid all express recognition of his wife as Queen; and he hoped by this apparently negative course, and by leaving her to be included under the general prayer for the Royal Family, to keep the door open for any active measures against her which might afterwards be adopted.

The Parliament, which was dissolved in March, 1820, had been elected in the summer of 1818. Notwithstanding the policy which the Government had recently pursued, the House of Commons of 1820, was somewhat more favourable to them than its predecessor. This result was owing, not only to the close nature of most of the borough seats at that period, but also to the alarmist views which had possessed the minds of the proprietary classes.* Even before the Reform Bill, the freedom of election for the English counties and for some of the towns, was such as to enable a strong national feeling to change the character of the House of Commons, as was proved by the dissolution of 1784. The new House met on April 21., and business was proceeding in its regular course, when the event happened whose gravity we have already indicated.

It seems that the Princess of Wales, who had remained on the Continent for the six years since 1814, had not intended to return to England when she became Queen; but when she found her treatment by foreign courts altered, and a sort of

the honour of coronation, and to making her pecuniary provision contingent upon her perpetual residence abroad; but not to the divorce. The King declared that if they were not prepared to advise the divorce, he should change his government; and His Majesty added, that if he could not find a government who would agree to that measure, he should retire to Hanover. In a letter to Prince Metternich of May 6th, 1820, Lord Castlereagh says of the Queen: 'If she is wise enough to accept the *pont d'or* which we have tendered her, the calamities and scandal of a public investigation will be avoided. If she is mad enough or so ill-advised as to put her foot upon English ground, I shall, from that moment, regard Pandora's box as opened.' (Ib. p. 259.)

* In an article in this Journal, for Oct. 1819, on 'the State of the Country,' it is remarked, that 'the most alarming sign of the times is that separation of the upper and middle classes of the community from the lower, which is now daily and visibly increasing.' (Vol. xxxii. p. 294.)

stigma cast upon her character in consequence of the omission of her name from the Liturgy, she decided not to submit to this act of the King's Government, which, as it was unsupported by any public allegation or evidence against her, bore the appearance of a wanton insult. Accordingly, after the failure of negotiations through Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson, intended to prevent her return, she crossed the Channel in a common packet, landed at Dover on the 6th of June, and on the following day arrived at Alderman Wood's house in South Audley Street, in the midst of a popular ovation. The consternation which this movement of the Queen produced in the Ministry was extreme; daily, nightly, hourly cabinets (according to Lord Eldon's phrase *) were held; but the Government lost no time in commencing proceedings against her, by a measure, the nature of which requires a short preliminary explanation.

The death of the Princess Charlotte and her child in November 1817, had removed the one powerful motive of forbearance from the Prince Regent to his wife. Within two months from that event, he held a meeting of some of the principal members of the Cabinet at Brighton, in order to deliberate upon the means of obtaining a divorce from the Princess of Wales.† The Prince was at this time fifty-six years old; and he probably contemplated a second marriage, from the same motive which induced his royal brothers, the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, to marry in 1818. The result of this meeting was the issue of a commission, for the purpose of collecting evidence of the adultery of the Princess. The persons composing the commission were selected by Sir John Leach ‡, who had advised upon a mass of papers relative to the Princess, furnished to him from the Foreign Office, in the autumn of 1817; and the selection was approved by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Liverpool. The commission was dated in March, 1818; the members of it assembled at Milan in September; and in July,

* Twiss, *Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 372.

† See the letter of the Prince Regent to Lord Eldon, of Jan. 1. 1818, in Twiss, vol. ii. p. 304., which, though given only in extract, shows clearly the Prince's intention. The fact that the Prince's plan of obtaining a divorce had been brought before the Cabinet was known to the Marquis of Buckingham, and communicated by him to Lord Grenville, early in January. (*Mem. of Reg.* vol. ii. p. 199.) A rumour of the Prince's intention had at the same time reached Mr. Wyndham. (*Ib.* p. 201.)

‡ The members of the Milan Commission were Mr. Cook, a Chancery barrister, Mr. Powell, an attorney, and Colonel Browne. See Lord Brougham's '*Statesmen*,' vol. ii. p. 25.

1819, made their report, which was immediately submitted to the Cabinet.* Upon the receipt of this report, (which doubtless contained all the criminatory matter subsequently opened by the Attorney-General to the House of Lords,) the Cabinet, though pressed by the King to take active measures, decided not to institute any public proceeding against her unless she should return to England. The intention of Ministers to adopt this course in the event of her return was communicated by Lord Hutchinson to the Queen when she was at St. Omer on her way to England; and the effect of this threat was to determine her instantly to cross the Channel. On the day that the Queen arrived in London, a message from the King was presented to both Houses, communicating certain papers respecting the conduct of Her Majesty since her departure from this kingdom, and recommending them to the immediate and serious attention of Parliament.† These papers were the evidence obtained by the Milan Commission. In the House of Lords, Lord Liverpool moved that they be referred to a Committee of Secrecy; the motion was agreed to, the committee sat, and reported; and upon their report was founded a Bill of Pains and Penalties for the degradation of the Queen, and for her divorce from her husband, which Lord Liverpool immediately introduced.

In the House of Commons, the motion of Lord Castlereagh for a Committee of Secrecy was met by Mr. Wilberforce with a well-meaning proposition, intended to stay further proceedings, and to effect a compromise; but the consequent negotiation with the Queen led to no result. The basis laid down by the negotiators, 'that the Queen should admit nothing, and the King should retract nothing,' in fact rendered an agreement impossible; and the House of Commons subsequently adjourned the question, in order to allow the measure to proceed in the other House. The proceedings upon the second reading of this Bill in the House of Lords, commenced on the 17th of August,

* See the statement of Sir J. Leach, Twiss, *Ib.* p. 400. Lord Castlereagh stated in the House of Commons, Feb. 6. 1821, that the death of the Princess Charlotte had nothing more to do in the way of influencing Government as to the time of constituting the Milan Commission, than any other circumstance. But whatever may have been the views of the Ministers, the motive of the King is apparent from his letter to Lord Eldon.

† On the difference between the King and his Ministers at this time, see Lord Eldon's letters, in Twiss, p. 372-74. The account which Lord Dudley heard from Sir J. Leach, early in the year, likewise indicates the King's views. (Letters, p. 241.)

1820, and after the examination of witnesses, and the arguments of counsel on both sides, terminated by a division on the 6th of November, when the second reading was carried by 123 to 95 votes, being a majority of 28 for the Bill. The proceedings in the Committee were remarkable, and exercised a material influence upon the final stage of the measure. A certain number of the Peers who were friendly to the Bill, were known to object to the divorce clause: it became therefore manifest, that if this clause was retained, the majority for the third reading would be diminished. The Ministers, nine in number, voted against the clause, whilst most of the Opposition Lords voted in favour of it. The result was, that the clause was retained by 129 to 62 votes. On the 10th of November, the motion was made for the third reading of the Bill, when there appeared, for the third reading, 108; against it, 99; being a majority of only nine in its favour. Upon the declaration of these numbers, Lord Liverpool rose, and announced the abandonment of the Bill.

Thus ended, amidst the general jubilation of the country*, this ill-advised and unfortunate proceeding. George the Fourth had separated himself from his wife, by a formal act of his own, in 1796; during twenty-four years they had lived apart; in 1814, he had declared his fixed determination not to meet her on any occasion, public or private; their separation had been sanctioned by George the Third, and a separate maintenance had been settled upon her by an Act of the Legislature; he had used all his influence to exclude her from Court, and from the society of the Royal Family; he had encouraged her removal to the Continent, but even there she was pursued by his ill-will, for he caused the English diplomatic agents to be cautioned against showing her any respect, and to be instructed to urge a similar procedure upon foreign courts. The serious charges of pregnancy and secret delivery, which he had brought against her in 1805, had been conclusively disproved upon inquiry. Not only had he denied her the protection and support due from a husband to a wife, but his behaviour to her was considered to have evinced a spirit of active persecution. It was likewise believed that his own life had not been such as to entitle him to complain of his wife's infidelities. The country regarded his conduct as the oppression of the weak by the strong, accompanied with almost every conceivable circumstance of aggravation.

* London was illuminated, more or less, for three nights. See Rush, p. 345.; see also 'Life of Wilberforce,' vol. v. p. 54.

Under these circumstances, the promoters of the Bill had to contend against heavy disadvantages. The case for the Bill was managed by the Attorney-General, Sir Robert Gifford, and by the Solicitor-General, Sir John Copley, who acquitted themselves of their difficult task with the ability of accomplished and experienced advocates. The Queen was represented by her two law officers, Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman; there were other competent counsel on both sides. Mr. Denman's speeches were forcible and affecting, and produced a powerful impression; but the principal moving power in the whole proceeding was Mr. Brougham, who, by his eloquence, boldness, resource, and pertinacity, so effectually succeeded in throwing suspicion upon the witnesses, in discrediting the accusers, and in arousing the sympathies of the country, that his entire performance may be considered to have been one of the greatest achievements of legal advocacy known in our history.

The case against the Queen rested principally on the evidence of foreign servants, who were suspected of having been bribed by the King's agents to give evidence against their former mistress. Although the Ministers attempted to represent themselves as champions of public morality, yet the proceeding was regarded as a private divorce bill, promoted by the King; and (as Lord Eldon said), if evidence of recrimination was not admitted, the effect of recrimination was produced. In the state of popular excitement which had arisen, and the feeling which prevailed respecting the King *, the attempt to carry such a measure through the House of Commons, after the close division in the House of Lords, would have been almost an act of madness. Lord Liverpool had even proposed to his colleagues to abandon the Bill in the Lords before the third reading. But, although this scandalous proceeding had roused the indignation of the country against the King and his Ministers, and had rendered the Queen an object of general sympathy and support, yet as soon as the Bill was abandoned, the interest about her subsided, and the country seemed not to have such a conviction of her purity as to induce them to insist upon her entire rehabilitation in her rights. The position of the Ministers had been full of embarrassment. They were doubtless not blind to the weakness of the King's cause, and they expected her to remain on the Continent; but believing, as they did, that she

* Lord Brougham affirms that 'no prince, in any age or country, was ever more universally or more deeply hated than George IV., during the year 1820.' (*Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 45.)

had promoted her Italian courier to her bed, it was hard for them to resist his instances to action when she returned to England and defied her accusers. *Her* conduct and *his* conduct rendered it equally difficult for them to remain motionless and to move. Probably, moreover, they did not anticipate that the accumulation of proof which had produced the effect of conviction on their minds would be of so little avail in promoting the success of the Bill for divorcing and degrading the Queen. But the public, whatever might be their opinion respecting the Queen's chastity, were insensible to the depositions of the witnesses, because they thought that the King was not entitled to throw the first stone.

When Parliament met, on the 23rd of January, for the session of 1821, it might seem that Ministers were not likely to stand their ground. They had begun the previous year without any large stock of popularity; the result of the proceeding against the Queen had been, not only a defeat, but a humiliation. They had likewise lost one of their pillars in debate. Mr. Canning had declined to take any part against the Queen as an accuser; but he had remained in the Cabinet till the end of the year, when he resigned the Presidency of the Board of Control. This office was, in January, 1821, provisionally transferred to Mr. Bragge Bathurst, who held it without salary, in conjunction with the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. It had been previously offered to Mr. Peel, who, for some reason which does not appear, was unable at this time to join the Ministry. Mr. Canning's resignation is thus commented on by Lord Dudley, in a letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, of December 22nd, 1820: —

‘Canning, you see, is out. He has, however, no sort of quarrel with his late colleagues. His reason for retiring is simply this; he had from the beginning determined to take no share in the proceedings as to the Queen. Those proceedings, or at least questions connected with them, are to form the main business of the approaching session. He thinks that absence or neutrality of one of the King's principal servants would be disrespectful towards his master and discreditable to himself. . . . The loss of him will be severely felt in the House of Commons. Peel, I take for granted, is to be his successor. We shall witness a most obstinate struggle. The parties are more nearly balanced than they have been for many years. On the one hand is the immense power of the Crown; on the other a most decided superiority of parliamentary talent. The Ministers have the old Tory feeling in their favour; the Opposition are aided by the cry against the late measures to the Queen, and by the great personal unpopularity of the King. I think the Ministers will stand their

ground ; but the first advance of the Saracens under their renowned Emir Brougham will be fierce and terrible.' (P. 271.)

At the beginning of the session of 1821, petitions were presented to the House of Commons complaining of the late proceedings against the Queen, and praying that she might be reinstated in her rights, and that her name might be replaced in the Liturgy. The Parliamentary campaign in the Queen's favour was opened by a motion of Lord Archibald Hamilton condemnatory of the omission of her name from the Liturgy. The resolution was met on the part of Ministers by a motion of adjournment, which was carried by 310 to 209 votes. Shortly afterwards Lord Castlereagh proposed that an annuity of 50,000*l.* should be granted to Her Majesty for her life. Mr. Brougham presented a formal message from the Queen announcing her intention to refuse the money unless her name was restored to the Liturgy. The Government, however, persisted, and the Queen accepted the annuity without the fulfilment of her condition. A formal motion of censure upon Ministers for the late proceedings against the Queen was then brought forward by Lord Tavistock, which led to a debate of two nights, and was supported on a division by only 178 against 324 votes, giving to Ministers a majority of 146. A motion in favour of the insertion of the Queen's name in the Liturgy was subsequently made by Mr. John Smith, but, though sanctioned by Mr. Wilberforce, it was negatived by 298 to 178 votes.

Thus ended the parliamentary efforts to support the cause of the Queen after the abandonment of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. Great embarrassment would have been created by the accession to power of a Ministry pledged to treat the Queen as free from stain, and to reinstate her in all her rights and privileges. On the other hand, it can scarcely be doubted that if the constitution of the House of Commons in 1821 had been as popular as it was subsequently rendered by the Reform Bill of Lord Tavistock's brother, his motion of censure would have been carried, and Lord Liverpool's Ministry must have resigned.

Whatever may have been the prevalent feeling of the country respecting the Queen, the course now taken by Ministers met with acquiescence, and her claims were not revived, until the announcement of the King's intention to exclude her from his coronation (which was fixed for a day in July), called forth a memorial asserting her right to take a part in that ceremony. Her memorial was referred to a Committee of the Privy Council, who having heard the arguments of her Attorney- and Solicitor-

General, decided against her right. She afterwards applied to have a place assigned to her as a spectator at the King's coronation, and to be crowned separately herself; but both applications were ineffectual. On the day of the coronation she made an endeavour to gain admission to Westminster Abbey, but she was repulsed by the doorkeepers, and the assembled multitude showed no disposition to assist her in forcing an entrance. Her reception by the people was cold. Within a month from this time she was seized with an inflammatory malady, and died after a few days' illness.* By her directions her body was conveyed to Brunswick for interment; her funeral procession created a riot, at which the military interfered and two lives were lost. It is stated by Lord Brougham that before her death she had come to the resolution of leaving England; and that if her life had been prolonged she would have removed to the Continent.† This decision shows that she was conscious of a decline in her popularity, and of the impossibility of creating any new interest in her favour. The country had supported her against the aggressive measures of the King; but they were not prepared to support her in aggressive measures against him.

‘Whatever (says Lord Holland) may be thought of the treatment to which she was exposed on her arrival in England, or of the malignity, and possibly the falsehood, of some of the charges subsequently brought against her, or of the somewhat vindictive prosecution of her when Queen, she was at best a strange woman, and a very sorry and uninteresting heroine. She had, they say, some talent; some pleasantry, some good humour, and great spirit and courage. But she was utterly destitute of all female delicacy, and exhibited in the whole course of the transactions relative to herself very little feeling for anybody, and very little regard for honour or truth, or even for the interests of those who were devoted to her, whether the people in the aggregate, or the individuals who enthusiastically espoused her cause. She avowed her dislike of many; she scarcely concealed her contempt for all. In short, to speak plainly, if not mad, she was a very worthless woman.’‡

We shall not attempt to give any account of the general par-

* Lord Londonderry, in a letter written to Lord Eldon from Ireland, in August, 1821, where he was in attendance upon the King, describes the Queen's death as ‘the greatest of all possible deliverances, both to his Majesty and to the country.’ (*Twiss*, vol. ii. p. 432.)

† *Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 39.

‡ *Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 120. Lord Eldon seems to have doubted of the Queen's sanity. (*Twiss, Life*, p. 366.)

liamentary business of the sessions of 1821 and 1822, and shall only advert to the ministerial changes which occurred during that period. It seems that in July, 1821, a short time before the Queen's death, the differences between the King and Lord Liverpool, with respect to some proposed changes in the Cabinet, were such as to render the duration of the Government precarious*; but the storm, whatever may have been its cause, passed away. In December, 1821, Lord Wellesley went to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, with Mr. Goulburn as Chief Secretary, according to the system of balance which then prevailed; the former being favourable, the latter being hostile to the Catholic claims. At the same time, Mr. Saurin was replaced by Mr. Plunkett, as Attorney-General for Ireland. Mr. Peel had, in 1810, during Mr. Perceval's administration, been appointed Under-Secretary of the War Department. He had then recently entered the House of Commons: his age was twenty-two. In August, 1812, he became Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, after the accession of Lord Liverpool's government, and resigned this post in August, 1818.† He was accordingly out of office at the time of the proceedings against the Queen; and he declined to enter the Cabinet upon Mr. Canning's resignation, in the winter of 1820, when the sentence of the House of Commons, upon the conduct of Ministers, was still unpronounced. But, at the beginning of 1821, he became Home Secretary in the place of Lord Sidmouth, who remained a member of the Cabinet without office. Mr. Peel's political connexions were, at that time, with the extreme section of the Tory party; he was a follower of Perceval rather than of Pitt. The anti-catholics wanted an organ in the House of Commons; not only all the Whigs, but Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, retaining Mr. Pitt's opinions, were advocates of Catholic emanci-

* Lord Eldon, in a letter to Lord Stowell of July, 1821, says: 'The bulk of the Ministers are, I think, convinced that the King means, and that my neighbour [Lady Conyngham] will induce him, to change them; and I should not wonder if, in a too great confidence that he has that meaning, they were to retire before he knew how to execute it. It is impossible but that the thing must fall to pieces.' (*Twiss*, ib. p. 429.)

† M. Guizot, *Life of Sir R. Peel*, p. 14., represents the office of Irish Secretary as having become intolerable to him, from the constant sight of the evils and abuses which he was called on to defend; and connects his resignation of it with his election as member for the University of Oxford, in 1817. We suspect the truth to have been that he had become tired of an office which he had held for six years.

pation; and Mr. Peel supplied that want. The Annual Register for 1822, after eulogising Lord Sidmouth, and regretting the public loss caused by his retirement, remarks, as a ground of consolation, that 'Mr. Peel's political predilections, sympathies, principles, and prejudices, were very much the same with those of Lord Sidmouth; so that the substitution of the one for the other could have no effect on the course of administration.' Sir James Mackintosh has the following entry in his Diary, respecting a debate on the Catholic Question in December, 1817: — 'Peel made a speech of little merit in point of substance, but so clearly and elegantly expressed, and so well delivered, as to be applauded to excess. He is a proof of the great value of the mechanical parts of speaking, when combined with industry and caution. He now fills the too-important place of spokesman to the intolerant faction.' The small party, likewise, who had followed Lord Grenville, and who, at that time, occupied a middle position, somewhat similar to that now occupied by the Peelite party, joined the administration at the end of 1821; as the price of this junction, the Marquis of Buckingham was created a duke, and Mr. C. Wynn entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Control.* The Cabinet now consisted of fifteen members, nine peers, and six commoners. The six commoners were Lord Londonderry†, Mr. Peel, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. F. Robinson, Mr. C. Wynn, and Mr. B. Bathurst.

With certain modifications of his Cabinet, Lord Liverpool had now weathered the second session since the failure of the Bill for degrading the Queen, and the resignation of Mr. Canning. The latter had, in the spring of 1822, accepted the office of Governor-General of Bengal, rendered vacant by the recall of Lord Hastings; notwithstanding his extraordinary and, perhaps, unsurpassed oratorical powers, he preferred this imperial exile to exclusion from the Cabinet, with which the personal repugnance of the King now threatened him. Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of August, 1822, by the King in person; and His Majesty, who had, in the previous year, paid a visit to Ireland, embarked at Greenwich for Scotland a few days after the prorogation. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Lord Londonderry, who had,

* A vain attempt seems to have been made to induce Lord Grenville to join the Government at this time. (*Life of Sidmouth*, vol. iii. p. 382.)

† Lord Castlereagh became Marquis of Londonderry by the death of his father, April 8. 1821.

in a fit of insanity, put an end to his own life.* Upon the King's return to London, the choice of his successor was made. The person whose claims stood first was, without question, Mr. Canning. But he was not acceptable to the King, on account of his attachment to the Queen's cause: and Lord Eldon, with a portion of the anti-catholic section of the Cabinet, wished for a person of their own politics.† But the Queen was dead; and Lord Liverpool, with the concurrence of Mr. Peel, insisted on the appointment of Mr. Canning, who was accordingly called to the office of Foreign Secretary, and the lead of the House of Commons.‡ Mr. Canning, without hesitation, but with considerable regret for the pecuniary sacrifice which he was making, relinquished his Indian throne, and accepted the offer.§

* Lord Eldon says, in a letter written at the time: 'I learn, upon the best authority, that for two or three days he was perfectly insane; and the medical men attribute that fact to the operation on his head of the unceasing attention to business, which the last harassing session to him called for.' (*Twiss*, vol. ii. p. 464.) Lord Londonderry's state may perhaps be more correctly described as mental delirium, extending over several days, than insanity. (See also *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. v. p. 134.)

According to an anecdote preserved in Raikes's *Journal*, Dec. 25. 1832, Lord Londonderry had exhibited symptoms of madness previously to his departure for the Congress of Vienna. in 1814.

† See Lord Dudley's *Letters*, pp. 350. 356. Lord Eldon's animosity to Mr. Canning, and his regret at his introduction into the Cabinet, are plainly shown in a letter to Lord Stowell of September, 1823. (*Twiss*, vol. ii. p. 484.) According to M. de Marcellus (whose reminiscences are not of much historical value), Mr. Canning described himself as forced upon the King in 1822. (*Politique de la Restauration*, p. 15.)

‡ M. de Marcellus, in a letter to M. de Châteaubriand, of 15th Sept. 1822, stated that Mr. Canning was first offered the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, to which he objected, as inconsistent with the functions of leader of the House of Commons (*Ibid.* p. 90.). We believe that the arrangement to which M. de Marcellus refers was in agitation, but that it was not offered by Lord Liverpool to Mr. Canning.

§ See Stapleton's *Life of Canning*, vol. ii. p. 120-130.; *Twiss*, *Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 464. Mr. Canning said, in the House of Commons, 1st May, 1827: 'In the year 1822 I was appointed to an office fraught with wealth, honour, and ambition. From that office I was called, not only not on my own seeking, but contrary to my own wish; and I made a sacrifice — a sacrifice, be it remembered, of no inconsiderable nature to a poor man.' On May 13. 1828, upon a motion for a grant of a pension to one of Mr. Canning's sons, Mr. Huskisson made the following statement: 'I regret to be obliged

Great as were the attractions of the post of leader which he was invited to fill, the feelings with which he regarded it had probably undergone a considerable alteration since 1812.

Lord Londonderry had, for ten years, been the most prominent and important person in the Cabinet of Lord Liverpool, though he did not hold the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and was not called Prime Minister. Mr. Canning occupied after him a similar position. Here, therefore, we suspend our review of this administration. In another article, we shall resume the subject at this new phase; which will afford us an opportunity of estimating the change which the transfer of power from Lord Londonderry to Mr. Canning produced.

‘ to make reference on such an occasion to information derived from
‘ the privacy of confidential intercourse; but I can state, from my
‘ own personal credit, that, whatever were the feelings of others, who
‘ were justly near and dear to Mr. Canning, it had for years been his
‘ own warm and anxious wish (owing to circumstances that were
‘ likely to press upon the acute and sensitive mind of such a man) to
‘ be placed in some public situation, however it might sacrifice or
‘ compromise the fair and legitimate scope of his ambition, which,
‘ while it enabled him to perform adequate public services, would
‘ enable him also to place upon a better footing his wife’s private
‘ fortune, which he had lessened, and the inheritance of his children,
‘ which he had impaired.’

- ART. VII.—1. *British Museum. A Guide to the Printed Books exhibited to the public in the Grenville and King's Library.* London: 1858.
2. *The New General Catalogue of the Printed Books in the British Museum.*
3. *Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Impériale.* Tom. I.—IV. Paris: 1855–57, 4to.

THE feelings of ‘a man of few books,’ on entering the new Reading-Room of the British Museum for the first time, must be those of great amazement and humiliation. These emotions will not be diminished when he is informed that he beholds but little more than a tithe of the contents of the Library; and, further, that this library is far from being the largest in the world; and, finally, that the largest existing, the Bibliothèque Impériale, probably contains not one fourth of the books which have been printed in the ‘course of the last four centuries. Unless the ‘few books’ of such a man have been particularly well-chosen and well-read, the spectacle thus presented to him of the magnitude of literature will be vastly imposing, in both senses of the word; and his impressions must be amusingly at variance with those of the gentlemen who have been employed for twenty years or so upon the New Catalogue, during which time some hundred thousand of these books have passed bodily through their hands. Contemplating the lettering on the backs of the two thousand folio volumes to which this catalogue will now very soon extend, he will consider that the mere *titles* recorded there are equal to his own select private library. His Bible fills seventeen of them; his Prayer-Book and its cognate Liturgies, six or seven; his Horace, one; his Shakspeare, three; his Homer, two; his Tate and Brady, or Sternhold and Hopkins, about the same; his Aristotle, two; and so on. But this enormous amount of literal reiteration of a few of the sources of knowledge must seem to him as nothing when compared with their endless repetition in other ways. The habit of handling vast masses of books upon all subjects suggests such questions as, How much cream of originality would the skimming of this unrivalled collection of American literature yield? To what bulk could modern Scotch theology be boiled down? What quantum of novelty could be eliminated from the last ten thousand novels? How many of these forty miles of bookshelves would have been unnecessary had history limited itself to telling the same story once, and science contented

itself with a single record of its facts and laws? Such an elimination, not of unnecessary, but only of repeated knowledge, would certainly leave the 'Printed Book Department' much nearer to the Caliph Omar's views of what the extent of a library should be, than to its existing magnitude. From considerations like these arose, in former days, the utopian visions of encyclopædists; but experience has shown that, as every spectator sees a separate rainbow, so every reading man beholds, in the firmament of learning, his own encyclopædia, and that practically, after all, our forty miles of bookshelves in Bloomsbury will constitute as condensed an epitome of knowledge as is attainable.

Public libraries cannot abridge their leagues of literature by venturing to exclude any kind of knowledge as worthless. Despised books have a strange trick of revenging themselves, by becoming indispensable. Dr. Bandinel gives ten times its weight in gold for the 'riff-raff' condemned by Sir Thomas Bodley, who, on the repeated application of the first Bodleian librarian, Dr. James, to be allowed to purchase plays, replied, 'I can see no good reason to alter my opinion for excluding such books as almanacks, plays, and an infinite number that are daily printed, of very unworthy matters and handling.' A short time before the date of this letter, was printed Marlowe's 'True Tragedie of Richarde, Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt,' a copy of which was purchased a few years ago, by Mr. Rodd, for the Bodleian Library, for 131l. — being, we believe, the highest price ever, up to that time, given for a single play. It is recorded that one of the libraries, which had a copyright claim, rejected as worthless the first works of Walter Scott, Mrs. Opie, Wordsworth, Shelley, Lord Brougham, and M'Culloch. 'It is in the fragments,' writes M. Libri, 'of some alphabets, of some small grammars published for the use of schools, about the middle of the fifteenth century, or in the letters distributed in Germany by the religious bodies commissioned to collect alms, that bibliographers now seek to discover the first processes employed by the inventors of xylography and of typography. It is in a forgotten collection of indifferent plates, published at Venice, by Fausto Verantio, that an engineer may find the first diagram of iron suspension bridges.'

The late Mr. Croker, in his evidence before the Museum Commission, in 1849, said, 'One of the first and most mysterious preludes to the great revolution was what was called the "Affaire Reveillon;" the sack of a great manufacturer's house at Paris. He was a very extensive manu-

‘facturer; a very good master; gave bread to thousands of people; a most respectable man; and what would be called a Liberal, in politics. Nobody could make out why Monsieur Reveillon’s house and warehouse should have been sacked and burned. That is explained by a little bit of paper, which was a balloting list for the members of the new Assembly. The revolutionists had put out their list, and the Court list was made up of what they called “moderate men;” at the head of this list was M. Reveillon. To the success of the republican list it was absolutely necessary to make an example, and they made an example of M. Reveillon. The revolutionary list succeeded, and you all know the consequences.’ The works, good or bad, of all celebrated persons, are important; but, as M. Libri remarks, ‘we are not born celebrated.’ The author of a trifling pamphlet, called ‘Le Souper de Beaucaire,’ became the Emperor Napoleon the First; and ‘to write fully the life of the execrable Marat, one ought to have the very insignificant essays on physics that he published before the Revolution.’ Setting aside the unforeseen value which events may give to intrinsically worthless books, and the fact that posterity is not always of our way of thinking as to the merits of others, it is not to be forgotten that our very contempt tends to endow a book with an ultimate bibliographical consequence. Little will the Ames or Dibdin of the year 2059 care, bibliographically speaking, for the works of Hallam and Macaulay, Scott and Wordsworth, the early editions of which will be obtainable, in dusty calf or abraded morocco, for ninepence a volume, at every bookstall; but fabulous prices will be realised by copies, unique or of excessive rarity, of a Cumming’s ‘Apocalyptic Sketches,’ or a Tupper’s ‘Proverbial Philosophy;’ a set of Playbills will fetch the price of a whole library of the classics; and an auction of the facetiæ of the middle of the nineteenth century will agitate the hearts of Bibliomaniacs who have vainly endeavoured to possess themselves of an *editio princeps* of the ‘Ascent of Mont Blanc,’ or ‘Mrs. Caudle’s Lectures.’ Although it may sound like a paradox, libraries are swelled to an enormous bulk, not so much by the treasures of literature, as by its dregs and its scum. A moderate apartment may receive all the noblest monuments of human thought and knowledge, though ‘the world itself could not contain all the books that should be written’ for the varied intercourse of society. The great productions of literary genius are borne onwards with the stream and are imperishable; the whims and fashions of the hour sink to the bottom, and can only be rescued from total

oblivion by those who have the courage to dive down to the accumulated rubbish of past ages.

The value of the library of the British Museum, two centuries hence, will be something quite inconceivable. For example, we have it upon the authority of an American, who probably knows more of the matter than any one living, that the Museum collection of about 30,000 books, published in the United States, is more than double the extent of any similar collection of American books in his own country. Those of our readers who know most of American literature will most readily agree with us when we affirm that a great proportion of this collection will in a few years be *unique*; that is to say, that the British Museum will shortly be the chief depository of the literature of the United States! The fairy tales of science are many and wonderful; and the dreariest of sciences, bibliography, which is not so much a science as the husk of a science, dealing wholly with outside shows, — prizing a book for nothing so much as for being ‘uncut,’ — wandering among its *incunabula* as a shade among tombs, preferring the Hades of black-letter to the heaven of French pica — gloating upon the refuse of ancient days — and boasting, with a shameless pharisaism, of its main delight in forms, folio, quarto, octavo, or ‘agenda;’ — even this has its marvels and astounding metamorphoses.

Since dry leaves may thus change to gold, and gold to dry leaves, it obviously becomes one of the most necessary qualities of the Head of a great national library, that he should have utterly abandoned all partialities, and that he should regard with equal affection, or, at least, indifference, the apparently deciduous, and the apparently permanent. The present Principal Librarian of the Museum once said that, in the matter of selecting purchases, the proof that he had done well was that everybody was dissatisfied. Curiously in corroboration of the truth of this *mot*, it appears that, whereas the Museum Library is the richest in the world in works on natural history, — that being its one point of partiality, owing to the acquisition of the Banksian books, — the loudest complaints of its imperfection have been those of naturalists. But a naturalist has not the many-sided vision of the spider, and Mr. Panizzi, from his watch-tower in the skies of learning, may look serenely upon the partiality of each profession for its own *spécialité*. He might point towards the College of Surgeons, which expends twelve hundred pounds a year in keeping up a collection of books belonging to a mere subdivision of that branch of medicine. But as far as the means at the disposal of the Trustees ex-

tend, the first and noblest characteristic of the Museum Library is its universality.

Although it is certain that the newly awakened sense of the importance of preserving, in the metropolitan establishment of every great nation, all the printed words of men, has lately caused a surprising increase of bulk in most of the leading libraries of Europe, nothing is more difficult than to obtain even an approximate notion of the nature or mass of their contents. In spite of the assurances of the French Minister of Public Instruction, that, in 1850, the Paris Bibliothèque contained '1,500,000 volumes et pièces imprimées,' and the statistics of the last 'Didot,' which fixes the number of *volumes* in 1857 at 1,700,000, we feel that we really know little more of the actual extent of that or of any other great modern library than we do of that of the library at Memphis. A traveller whose occupations had qualified him for making a fair guess at the number of books contained in a room by the space they occupied, was inspecting a well-known foreign library. 'How many books do you reckon you have?' he asked of the librarian. 'Six hundred thousand,' was the reply. The Englishman expressed his doubt. 'Well, we have not counted, but there are certainly not fewer than five hundred thousand.' The visitor, thus at once met half way in his own computation, said no more, for he saw that he had already ruffled the librarian's serenity. Mr. Panizzi has stated, that the result of his personal investigations, in every considerable library in Europe, was the discovery that 'the number of volumes was universally exaggerated.' Thus, the library of Wolfenbüttel, described as 200,000 volumes, in answer to the inquiries instituted at the time of Mr. Ewart's Committee, was estimated by the librarian to Mr. Panizzi as 140,000. Mr. Panizzi made a careful computation of them, by a method almost as safe as actual counting, and found them to be between 90,000 and 95,000. The Brera Library, at Milan, was officially returned as containing 200,000. It was afterwards counted, and found to contain 107,000. Apart from careless or wilful misrepresentation, library statistics are extremely liable to exaggeration, from a confusion of the three modes in which a library may be counted. We may regard either the number of *works*, or of *volumes*, or of '*articles*;' and the returns of a library under these three heads would, of course, differ very widely. Thus the number of '*articles*' now annually added to the Printed Book Department of the British Museum is about 75,000,—last year it was 75,067,—but when arranged and bound, this enormous number will figure, in any future return of *volumes*, as probably at most

half that number. We therefore see, that when the Bibliothèque Impériale is stated by M. Fould to have consisted, in 1850, of 1,500,000 'volumes et pièces imprimées,' the return in 'Didot' of the same number of *volumes* is a most gross and obvious misrepresentation. Again, even supposing M. Fould's very round numbers to be within the limits of the fact, we must know the conditions of any two libraries with respect to binding, before we can accept a statement of their contents, in 'volumes et pièces imprimées,' as a measure of their relative magnitude. In the British Museum every periodical publication is bound immediately the issue of a volume is completed; so that any second-rate library may, by a few years' neglect of this portion of its accessions, attain to the honour of outnumbering our national library in its 'volumes et pièces imprimées.' A library like our own, which expends 9,500*l.* upon the binding of one year, makes a comparatively poor show when tried by such a test.

The following figures represent, as nearly as can be ascertained without personal verification, the proportionate magnitudes of the ten libraries which at present make claim to the possession of more than 300,000 *volumes* of printed books:—

The Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris	-	-	800,000.
British Museum	-	-	560,000.
Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg	-	-	520,000.
Royal Library at Berlin	-	-	500,000.
Royal Library at Munich	-	-	480,000.
Royal Library at Copenhagen	-	-	410,000.
Imperial Library at Vienna	-	-	365,000.
University Library at Göttingen	-	-	360,000.
Royal Library at Breslau	-	-	350,000.
Royal Public Library at Dresden	-	-	305,000.

It is gratifying to find, on comparing these numbers, (which, with slight allowances, are those given last year by Mr. Edward Edwards, in his article on Libraries in the Encyclopædia Britannica,) with the returns made twenty-three years ago by the librarians of the several capitals to the inquiries of Mr. Panizzi, that, while all libraries have been more or less rapidly increasing, the collection of the British Museum has proceeded with such gigantic strides as to have attained the *second* instead of the *seventh* place on the list. Were the contents of all these collections put to the test of actual counting by *volumes*, which has been applied, from time to time, to our national library, it is pretty certain that the latter would figure relatively better than it does even now. By reckoning the independent pamphlets, tracts, academic theses, &c., which are bound many together,

there can be little doubt that the Museum Library would be found to contain above a million ‘volumes et pièces imprimées,’ without reckoning those unbound parts of periodicals which inevitably constitute a considerable proportion of libraries less plentifully supplied with the means of binding.

But, after all, the bulk of a library is a most fallacious measure of its importance; and we may safely say that a collection of half a million volumes, formed, as the Museum Library has been, partly by donations of superb and special collections, and partly by a vast and judicious expenditure, is of more true significance than any merely fortuitous assemblage of double that number of tomes. At a fête given by Prince Potemkin to the Empress Catherine, the Empress remarked that her host’s palace wanted only a library to make it perfect. The next day Potemkin sent for a great bookseller, and desired him to supply this desideratum. What kind of books would he wish? No matter, was the reply; ‘little books at the top, and big books at the bottom.’ This library was the main foundation of the St. Petersburg collection, which seems on the whole to have remained true to its first principle of selection, as well as to its first plan of arrangement. Even less guidance has been exercised over the growth of the Bibliothèque Impériale of France, which is to a great extent the product—necessarily chaotic—of innumerable confiscations, legitimate and otherwise.*

It would be interesting to compare the elaborate Report of

* Our present Principal Librarian, on being reminded, by the Commission of 1836, of the numerical inferiority of our collection, at that time consisting of only 235,000 volumes, replied: ‘I think we have reason rather to be proud of our poverty. The French have done the same as the Russians, but they have been obliged to disgorge what they had stolen from foreign countries. They have cheated them, however, the Italians more particularly, of many of their books, and they now unblushingly show them, and boast of their fraudulent conduct. I was shown a beautiful copy of the first edition of Eustathius’s Comment on Homer, printed at Rome by Blado, in 1542, one of the most magnificent books on vellum I ever saw. I observed, written on the top of the title-page, “Bibliotheca Vaticana, No. —.” I remarked this, adding that I thought they had re-turned all the books. “Oh no!” I was answered, “we have not given them all back; we have taken good care of that.”’ This was explained subsequently by the statement, that the book was obtained, or retained, in exchange. We may remark, by the way, that Van Praet’s famous catalogue of Vellum Books in the Paris Library contains descriptions of books which are no longer in the library; so that this catalogue cannot be taken as truly representing its treasures.

the deficiencies of the Museum Library in 1842, which was drawn up by Mr. Panizzi, with the aid of Mr. Winter Jones and Mr. Watts, with the entries in the catalogues of the present day. The comparison would show an amount of system in the purchases which is worthy of record. We have space for only two or three examples. The collection was reported to be very full in the department of classical literature, accordingly we find that the entries under Aristotle have increased by only about one-sixth. But in 1842 'the British Museum possesses but '142 Bibles, 60 New Testaments, 92 Psalms, and 95 other 'portions of the Bible,' being, in all, 389 Bibles and parts of the Bible. On turning to the New Catalogue, showing the present state of the collection, we find that, reckoning five entries to each leaf of the catalogue, there are 1685 entire copies of the Bible in different editions and languages, 370 Old Testaments, 1255 New Testaments, and other parts in proportion; the whole number of entries, including cross-references, being little under ten thousand. In 1842 the Museum catalogues 'present only 135 entries' under the name of Luther. Now the 'Supplementary Catalogue,' which receives nothing but accessions of a date considerably subsequent to 1842, alone contains nearly nine hundred entries under 'Luther.' In 1842 'there is no edition of Hans Sachs.' The 'Supplementary 'Catalogue' now contains 123 entries under his name; and, whereas this was given as an example of the utter poverty of the library, at that date, in 'the older German poets,' we believe that we are right in saying that the Museum has at present a very much finer collection of old German poetry than is to be found in any collection in Germany. Concerning American literature, it was reported that this department 'was hitherto 'very incomplete. A commencement has been recently made 'towards removing this defect, but the progress is as yet unimportant.' We have already told our readers that the Museum now contains twice as many American books as any library in the United States. It was also stated, 'Of Hungarian 'books, there were not, perhaps, half a dozen in the library 'until very recently;' and, 'until 1837 Russian literature was 'a total blank in the British Museum;' in these tongues it now possesses the best collections existing beyond the bounds of their respective countries—a boast which may be extended to the collections *in every modern European language*. In the case of Polish literature, the present position of the Museum Library is still more remarkable. Whereas a few years ago there was scarcely a Polish book on the shelves, it now contains such a collection as not only does not, but, owing to the censorship of

the press, could not exist in Warsaw, Posen, or Lemberg; or, indeed, with security in any other capital in Europe. Who can tell how long the Polish library, which was founded and is supported by Poles, in Paris, may continue unmolested? But at the Museum exiled books find a refuge, with which no Alien Act is likely ever to interfere. If we go back as far as 1817, we find many amusing contrasts, of which we will name but two. In the printed catalogue of that date we find under 'Schiller' nothing but 'The Ghost Seer,' and the name of Goethe does not appear at all. Some months ago we counted under the head of Schiller 226 entries, 66 of which date before 1813, and under that of Goethe 264, 67 of which date before 1813. Nor have the claims of individual authors in the English and in the universal language been neglected. For example, from the Report to which we have alluded, it appears that in 1842 we had only 12 out of 45 known editions of 'Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis.' The 'Supplementary Catalogue,' of very recent accessions alone, contains 22 editions of that work. A copy of 'Cocker's Arithmetic' (of the fiftieth edition) has also removed the name of that celebrated book from the list of 'libri desiderati.' But notwithstanding this last and some other equally notable accessions, — among others, a copy of 'Wordsworth's Poems,' — the library still affords scope for development in our vernacular literature. Until the present Principal Librarian called attention to the necessity of amending the copyright law, the British public, as he observed, was 'deprived of British books by the very Acts of Parliament which were meant to enrich the national library with them.' There was no practical power of enforcing their observance; the books were not sent; and there was an obvious formal objection to grants of money for buying books to which the Museum had a legal right. Hence, in Mr. Croker's evidence, in 1849, he expressed himself 'surprised at the deficiency of common books. There is great wealth in the higher order of books, and considerable and wonderful deficiencies in very small works.' We do not know that a library of nearly six hundred thousand volumes could have higher praise; and the hasty glance we have taken at its condition must have convinced our readers that, if not the largest (as it probably soon will be), it is unquestionably the least incomplete collection of books in the world.

In 1836, when Dr. Olinthus Gregory complained that a library worthy of the nation ought to contain 600,000 volumes, who could have believed that the collection would have risen, from a little more than a third of that number, to nearly

the desiderated magnitude, in little more than twenty years ! The present rate of increase is equivalent to the whole of the 'King's Library' once in every three years ; and the annual Parliamentary grant for books and binding alone is, for last year, 19,500*l.*, being just one hundred pounds more than the total expenses of the British Museum in 1833.

If the national library can so well afford to be compared, as to its contents, with the largest continental collections, the arrangements by which its contents become available to the public are such as to distance all rivals, and to cause it to be held up as an example for imitation, in almost every detail, by the Government of a nation which has long prided itself upon the unapproached magnificence of its literary establishments. The following words are from the Report of the Commission on the Bibliothèque Impériale, published in the 'Moniteur' last July : —

'Monsieur Labrouste a étudié à Londres la construction si remarquable de la salle de lecture du British Museum et celles des nouveaux bâtimens qui en sont les dépendances. Nous sommes assurés que toutes les dispositions importantes et applicables à la Bibliothèque Impériale seront heureusement reproduites ou perfectionnées par ses soins. Mais ce n'est pas seulement par son ingénieux système de construction que la Bibliothèque Anglaise mérite un examen approfondi. Les moyens pratiques et perfectionnés en usage pour tous les genres de service nous paraissent non moins dignes de la plus sérieuse attention, et nous croyons que la plupart pourraient être utilement importés en France.'

The Report goes on to specify the details recommended for imitation, but unaccountably overlooks what is certainly one of the most valuable and novel points in the whole economy of the library, namely, the mode of putting up newly-acquired books, in a scientific classification, without involving the occasional necessity of a total re-arrangement, with alteration of press-marks, &c.—a process which in a first-rate collection would be the work of many men for many years, and which has therefore been avoided, in all great and growing libraries, either by the total sacrifice of that most important principle of classified arrangement, as in the Bodleian, where the books are put up in the order in which they accrue, or by a very partial and imperfect mode of classification, such as that recommended in the French Report, by which the books in the library, up to a certain date, are classed as a separate '*fonds*,' those coming in afterwards constituting another, which, in its turn, will have to be closed when it becomes unmanageably

large. Now, in the Museum Mr. Watts, to whom it appears, from the evidence of the last Parliamentary Commission, that the arrangement of the books is confided, has invented a very ingenious plan, which goes by the name of the 'expansive system,'—and of which the germ already existed in the method of arranging maps and periodical publications. By this device he has solved the problem: How, in a large and rapidly-increasing library, to place every book, on its first arrival, in a position *where it may receive a permanent press-mark*, and yet, notwithstanding the unequal and unforeseen increase of classes, always be found in the company of its 'congeners?' The solution is startlingly simple. Instead of numbering the presses in strict, consecutive order, 1, 2, 3, &c., they are numbered in some such order as 1, 33, 57, 121, &c., which, while it enables the attendants to find the place of the press as easily as if the numbering were in the ordinary way, allows of shiftings of *entire presses*, without alteration of their numbers or of the position of the books on their shelves, and of the intercalation, to an indefinite extent, of presses with new numbers, whenever the increased quantity of volumes on particular classes requires it. For the perfect working of this plan, it is necessary that all the presses in the library should be of the same height, breadth, and depth,—a condition only partially fulfilled by the Museum Library, the older portions of which were fitted up before the adoption of this system: when the plan is once in complete operation, it is not disturbed even by the removal of the library, or of parts of it, to new buildings, whenever the bulk of the collection may have outgrown its domicile. The perfect classification of arrangement, which is possible on this plan only, is the best of all practical substitutes for that proved impossibility, a good and useful *classed* catalogue of a great library.

Into the details of the admirable economy of the new Reading Room it is impossible that we should enter; but if our readers will only reflect how liable to a very troublesome amount of disorder is a collection of a few hundred books, used only by two or three persons, and will then picture to themselves a library of nearly 600,000 volumes, read daily by some four or five hundred people, some of whom have two hundred volumes out at a time, so managed that no volume is ever out of its place the morning after it has been used; that no reader has to wait more than a few minutes for the books he wants, though such books may not have been removed from their remote shelves for half a century before; and that loss scarcely ever

occurs*; they will certainly agree with us in regarding the Reading Room of the British Museum as one of the most marvellous triumphs ever attained by system and order. Even when the old Reading Room was in operation, Mr. Jewett, the librarian of the American Smithsonian Institution, after spending two years in the investigation of European libraries for the purpose of enabling 'us in America to establish our libraries 'on the best possible foundation,' came to the conclusion, 'that 'any person who wishes to become thoroughly acquainted with 'the whole subject of *Bibliothekswissenschaft*, with the science 'of libraries, need go no further than the British Museum. It 'is by far the best regulated library in the world.' Mr. Panizzi, in the days of the old Reading Room, made a personal examination of the economy of ninety-five foreign libraries, and reported, before Mr. Ewart's Committee, 'as a general result, I have no 'hesitation in saying that I never learnt a single thing that I 'could apply to the library of the British Museum.' Among other *peculiarities* of this library are these: 1st, the number of books allowed to each reader is unlimited—a privilege of which some readers avail themselves to the full; thus we have heard of a reader who sent in for *all* the annuals and gift books published during the preceding year; another application was, 'the undersigned will feel particularly obliged by any gentleman favouring him with as many works as he conveniently 'can, on the following subjects; government, political liberty.' The requisitionist was in each case 'accommodated' to the utmost of the carrying powers of the staff of attendants and the limits of the Reading Room tables. In foreign libraries *one* volume at a time is the ordinary rule. In the Vatican Library, where permission to read is not easily attainable, it was made the subject of a formal charge against an eminent French academician that he had presumed to ask for, and compare, two editions of a Latin classic. 2nd. The books are brought to the readers within a few minutes of their asking for them; whereas in those foreign libraries in which it is not the rule, as it was in Berlin, and is now in Vienna and Munich, that the reader must send in his demand *the day before* he wants his book, he has often to wait hours, and still more often to go away because the book cannot be found. 3rd. In the Museum alone, the public has the free use of all the catalogues, which, in other libraries, are kept solely for the service of the librarians. In the Vatican,

* During about twenty years of Mr. Panizzi's administration, it is recorded that only two thefts had occurred, and those of books of quite trifling value.

again, a student can only obtain access to a manuscript by stating its number; but the number is only to be discovered from the catalogue, which he is not allowed to consult.

In addition to the above and other advantages long enjoyed by the readers, there are special advantages arising from the operation of the arrangements in connexion with the splendid room opened the year before last, by which the library, as far as regards the public, may be considered to have almost attained perfection. The time of the readers is economised to the utmost by the centralisation of the Reading Room; by the division of the 'bar,' over which they hand their tickets, into several compartments, corresponding to different portions of the alphabet; by a great increase of the library of reference at their command without the intervention of the servants of the establishment; by the form in which the New Catalogue is written and bound, the moiety of it reaching to nearly a thousand volumes, so that there is scarcely any loss of time from two or more readers requiring the same volume at the same moment; by the introduction of a diagram showing the reader at a glance the position occupied in the Reading Room by any one of the twenty thousand volumes of most general reference he may happen to require; and, above all, by the appointment of what we may call a *consulting librarian*, whose business it is to be present in the Reading Room, and to respond to the inquiries of students, who, after due adoption of the means at their disposal in the form of catalogues and works of usual reference, still find themselves at fault as to the method of availing themselves of the resources of the library. The present occupant of this important and most servicable post is Mr. Watts, to whose eminent qualifications as a linguist we have alluded on former occasions; but whose more especial qualification for this office has no doubt arisen from the unequalled knowledge of the contents of the library which he must have obtained during the years he has been employed in the classified arrangement of the books. He is, in fact, a living 'classed catalogue,' as many of our readers will have discovered for themselves.

The only improvement upon the existing arrangements which our own acquaintance with the Reading Room enables us to propose, is, that for the assistance of new readers, who are often shy of making the necessary personal inquiries, there should be a few simple sentences, accompanying the diagram of the room, and notifying the nature and condition, for the time being, of the several catalogues, so that a novice, in consulting the great red catalogue, should understand that, although extending from A to Z, it is not yet the complete catalogue of the library, but that

there are several minor catalogues, namely, the old interleaved general catalogue, from H to Z, the 'King's catalogue,' the catalogue of 'King's' tracts, and the Grenville catalogue, which may all have to be examined before the hope of discovering the required book is abandoned; but which, from the comparatively insignificant figure they make upon the catalogue shelves, might be overlooked at first; also intimating the fact that a book is kept for entry, by the readers, of 'libri desiderati'; that a 'consulting librarian' is at hand; together with a few other such points of information as the experience of the officials might suggest as useful.

The following figures show how thoroughly the advantages of the new Reading Room are appreciated by the public. In 1856, the number of readers was 53,422. From January to April, 1857, inclusive, the number was 19,242. On the 18th of May the Room was opened, and from that time to the end of the year the number was 75,128, being, in little more than seven months, considerably more than during the preceding sixteen months. That this great increase was not in any significant degree the passing effect of novelty, is shown by the fact that the number of readers is steadily sustained at about double the figure of the last years of the old Reading Room. It is gratifying to know that this duplication of readers has not lowered the average character of the works called for, as we might have supposed would be the case when those formerly existing checks upon 'light reading,'—the comparatively Spartan comforts of the old room, were exchanged for every luxury that could be copied from the private library of a nobleman. The general character of the reading is now, we understand, much the same as in 1836, when Mr. Cary and Mr. Panizzi prepared a classification of the books issued, from which it appeared that theological works were chiefly in demand; and that of the whole number of readers, 'four-fifths come for the sake of studying in earnest.' As might have been expected, the new arrangements have very much increased the proportion of lady readers, and the books they call for are of at least as grave a quality as those used by the men. The two long tables, exclusively for the use of ladies, are often fully occupied, although a considerable proportion of those who visit the library do not approve of their privilege, and sit by choice at the unreserved places. The general success of the New Room is, in fact, alarming. It is already too small; and that vast apartment, sometimes seen without a vacant chair, is a powerful argument in favour of the formation of one or more secondary libraries in the Metropolis—a plan which was long ago advocated by Mr. Panizzi, and by all those

who have had most experience of the extent and nature of the public requirements in this direction. Although the readers of the Museum are generally persons who go 'for the sake of 'studying in earnest,' it by no means follows that their studies are of a kind requiring a library of research—which the library of the Museum emphatically is. For example, at nine o'clock in the morning, more particularly at examination seasons, there is a rush of young men from University and King's Colleges, to the presses that contain the Latin dictionaries and Greek lexicons, and Bohn's 'cribs.' Many others are the readers whose requirements are fully satisfied by the twenty thousand volumes of general reference and popular literature which stand on the lower and free shelves of the Reading Room itself. These twenty thousand volumes constitute a model library; they have been most carefully selected from the body of the collection by persons whose experience of what is required in a popular library of this extent is unequalled; and it is beyond doubt that the formation of one or more collections which should be the exact duplicates of this collection, and should have the advantage of being absolutely free of admission, which the Museum is not, and never can be, would draw off a very large proportion of those readers who come for purposes, laudable in themselves, but not such as the Museum Library is intended to supply. The Museum Reading Room might then, if necessary, be fortified against the incursion of inappropriate students by depopularising the class of works on the open shelves, in favour of readers of greater learning and higher requirements.

The vast educational value of *small* public collections of books has been proved beyond question in other countries, and an important step has been taken towards their adoption here by the passing of Mr. Ewart's 'Public Libraries' Bill; but beyond this *premier pas*, we have as yet done little. The late Mr. Asher, whose professional avocations gave him a wide experience, testified that the numerous small public libraries of Germany were 'of much more use than the larger libraries;' meaning, of course, *educational* use. The number of standard books actually and habitually read, without reference to the current literature of the day, is, we fear, after all, surprisingly small. We can scarcely attach too much importance to the truth that the formation of public libraries, upon a moderate scale, 'is one 'of those few cases in which education may be promoted without involving the agitation of theological questions, or incurring 'the danger of political animosity' *; and we believe that the

* Mr. Ewart's Report on Public Libraries.

practical working of the Libraries' Act, in the provinces, could not be better advanced than by the formation of one or more metropolitan libraries, according to the model we have proposed, and with the clearest understanding of the difference between a library of research and one of general reference and utility. M. Libri writes: 'What my experience has taught me is, that 'it ought never to be attempted to use, as a popular library, 'the large libraries intended in the first instance for a superior 'class of readers. The largest literary establishment 'which exists in the world is thus diverted from its real and 'great object. Out of a million of volumes that the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris contains, nine-tenths at least have 'become almost entirely useless to the mass of readers. . . . 'whose wants might be satisfied with 20,000 or 30,000 volumes.'

It has been found by experience that the great difficulty in the way of the maintenance of small public libraries is, that of securing efficient custody. We agree, however, with M. Libri in thinking that this difficulty would be less in England than elsewhere. 'I am inclined to think,' he says, 'that these 'provincial libraries would be better preserved, and would excite 'a livelier interest in England than the provincial libraries of 'France have done; and I cannot but acknowledge that, after 'having been everywhere received with great favour, these libraries of the provinces, which were generally in the charge of 'municipalities, have, in a great number of places, fallen to the 'lowest point of decay, and that the greatest part have literally 'been consigned to pillage.' At Brest, a library of 25,000 volumes, and another at Morlaix of 20,000 volumes, have *disappeared*. At Vire, a library which consisted of 30,000 volumes in 1783, and which subsequently received great augmentation, was reduced in 1811 to 2000 volumes. These are but three of many such cases, of which the most astonishing on record is that mentioned by Dr. Dibdin: the Rouen Library, after the Revolution, contained 250,000 volumes, a few years later it consisted of 20,000; the rest had been stolen. 'In the French 'translation of Dibdin's work' ('Travels in France'), 'Mons. 'Licquet, librarian at Rouen, has been obliged to acknowledge the correctness of this incredible fact.'* Of course no losses of this extent would happen in England, nor, we presume, in France at the present day; but we must remember, that this difficulty of efficient personal management and custody, in our own day and country, has apparently proved fatal

* M. Libri's 'Letter to the Chairman of the Select Committee on 'Public Libraries.'

to one of the most hopeful schemes ever started, namely, that of *itinerating libraries*. In 1830 the East Lothian Itinerating Libraries made 10,000 issues out of a collection of 2000 volumes. The plan was to leave fifty volumes for two years at some shop or teacher's house, in every town or village of the district. These volumes were exchanged for others at the end of that time. The Rev. J. E. Brown, the son of the projector, has stated that, for a time, gratuitous librarianship was found efficient, but that when the novelty of the thing wore off, it was no longer so; and that, after the death of his father, the plan languished for want of zeal in all parts of its administration. It is still, however, in partial operation; and the idea is so substantially good, that it is probably destined to a more thorough and permanently practical development than it has yet received. It would be an injustice if we were to omit to allude to the great good done by the Religious Tract Society by its introduction of libraries in Sunday and Day schools, chapels, emigrant ships, and wherever else an agency could be found. In the course of about fifteen years the Society distributed *five thousand* of these libraries, each consisting of from one to two hundred volumes, and being of the average trade-value of five or six pounds. Between these small collections of books, and collections of a magnitude sufficient to allow of a well-paid management and custody, there seems to be no practicable medium.

We have yet to call attention to that which now constitutes the most remarkable feature of our national library, namely, the nine hundred and seventy-seven volumes of the New Catalogue, the whole of which have made their appearance in the Reading Room since we had occasion, some seven years ago, to discuss the general principles on which it was resolved to execute this unparalleled literary undertaking. Since that time the wisdom of making the catalogue an alphabetical one has received a remarkable confirmation in the partial execution, and—as we learn from the ‘*Moniteur*,’ of July 20th—the final abandonment, of the classed catalogue of the Bibliothèque Impériale. The four thick and closely-printed quartos of that work which have been printed, profess to contain the titles of all works on the History of France in that library. Our neighbours are happier in the faculty of conceiving great undertakings than in that of counting the cost. M. Taschereau estimated, in his introductory remarks to the first volume, that the whole work would occupy, when completed, from sixty-five to seventy-two volumes. Now, the first volume contains about 16,000 entries; there were in the library at that time, it appears, a million and a half of volumes and *pièces imprimées*; the plan included supple-

mentary classed catalogues of all the other public libraries in Paris; and the scheme of composition required that a very large proportion of works should be entered twice or thrice, or even oftener, under as many different heads. At the lowest estimate, the entries would therefore have been three millions, and would have filled two hundred such volumes as those before us, and would have cost a quarter of a million sterling to print, after an expenditure of something like that amount in writing, revision, and classification.

Our readers will judge what would have been the value to the ordinary student of this work, as a 'finding catalogue,' when we tell them that the first volume alone contains 120 divisions and subdivisions of that one head—in itself a subdivision—the History of France. This is no fault of the authors, but only the inevitable fault of the system of cataloguing by classes. To this defect of endless complication would have been added the necessity of frequent and total remodelling in the scientific classes. For example, it is agreed by all scientific men, who have considered the matter, that Mr. Dryander's classed catalogue of the Library of Natural History formerly belonging to Sir Joseph Banks,—a work which is pronounced by good authorities to be the best classed catalogue ever written,—would have to be thrown aside as useless, were the task of cataloguing by classes to be repeated, owing to scientific revolutions which have rendered its classifications obsolete.

As the magnificent mistake of the French librarians has been so promptly repented of, no more need be said about it, especially as our own librarians were once upon the point of falling into the same error, and, indeed, had so far fallen into it, some five and twenty years ago, as to have committed the commencement of such a work to the eminent author of the Catalogue of Queen's College Library, whose labours were suddenly put a stop to, and all his forty 'divisions' of medical works, under which appeared 'Treatises on the Anatomy and Physiology of particular Parts of the Human Body, comprising *Twenty-seven* Subdivisions,' and 'Treatises on particular Branches of Physiology, comprising *Thirty-three* Subdivisions,' scattered to the winds by a more mature consideration of a few such questions as 'What shall we do with the Dodo?'—an inquiry which is said to have posed Professor Owen himself. Classed catalogues, however, of special subjects would be as useful to persons already well-read in those subjects as a general classed catalogue would have been useless to the ordinary students of the library; and for the formation of these, either by public,

or, more properly we think, by private enterprise, invaluable facilities will be afforded by the New Alphabetical Catalogue, of which the ultimate offspring, in the form of minor and derivative catalogues, will probably be more numerous and important than at present can well be imagined.

We should as soon think of writing an architectural essay on the Chinese Wall as of reviewing the New Catalogue. A brick, in this instance, is a specimen of the building, and the merit of the edifice is mainly determinable by the replies to the inquiries, What is the quality of the bricks, how many are there of them, and how are they laid? But the fullest answers to these questions would leave our readers without any adequate impression of the nature of the work, unless they were assisted with a few such facts and illustrations as are found necessary, by compilers of popular treatises on astronomy, in order to aid the imagination in grasping the full meaning of that great mystery, a *million*, which appears to be about the number of entries to be contained in the Great Catalogue. The portions of the Catalogue at present in the Reading Room, consists of 572 volumes (A to G) of the 'New General Catalogue,' together with the 'Supplementary Catalogue' (H to Z), which contains only accessions since 1846, and consists of 405 volumes. The two are, in fact, one work, and the latter will disappear as a separate entity whenever the titles under H to Z, of books in the library up to 1838, shall be ready for 'incorporation.' Each volume contains between five and six hundred entries, the entries being only five to the folio, in order to allow of insertions; and the total number of entries is a little over half a million. These 977 volumes do not by any means represent the approach which has been made towards the completion of the work. Titles for all the immense accessions, between the year 1838 and 1846, or thereabouts, are written and ready for insertion; and, since it appears, by a Return dated June 30. 1853, that only one-fifth of the works in the library then remained to be catalogued, and the work has never been relaxed, it follows that the entire task cannot be very far from fulfilment. Supposing, as perhaps we may, from these data, that in three or four years more the New General Catalogue will be completed, and that it will include, with accessions up to that time, a million entries, those entries will have occupied the entire energies of a large staff of librarians and transcribing clerks * during six hours a day, for just a

* There are, at present, twenty-five 'assistants' and thirteen

quarter of a century; and, when we come to consider the work, as we are now able to judge it, and the time and labour which we find to have been expended upon small and relatively very poorly executed catalogues, we think that there is more reason to congratulate the country upon the vigour with which the work has been prosecuted, than to be surprised at the period it has occupied. The combined evidence, before the two Commissions, of men of the greatest experience, De Morgan, Panizzi, Cureton, Parry, and others, went to prove that an average of about thirty-five titles a day was the highest that could be attained, in cataloguing according to the rules laid down for the New Catalogue; and, as far as we can judge from a hasty glance at the lists of the Museum staff, which have from time to time appeared, we should say that this highest practicable average is not far beyond what must have been attained by that proportion of the staff whose business it may have been to write the titles; for it is to be remembered that this is but a portion of the work of cataloguing, which involves successive and scarcely less laborious revisions, arrangements, transcriptions, and incidental tasks, the difficulty and variety of which can only be estimated by those who fulfil them.

Our readers may have remarked an apparent discrepancy between our statements of the probable number of works in the library and the probable number of titles, including cross-references, which those works will produce. The explanation is, that there are certain collections of books and tracts, portions of which do not appear in the New Catalogue at all, and which we must, for the present, contemplate as things apart. Thus there are serious difficulties and objections in the way of incorporating the great collections of English and French Revolutionary pamphlets, amounting, perhaps, to some 70,000 or 80,000 independent pieces. Being for the most part anonymous and having either no titles at all, or titles which are not descriptive of their contents, these publications, which are of the very first historical importance, are swamped and lost, when they are inserted in a vast general alphabetical catalogue. Accordingly, Mr. Panizzi recommended to the Trustees the formation of separate catalogues, in which these tracts should be chronologically arranged. Bitter must have been the suffer-

‘transcribers,’ besides the ‘attendants,’ who serve the Reading Room. The Catalogue constitutes the main business of the assistants and transcribers; but the number of these has not always been so large as it is now.

ings of M. de Tocqueville and Mr. Carlyle, in consequence of the absence of some such guide to these miscellaneous treasures. There is also the Grenville Library, which, having a very good catalogue of its own, does not press for incorporation into the General or Supplementary Catalogue. We thus perceive that there is a large proportion of the library which does not appear in the General Catalogue, and a part which never ought to be there.

When we come to examine the magnitude of this Catalogue in any other than the material sense, we sympathise with Mr. Panizzi's words, in his 'Letter to Lord Ellesmere:' — 'Deeply impressed as I am myself with the difficulties often alluded to, I am even still more impressed with the difficulty of communicating to others an equal sense of those difficulties.' Hyde in his Preface to the Bodleian Catalogue says: 'Quid enim, inquiunt, facilius est quam, inspecta librorum fronte, eorundem titulos exscribere?' This, indeed, is the popular delusion which is the despair of scholarly cataloguers, and which will for ever mulct them of their due meed of praise. Professor De Morgan's assertion, 'I am perfectly satisfied of this, that one of the most difficult things that one can set himself to do, is to describe a book correctly,' must sound laughable to many people, until it is supported by his additional statement that, in the famous catalogue of the library of the most famous seat of learning in the world, 'for one entry which is unobjectionable, there are two at least which contain inaccuracy, confusion, or incompleteness.' Mr. Payne Collier's experiment in quick cataloguing, which was to have confounded the Museum bibliographers, resulted in their proving to him that in his twenty-five titles there were thirteen different kinds of error, and an average of two errors in each title. Cardinal Borromeo entertained so strong an opinion of the difficulties of cataloguing a library well, that he forbade, to the end of time, and upon pain of excommunication, the cataloguing of the collection founded by him at Milan; and Mr. Panizzi, after filling eighteen densely printed folio pages, with a bare enumeration of the hardships with which he complained that he and his staff were not credited, concludes: — 'I have only been able to mention some of the most striking difficulties, and those of the most common occurrence.' On the list of assistants employed in writing the Museum Catalogue, there are men of most extensive acquirements*: clergymen eminent for learning; fellows and pro-

* The 'Athenæum,' a few months ago, recorded the death of one of them, M. Prévost, who is said to have known forty languages.

fessors of colleges, and the like ; and yet we understand that men of this stamp require an apprenticeship of years before they are considered sufficiently well acquainted with their art to be competent to the task of revising the titles, and ascertaining that they have been written according to the rules, and without any omission of necessary matter. Unfortunately, however, for the fame of these gentlemen, the difficulties they have to contend with are not of a nature, when detailed, to impress the profane vulgar with admiration. Among a thousand apparent trivialities of the same kind, what a course of patient, dull investigation must have been gone through, for example, in order to distinguish the thirty-five John Browns who have written books, so that one should not be confused with any other, or have his identity divided, as so often occurs in other catalogues, — the Bodleian for instance, in which one Robert Abbot appears as three persons holding different church preferments and writing different books! How can a librarian find out so much about the private affairs of so many obscurities, most of them long departed, as to be able to append to the name of each some particular and distinguishing description of his function, degree, or locality? In allotting to each one his share of literature, how did the cataloguer extricate himself from his entanglements, when, to employ an American formula, each John Brown was so like both, that it was hard to tell which was who?

In a former article, written before any part of the Catalogue, except the single printed volume issued in 1841, was before the public, we sufficiently vindicated the famous ninety-one rules from the charge of being other than the ‘canons of common sense’ upon the subject, and we dwelt at length upon the necessity of rendering the work ‘full and accurate.’ The only doubt which was, at that time, entertained by adequately informed people was, whether it would be *possible* to execute such an enormous work upon such strict bibliographical principles. It seems, however, that not only is that work now nearly completed, but it has reached double the magnitude at first contemplated ; and any one who, with competent knowledge of books, will be at the pains to compare that printed specimen volume with the subsequent portions of the Catalogue, will find that the rule of ‘fulness and accuracy’ has been applied even more laboriously latterly than formerly. The authors have in fact surpassed the most laborious bibliographical works in the completeness of their descriptions ; thus, on comparing the descriptions of *incunabula*, by Hain and Panzer, with those in the New Catalogue, we find, that, as a rule, the entries in the latter contain points of infor-

mation which the former do not pretend to supply. In the case of this class of work, the Museum cataloguers have usually disdained the 'sine loco et anno' which figures so constantly in all other bibliographies. The book, if necessary, has been read through, and a dozen other books examined, the type compared with that of other works suspected to have the same date and place of printing, and every resource exhausted, before it has been concluded to leave these points, or any others on which research had a chance of throwing light, unsettled. It is not strange, therefore, that a single title should sometimes have constituted, according to Mr. Panizzi's evidence, the work of one man for an entire day. Nor has this degree of care been confined to rare and early printed works, which are alone the subject of most bibliographies. The principle has been applied just as strictly to the most insignificant publications, and the care which has hitherto been thought necessary only in the case of a Caxton or a Pynson, is exercised in the New Catalogue with that absolute impartiality, as to the *present* importance of a work, which we have already declared to be the first qualification of the librarian of a national collection aspiring to universality.

Among many other kinds of incidental value thus accruing to the Catalogue, we may mention that it now constitutes by far the highest and most extensive of existing authorities for the forms of all kinds of names, historically, or in any other way known; and that it contains an unequalled mass of information as to the authorship of anonymous works, — a point of no mean consideration; for, according to M. Barbier, the proportion of such works to the whole of literature is not less than one-third. So vast is the mass of information on these two points, that we have convinced ourselves, by approximate calculation, that, were any first-rate continental library now to commence its alphabetical catalogue, at least a thousand pounds would be saved by expending that sum in obtaining — if it could be so obtained — a transcript of that portion of the New Catalogue which is now in the Reading Room, as a work of reference on these matters only. If we take into consideration the various other species of information, concerning that great mass of books which must be common to all large libraries, we must come to the conclusion that the bibliographers of the British Museum have in reality catalogued the major part of all other considerable collections. Assuming that, in the process of forming their 'New Catalogues,' the Museum rules are adopted, the librarians of other national libraries have nothing henceforward to do but to write the titles of works not in the Museum.

The only doubt which could reasonably arise, with these librarians, as to the feasibility of adopting the ninety-one rules — together with at least ninety-one other ‘canons of common sense’ which must have been fixed during the progress of the Museum Catalogue, as unforeseen occasions occurred, — is as to that portion of them which regulates the treatment of anonymous works. The Trustees, in over-ruling Mr. Panizzi’s wish to adopt, in these cases, the simple first-substantive or first-principal-word system, so successfully employed by Audiffredi, Barbier, Kayser, and many other cataloguers, practically departed from the alphabetical, and caused a partial introduction of the subject or class system. We should ourselves have preferred the simpler plan, but there are certainly advantages attending the other — one of which is the avoidance of the interminably long lists of works under the same word, which must sometimes have arisen. In Barbier’s ‘Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes’ there are only about 22,000 entries in all, and yet some of the headings are inconveniently long; for example, the anonymous works, in which ‘Histoire,’ ‘Lettre’ or ‘Lettres,’ and ‘Mémoire’ or ‘Mémoires,’ are the first words, are respectively 1085, 1221, and 859 in number. What would have been the extent of some headings had this principle been adopted in a catalogue of a million entries, one-third of them being for anonymous works? These long headings are the inevitable evil of all large catalogues, under whatever system, and we do not see how the evil could have been further reduced in the Museum Catalogue. We therefore conclude that, whatever advantages might originally have attached to Mr. Panizzi’s original plan, they may now be safely waived by foreign librarians, for the sake of the immense gain of adopting the rules, and the mass of titles written and arranged under those rules, in the lump.*

We regret that we have little room to notice the various curious problems in the statistics of literature which are rendered by this Catalogue easy of solution. To one we have already

* It is well that it should be known that the formation of these rules was a work of deliberation not incommensurate with the magnitude of the labour they were to regulate. After several years of what may be considered to have been *tentative* cataloguing, it was determined to ‘codify’ the results of that experience. ‘When we drew up these rules,’ says Mr. Panizzi, ‘easy as they may seem, my assistants and myself worked all the day long for weeks; we never went out of the library from morning till night. . . . We worked the whole day, and at night too, and on Sundays besides, to submit the rules, from time to time, to the sub-committee of Trustees.’

alluded, namely, the comparative spaces occupied in the world of literature by different authors, subjects, and classes of subjects. No other existing catalogue would cast much light upon this question; but the principle on which the Museum Library has been mainly formed, namely, that of maintaining an *equable rate* of approximation to the idea of a collection containing every edition of every thing that has been written on every subject, constitutes its Catalogue a tolerably fair test in this matter; so that the facts that, out of, say, two thousand volumes of Catalogue, the titles of works by or about Shakspeare or Luther occupy three volumes; Aristotle or Cicero two volumes; Horace or Erasmus one volume, may be taken as equivalent to statements that the proportions of universal printed literature directly occupied by those writers are respectively about one in seven hundred, one in a thousand, and one in two thousand. A rough comparison of a few headings of the Catalogue with special bibliographies, would lead us to suppose that the Museum contains somewhere about one-fourth of *extant* literature. But we must leave the accurate determination of this and other curious questions to the industry of those who, on the full completion of the Catalogue, will doubtless hasten to reap the rich harvest offered by it to various classes of investigators.

It only remains for us to notice certain mechanical arrangements of the Catalogue. As three or four copies of it are wanted, a great saving of time and expense is wrought by the simultaneous transcription of as many copies of each title, on the principle of the 'manifold writer.' These titles, after being written on slips of very strong and thin transparent paper, are mounted, for the sake of additional strength, on blank slips of the same size and of the same paper, and are then laid down, five to a leaf, in volumes of thick cartridge paper. Being pasted only by the upper and lower rims to the cartridge folios, they are easily removed by the insertion of the end of a paper-knife at either of the unpasted ends, whenever it becomes necessary to intercalate a greater number of fresh titles between any two of them than the space which was left will admit. We understand that many of these slips have already been taken up and re-inserted as often as twenty times, and are still good. We direct attention to this plan because it seems very considerably to affect the question of the ultimate feasibility of *printing*. The idea of printing the Catalogue in the ordinary way has probably been abandoned; for to do so would be to nullify rather than crown the labours of a quarter of a century. In one year the Catalogue, so printed, would be incomplete; in ten years it would be obsolete. But no such inconvenience would attach to the

titles separately printed and laid down, for removal at pleasure, according to the present mode. There is no denying that literature would be vastly the gainer by the possession of three or four hundred, instead of only three or four copies of the Catalogue, especially in a form which would allow of indefinite re-arrangements of its integral parts; and the Museum itself would save the costly process of retranscription, which must inevitably occur from time to time; for the wear and tear of the three or four manuscript copies is great and incessant. There is no cause for hurry in the determination of this question of ultimate printing. The MS. copies now in existence will last a good while, and the first business of the establishment obviously is, fully to complete the work upon its present plan.

It is not often that projectors, even when possessed of the rare talents and energies of the present chief librarian, have been so fortunate as he has. In handing over the keepership of the Printed Book Department to Mr. Winter Jones, Mr. Panizzi must have felt an enviable satisfaction on considering the rapid and almost complete fulfilment of his aspirations 'for forming in a few years a public library containing from 600,000 to 700,000 printed volumes, giving the necessary means of information on all branches of human learning, from all countries, in all languages, properly arranged, substantially and well bound, minutely and fully catalogued, easily accessible, and yet safely preserved.' To the resources of a great nation, eager for the acquisition and preservation of all branches of knowledge, Mr. Panizzi has applied a most comprehensive acquaintance with books combined with extraordinary administrative ability, and the Library of the British Museum will be a lasting monument of the services he has rendered to his adopted country.

We cannot take leave of this subject without expressing a hope that the proposal for separating the natural history departments of the Museum from the departments of literature and antiquities, which has been under the consideration of the Trustees and the Government, will be finally adopted. No single locality can embrace the whole range of human knowledge: the present building is quite insufficient for the double purpose: and it is of the utmost advantage in the vast metropolis of the British Empire to disseminate the great institutions for the studies of the learned and the instruction of the people. Whenever this separation can be effected, instead of lessening the importance of the British Museum by dividing it, the nation will find itself in possession of two museums, each of them being more exclusively devoted to the ends they are respectively adapted to promote.

- ART. VIII.—1.** *General Outline of the Organisation of the Animal Kingdom, and Manual of Comparative Anatomy.* By THOMAS RYMER JONES, F.R.S. (Second Edition.) London: 1855.
- 2.** *On Parthenogenesis, or the Successive Production of Procreating Individuals from a Single Ovum, introduced to the Hunterian Lectures on Generation and Development for the Year 1849.* Delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, by RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S. &c. London: 1849.
- 3.** *The Rambles of a Naturalist on the Coasts of France, Spain, and Sicily.* By A. DE QUATREFAGES. Translated (with the Author's sanction and co-operation), by E. C. OTTÉ. 2 vols. 1857.
- 4.** *Sea-Side Studies at Ilfracombe, Tenby, the Scilly Isles, and Jersey.* By GEORGE H. LEWES. 1858.
- 5.** *The Master-Builder's Plan, or the Principles of Organic Architecture, as indicated in the Typical Forms of Animals.* By GEORGE OGILVIE, M.D. London: 1858.

IN a recent number of this Review we took occasion, from some remarkable works then before us, to comment on those present conditions of physical science which more especially mark its progress onwards, and the larger scope and higher spirit now given to its pursuit. Our view, however, was then confined almost wholly to the inorganic part of creation, and to those sciences which treat of matter unendowed with life, and of the great natural forces or powers — gravitation, light, heat, electricity, magnetism, and chemical force — which we recognise by and through their various action on the material world.

We have now before us another series of works (to which very many more might be added) recording the present state of our knowledge of matter organised into life; of that vast domain of animal and vegetable existence which lies around us, presenting a thousand problems to our reason, and almost appalling contemplation by its extent and multiplicity. This short and seemingly simple word — *Life*, does, in truth, in itself include the greatest of all the problems submitted to human thought. All distinctions and diversities are trifling in comparison with this one line, which separates inanimate matter from the living organisms created out of it; possessing properties and powers of endless variety; and, above all, endowed with that wonderful power of reproduction which maintains the continuity of the species, while individual forms are successively passing

away. No step so vast as this, no mutation so wonderful, in any part of creation. The mystery is not solved — scarcely lessened to our conception — by those researches which, descending in the scale of existence, seem to obliterate all certain distinction between animal and vegetable life, and to bring the latter to the very lowest grade to which the term *living* can fitly be applied. It is still the distinction between that which can reproduce itself and that which cannot; and in this single condition lies the clearest expression of all vitality, whatsoever its form or degree. No definition of life can be complete without it. Alone it suffices to mark that line of division which even the finest microscope fails to reach; and it applies no less to that more wonderful and complex animal machinery by which higher forms of existence are maintained and perpetuated.

Into this domain of organic life, modern science has penetrated with no less zeal and success than have signalised its course in the other branches of physics. This parity of progress has been kept up, notwithstanding certain distinctions which may seem to favour the pursuit of the latter. Such are, the surpassing grandeur of the physical discoveries of our day; the mathematical certainty of many of the laws thence derived; and the important practical uses to which these discoveries have been applied, enlarging the dominion of man over nature, through elements which were formerly known but as objects of admiration or terror. No period has been so prolific of these achievements as that in which we are now living.

On the other side, however, we find numerous incentives to a like zeal in the study of the living existences around us. The simple presence of the attribute of life, as we have denoted it, tells for much with every reflecting mind. But this part of natural science gains also by the comparative facility with which it may be successfully pursued. Few can compass all that is required for experimental research, especially under those refinements of method which have now become essential to success. Many are competent to a science mainly of observation, amidst objects present to the senses, often associated with the charm of natural scenery, and consonant to the natural tastes and habits of the mind. The traveller who gathers his unknown plant in Australia or Paraguay; the naturalist who discovers some new form of animal life, or disentombs some fossil from its rocky sepulchre of ages; the physiologist who detects new organs or instincts in animals already known, — all hold rank, in one degree or other, as labourers in this great field. No fact so small as to escape being registered in the volume of natural knowledge.

In thus distinguishing, however, the two great objects of scientific pursuit, it must be kept in mind that no strict line of demarcation exists between them. The progress of knowledge is ever bringing more closely together, and under the dominion of common laws, facts and phenomena apparently the most remote. Though rejecting the phrase of 'unity of science,' as a vague effort of language to reach an ambiguous truth, we see and admit a constant propensity towards unity in a more qualified sense. Facts multiply every day in number, but every day they are submitted to new conditions of order and comparison. Phenomena familiar to the senses from the earliest ages of human records, are expounded to the reason by the daily discoveries of our own time. Life itself, taking the term in its simplest sense, can be interpreted only by the laws which pervade all matter; and is unceasingly subject to those great elementary forces, heat, light, electricity, and chemical action, which are ever in operation around us. They are the instruments in those wonderful organisations which it has been the will of the Creator to bring into being; and they have subordinatedly become instruments in the hands of man for interpreting these higher manifestations of the creative power.*

It would be impossible within the limits of this article to analyse the several works prefixed to it, or even to denote the especial objects and merits of each. It will be seen that several of them relate more especially to those lower forms of animal life which lie close to the boundary — if certain boundary there be — between the animal and vegetable world. This particular portion of natural history has of late risen into high popularity, and the works devoted to it display an exuberant enthusiasm in the research. While the astronomer is soberly dealing with the great elements of space and time, which make the material of his science, the modern naturalist is rioting in rapturous language about the beauty of his zoophytes, and the microscopic marvels of infusorial life. The remarkable works of M. Quatrefages, and of Mr. Lewes, are striking instances of this devotion, and of the enthusiastic language, verging at times on rhapsody, in which it is invested. The real beauty of many of the objects, the scenery with which they are often associated,

* We cannot here forbear to express our pleasure in seeing advertised a new edition (the ninth, we believe) of Mrs. Somerville's volume 'On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences.' To this accomplished lady we owe the first and best work on this subject; replete with knowledge, and eminent in the power of condensing, yet clearly expounding it.

and the curiously delicate methods of research employed, will explain in some part this ardour of pursuit. Nor can we deny a sentiment of grandeur as belonging to objects even thus minute, when so infinite in number and variety. That which human calculation cannot approach, has in itself a certain element of the sublime, be the subject what it may. But, connected with this study, we have also the many mysterious questions which regard the manner of generation and existence of these elementary forms of animal life, and their relation to other created beings, — topics well fitted to take strong hold on the mind of every thoughtful man.

On some of these questions we shall have to speak hereafter. Meanwhile, we must explain in reference to the subject of this article, that, although we have it in view to indicate the progress and spirit of modern science, in its researches into organic nature, yet, that in so doing, we must limit ourselves mainly to animal life; referring to that of the vegetable world chiefly in illustration of the former. Even under this limitation, required by the vastness of the subject, we cannot go into anything like a complete review of the topics embraced under the name of Animal Physiology. Whoever takes up the massive volume of Dr. Carpenter—a work, we must add, of great excellence, and the most complete we possess—will see how much is comprised in this wide domain, how profound the questions offered to human thought, how large the voids yet left for future inquiry. What we may best attempt is, to place before our readers a summary view of the questions and discoveries in this part of science, of highest import in themselves, and which will attest the scope and spirit now given to its pursuit. In doing this, we shall be guided, not solely by the works before us, but by our own estimate of the relative interest and value of the topics to which they relate.

It will be obvious, even to those who have given only casual thought to these questions, that many of them tend to take a metaphysical turn; while not a few are of a nature wholly to transcend the present faculties of man. The attainments actually made by these faculties, in their more exalted use, furnish reasons for not drawing hasty and arbitrary lines in limitation of further progress. But there are certain barriers which the highest genius is the first to recognise and submit to; seductive though the speculations are which here begin to usurp upon the reason. As great boldness and mental power may be shown in well defining the boundary of research, as in adventuring wantonly over and beyond it.

What we have already said on the abstract principle of Life,

as appended to material organisation, will show that this, the great and elementary point with which we are here concerned, comes under the class of questions just spoken of. Notwithstanding all that has been done—and it is vast in amount and variety—towards our knowledge of living beings, and of those organisations upon which vital functions depend, and by which they are maintained and reproduced, the question unceasingly recurs, and can in no way be put aside,—What is the principle, or property—if any—superadded to the known properties of matter, giving it those new conditions which create and constitute vitality? It is this inquiry which, in one form or other, has exercised every age and school of philosophy; and been argued the more intently, or even passionately, from the question having been often made to embrace intelligence and the other mental functions, as well as mere vitality. Under this latter aspect, it will be recognised as that old problem of Materialism, upon which so much controversy has been wasted;—a controversy equally fruitless, we believe, in all time to come, since no conception can reach the abstract nature either of matter or mind; nor any argument show that things perceived by the senses have more of independent reality than the principle perceiving, and the intelligence and volition acting upon them. The materialist fancies himself on firm ground, because his argument has Matter for its foundation. His matter itself is known only by and through that mind which he assumes to create out of it.*

On this point, and for these reasons, we do not dwell further; but we proceed to that part of the subject, more accessible to human reason, which engages at this time the earnest attention of naturalists, in every branch of their science; viz., the manner and extent of influence of the great physical forces, ever in action around us, in producing and maintaining those other powers and properties which we call *Vital*; and which, in their aggregate, represent all we define as Life upon the globe. In the article already alluded to, we spoke of the doctrine of the 'Correlation of Physical Forces,' first propounded and illustrated by Mr. Grove; and pursued in sequel to him by other writers, whose works were then before us. It is clear that these great powers, Heat, Light, Electricity, and Chemical force or affinity, whatever their nature or mode of development, stand to each

* In Germany, as might well be presumed, this controversy is ever awake, and the doctrine of materialism finds numerous advocates. In the recent work of Büchner (*Kraft und Stoff*), already largely circulated, it assumes its hardest and grossest form.

other in their action on matter, in the relation of mutual convertibility; — that their forces, however altered in respect of action, are never really lost or lessened; — that they are the efficient energy, not solely in the greater and more obvious phenomena of the material world, but equally so in the most minute molecular actions to which matter is subject. We can modify, by human powers and machinery, the aspects of force and its actions upon matter. We can never either create or annihilate it. These conclusions, at the utmost but vaguely and partially surmised before, have now acquired certainty enough to give them place among the great general laws of nature; and experimental science is every day bringing fresh facts to their proof and illustration. Whether the term of ‘Correlation of Forces,’ provisionally applied by Mr. Grove to describe our present knowledge, may not hereafter merge in the single form and conception of *Force*, as contra-distinguished from the matter on which it acts, is a point open to future determination. Mutual convertibility is closely akin to unity, if not an actual expression of it. Much that is of the deepest interest to philosophy hangs upon the solution of this problem; involving, as will be seen, all the relations of matter to that mighty influence which has been destined to mould it into form, activity, and even into life itself.

It is here, in fact, that we find ourselves in the very heart of the question which has long been agitated by physiologists, and still remains matter of controversy — whether there be really any separate Vital Principle; a positive and independent power, giving, by its presence, organisation and life to certain combinations of matter? — or whether the simple vital phenomena may not all be referred, as effects, to those great physical powers, or forms of force, which we see acting so incessantly on all matter in the universe; and the influence of which upon the vital functions is obvious at every moment of existence?

Each of these views has found zealous advocates, and been discussed in the bold and free spirit which belongs to the science of our day. Each, in truth, furnishes ample materials for difference and dispute. Looking at the controversy as it now stands, we believe the latter opinion to have gained much upon its adversary. The doctrine of an independent vital principle is one of old date; and in its very nature admits of little argument or advance. It rests mainly on the assumption that the phenomena of life, even in its simplest form, and apart from mind and intelligence, are unlike and incongruous with any actions of which we are cognisant as the obvious results of physical forces operating upon matter. Though the argument

may be varied in form, yet in no way can it be made more absolute, or stretched beyond this method and degree of proof. By the very terms of the question, we quit here the region of the senses and of material experiment, and affirm a power unknown except in what we presume to be its effects. It is negative evidence; and, as far as we see, can never be rendered other than such.

Those who advocate the other view, adopt a doctrine equally insusceptible, it may be, of positive proof; but yet constantly progressive, and in its progress prolific of results favourable to the conclusion sought for. They have the advantage in the very outset of being able to affirm that, without the action and influence of the physical powers in question, no life could possibly exist. The wonderful discoveries recently made as to those more subtle actions of electricity, heat and light, which evaded the grosser experiments of former times, have assisted their argument. Equally so the researches, not less wonderful, into the molecular constitution of bodies; and the relative proportions in which such molecules, whatever their nature, unite in every case of chemical combination. Chemistry, in fact, and especially the chemistry of organic bodies, has done more for us in decyphering the structure and functions which appertain to life than any of the other powers of physical analysis. The definite proportions, which exist in every union of the simpler chemical elements, are found also in the most complex compounds which form the material of living bodies. The poisonous ingredients of animals and plants, equally with their nutritive portions, yield invariable results to organic analysis. That remarkable animal secretion, urea, — now producible by the art of the chemist, — has the same chemical characters in the common house-fly as in man. A minute quantity of phosphorus is detected in the nervous substance of the brain; — in the healthy state it bears a certain proportion to the other ingredients, showing thereby its determinate relation to this remarkable part of the living economy. Endless similar instances might be given, to prove the wonderful extent and uniformity of the chemical actions, which pervade every living texture; equally definite in all which concerns its growth, as in the changes which precede and produce its ultimate decay.

But modern Chemistry goes yet further in its aims and success. Numerous substances, both animal and vegetable in kind, known to us before only as the products of living actions, have been actually produced in the laboratory; identical in every chemical character, but subject, we must add, to this notable distinction; that whereas in nature the series of living organisms is begun

from the combination of a few simple elements, no present artifice of chemistry can fully imitate this higher workmanship, otherwise than by acting on compounds already formed. In theory, however, it does not seem improbable that this ultimate step may yet be made. Whatever experimental skill, aided by boldness of aim, can accomplish, will be done by those who now work in the physiological department of chemistry. The schools of Liebig, Dumas, Hoffman, Bernard, &c., are creating pupils, and fostering a zeal in the pursuit, to which we may well look for results hitherto unimagined or unattained.

We may dwell somewhat further still on this argument of the relation of the great physical forces to vital phenomena, inasmuch as the question is really supreme among those which relate to the theory of life. It is obvious as a principle in conducting it, that we must proceed upwards from the lowest and simplest forms which occur in the scale of being. If in these the properties of life and reproduction depend on physical agents alone, without any new and unknown principle of power being added, we must needs carry the conclusion onwards to higher grades of organisation. No line of limitation exists obvious either to the senses or to reason. Some might conjecture it to lie in the distinction between animal and vegetable life. But even acquiescing in all that is expressed in this distinction, can we fairly claim for the Medusæ or the Oyster a peculiar cause or principle of life, which we deny to the Sensitive plant, the *Dionæa Muscipula*; or to the common Nettle, Berberry, and various other plants, each endowed with some peculiar sensibility? That the same natural forces have influence on all these organisms is certain. Are we to suppose some mysterious agent, yet unrecognised, as needed in addition to explain the appropriate functions of animal life, even in their simplest form of organisation?

This particular question is obviously subordinate to the larger one we are now discussing. The grounds of argument are the same; the difficulties exactly alike. Thus far we have dwelt more especially on chemical action, as giving us closest access to the laws of vitality. But Electricity, that wonderful agent on our own globe, and probably throughout all space — which, scarcely known a century ago, is now the most powerful instrument in the hands of man — bids fair to become an equal exponent of the vital functions, and especially of those important functions which belong to the nervous system. We shall have occasion hereafter to recur to this point; and merely mention it here, as relating to one of the great powers which are incessantly acting upon and through life in all its forms.

The same may be said of Heat; the influence of which in promoting organisation, and maintaining the vital functions, is familiar to us in a thousand ways; and attested in more scientific form in every part of animal physiology. The action of Light, as separate from heat, is somewhat more ambiguous; but that it has special effects on these functions cannot be doubted; and very remarkable proofs of this are every day multiplying upon us. We might almost deem sufficient as evidence, the spectacle of the sudden bursting forth of life of all kinds under the influence of a bright summer sunshine. But science goes far beyond this, in showing that Light, like Heat, does truly permeate and act upon those molecules of matter, of which all bodies, organic or inorganic, are composed. Much is yet to be learnt on this most curious subject.

Such is the general evidence and argument of those who believe that we need look for no other vital principle than lies in some modified function of those forces, which we see in unceasing action around us, and feel to influence at every moment the conditions of our own being. The fact, already noticed, of their mutual convertibility, and other various proofs that force may be hidden, latent or altered in aspect, but can never be effaced or lost, undoubtedly favours this view. When its sensible effects disappear, we have cause to believe that it is either operating in some way too minute for our detection, or that it exists in some new condition ready for an altered form of future development. The advocates of the doctrine we are expounding are apt to startle by their illustrations those not accustomed to these views. We feed a jaded horse on a peck of oats, and he is able to travel again;—the effect, say they, of the evolution and conversion into *nerve force*, of that power which has been laid up in the grain during its growth. We light and warm ourselves, and give propulsion to our engines, with that coal which for countless ages has retained within its substance the light and heat of its original forest growth. Such instances as these, and especially the first, may seem rashly to outrun the cautious step of scientific induction. Yet they find authority in the marvellous fact, well authenticated by Faraday, that one drop of water contains, and may be made to evolve, as much electricity as under other manner of evolution would suffice to produce a thunderstorm. And we might quote as an instance not less wonderful, and still more in point, that germ of vitality, preserved for twenty or thirty centuries, which can make prolific under our own eyes, seeds taken from the mummy cases of ancient Egypt. When positive observation teaches us this much, we are not in case to deny the analogous conditions put before us for belief. The abstract

conception of *force*, thus laid up for future evolution under the same or a new form, is one of the most profound upon which either reason or imagination can dwell.

We must not, however, linger further on this question, fundamental though it be to all researches into the nature and laws of life; and blending itself with every subordinate question in which these laws are concerned. If it seem that we have pressed the argument too much on one side, we must repeat that the doctrine of a separate vital principle rests on negative grounds only, and little admits either of amplification or detail. The bold and active science of our day has for the most part ranged itself on the opposite side; and is ever occupied in fixing new relations and equivalents of power, — the materials, it may be, of more general laws than have yet been reached by human intelligence. We must especially notice the paper of Dr. Carpenter 'On the Mutual Relations of the Physical and 'Vital Powers' as a striking specimen of this method and spirit of research. It is one of the avenues fairest in promise for future discovery.

The question we have been discussing is common both to animal and vegetable life. We now come to other topics, subordinate and more special in their nature, yet all of high interest to natural science, and all demonstrating the spirit and zeal of modern inquiry. The first of these topics has been already partially noticed; viz., the relation to each other of these two great natural provinces, each so profusely peopled, and each exhibiting such wonderful design and exuberant variety of the creative power. This question has of late been closely examined by naturalists. It involves the fact, in itself one of great interest, that in the lowest and simplest forms both of animal and vegetable life, there is so close a coalescence of the two, as well in structure as in mode of development, that it is often difficult to say to which the individual belongs. Even the acute microscope of Ehrenberg put down as Polygastric Infusoria what are now discovered to be germs of vegetable life. We are brought here, in fact, to that doctrine or discovery of our own time, that the *simple cell* is the primitive germ of all living organisation, even of that which in its end attains the highest grade of animal existence. Of this doctrine and its bearings we shall have to speak hereafter. Meanwhile, looking simply at the two great kingdoms of life, as they diverge from this initial point, by a gradual scale of ascent, to higher states of each, the special question arises,—What are the peculiar phy-

sical conditions which separate and severally distinguish them? Of the answers put forward to this question all may be said to converge more or less towards one point, — viz., the fact, well established, that while vegetable life is created and supported from *unorganised* or *disorganised matter*, animal life always requires for its nutriment matter already organised either by its own or vegetable processes. It cannot, so to speak, work the raw material into its own texture. Even the mere animal jelly, floating in water without obvious organisation, is nourished by absorption of vegetable sporules, or animal matters so comminuted as to serve to this end. A more special distinction, but equally explicit, has been drawn from the chemical action of plants on the atmosphere. Expressing it in the words of Mr. Huxley, 'Wherever any organism is found to decompose carbonic acid, under the influence of sun-light, and to set free oxygen, that organism may be ranked as a vegetable, however active may be its movements.' The removal of some seeming exceptions leaves this distinction a valid one to our present knowledge. Others have been suggested (such, for instance, as the fact that no living being has a form *geometrically regular*, or shows other than a *curved configuration* of its surfaces), but none, hitherto adduced, are so striking or unequivocal as those to which we have just adverted.

We have before stated it as our design to limit the present article chiefly to those researches into animal life, which have been so prolific of discovery, as well as of speculations — often profound, sometimes rash — on this higher part of creation. The same reasons which lead to this limitation, will oblige us to take up these topics in a somewhat desultory manner; with less regard to their order and completeness, than to the interest they possess, or the illustrations they may afford of the progress recently effected in this part of science. The two most remarkable facts attesting this progress, are, undoubtedly, the extraordinary additions made to our knowledge of existing species, nearly quadrupling their number within half a century; — and the discovery of that vast and heretofore hidden world of extinct animal life, which has been entombed, for ages beyond all human count or speculation, in the rocks that cover our globe. The ardour of the traveller and naturalist, aided by the microscope, has rapidly multiplied to our view the species of present animal life. The equal ardour of the geologist, working amidst the strata, which chance or labour disclose to him, has shown what we may well call a series of successive worlds of animal and vegetable life; since, though the general types be the same as

those we see in present existence around us, the species differ in each of the successive periods of time, thus wonderfully brought to light.

Of the two great steps in knowledge here denoted, the latter is doubtless the most remarkable, and replete with problems of the deepest interest; including time as one of the elements, and thereby bearing on the history and destinies of man himself. But the extraordinary multiplication of the number of recognised living species, though less striking to the imagination, yet furnishes conclusions hardly less important to the philosophy of life. It is difficult indeed to define, even by approximate numbers, the amount of this multiplication, which has occurred chiefly, though by no means solely, in the lower parts of the animal series. The powerful eye of the microscope has shown, in earth, air, and water alike, new forms of life, invisible to all unaided sense, but endless in aspect and variety. Every bucket of water taken up from mid-ocean teems with vitality. The dredgings of Forbes and others in shallower seas show different zones of depth tenanted by different species of animal life. Even the deep bed of the Atlantic, 10,000 or 12,000 feet below the surface, was found, in soundings for the electric cable, to be covered with the remains of Foraminifera, which, for aught we can tell, may have lived at this depth. We all know (and in hot countries cogently feel) how thickly the air is peopled, not merely with the birds which crowd and ornament our museums, but yet more with incalculable swarms of insect life, even more audible than visible to sense. The tropical forest is noisy day and night with the life it contains. The sea is luminous with animal phosphorescence. Nearly 200 species of glow-worms, and 40 or 50 of fire-flies, are catalogued as luminiferous animals of the land. The researches of Ehrenberg, eminently successful among the fossil and living Infusoria, have since been directed to the atmosphere; in which, by appropriate methods, his microscope has detected numerous more minute species, heretofore unseen and unknown; yet not indifferent, we may well believe, to those higher animals, even the highest, which breathe air on the surface of the globe.

Another result of recent inquiry has been our increased knowledge of Entozoa, and of parasitic life generally, both animal and vegetable in kind. No natural phenomenon more curious than this. A few examples, seemingly rather deviations from nature than a part of it, formerly comprised all we knew on the subject. Now we may fitly term it a branch of natural history in itself, so numerous are the instances, so definite the relations it involves. When we find even the earth-worm

haunted by a parasite (the *Gregarina*) living within and upon it; and numerous mollusks and insects, with entozoa pertaining to each, we gain some idea of the extent and singularity of these relations. It is not an anomaly we look upon, but a part of creative intent;—an expression of that great design which makes organised life in one form everywhere subserve to the maintenance of another. Exception may perhaps be taken for those species of parasites which are found in diseased animal textures, and in such alone; as we recognise them in morbid states of which man himself is the subject. These curious cases have been brought, amongst others, as seeming to sanction the hypothesis of equivocal generation, of which we shall speak hereafter—the disease itself being regarded as antecedent, and the parasitic life as growing out of it. It would be difficult to bring any positive proof on this point. It is one reserved for future research; as are those strange analogous phenomena, which seem to show that the same ova or parasitic germs, transferred to different organic textures, are capable of evolving different forms of animal life. Minute though these objects are, and inaccessible to all unaided sense, there is no part of natural history which strikes deeper roots into the secrets of the living creation.

Rising higher in the scale of existence, we find in all the classes into which zoologists have distributed the animal kingdom, the same astonishing augmentation of numbers; less indeed as we reach the higher classes, but even among the Mammalia trebling the number within the time we have named. The birds and fishes made known to us have been still more multiplied; while of insect genera and species, the ratio of increase is such, that calculation can hardly follow it. A commission sent out to Brazil for beetles alone, is sure to bring back from that country, so profusely swarming with animal life of all kinds, many species before unknown to the European naturalist. The cases of our museums are replete to overflowing with these new insect forms from every region of the globe; certainly far exceeding 100,000 in their total number. The British insects alone have been catalogued up to 12,000:—the Coleoptera in the collections of Duport and Baron De Jean, at Paris, amount to more than 20,000 species.

This augmentation, however, must be qualified by the fact, that numerous individuals have been named as species, which are not really such. The species has been recorded, where it is only the specimen or variety we have in our hands. How far reduction may be carried on this score, it is not easy to say; but probably not far, in proportion to the additions made by the recent labours of naturalists.

But we take an imperfect view of life, as it exists on the earth, if attending only to the number of species, vast though this be. The numerical *individualities* of different species — their *richesse effrayante*, to borrow a phrase of Cuvier — is yet more impressive to the reason and imagination. A single swarm of insects, or a shoal of herrings, would in simple numbers represent a populous empire. Without wishing to malign a popular English institution, we might quote the white-bait dinners of a Greenwich season, as affording some practical idea of the numerical demand which the human kitchen makes upon one rare species. And what is this to the amount of life which the whale imbibes and annihilates at a single draught? What estimate of numbers can we put upon the flies of Egypt, or those continuous clouds of locusts, which for days together darken the sky, and devastate the fairest regions of the earth? Instances of this kind might be given without end; each recording the same marvellous profusion of individual life, made more wonderful by the rapid succession of generations as we descend in the scale of being. Take the single instance of the Aphis. By the most certain calculation of the rate of production in this minute creature (weighing scarcely the $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a grain), it is found that the successive generations from a single Aphis in one warm summer, might amount to a *quintillion* of living beings — a number so much above all human uses or understanding, that it offers but a vague row of cyphers to the eye. Or take Ehrenberg's estimate of the 140 billions of infusorial animalcules contained in two cubic feet of the Tripoli slate of Billin, of which rock their siliceous cases form the substance; a wonderful aggregation of *individual lives*, however we may interpret the grade of being to which they belong.

Our wonder at these things may well be mingled with some degree of awe. For it is impossible to regard them without seeing the great and mysterious problems they put before us. What is, to our reason, this vast design, of which such myriads of separate and successive living generations are the interpreters to our sense? This question, and others collateral to it, are forced upon us almost as a necessity of thought. We see no way open to their solution. That there is a design, — that it is not accident, or a blind necessity, which evokes and maintains this world of life around us, need hardly be dwelt upon as matter of argument. The marks of law and mutual relation — of purposes fulfilled by organisation and instincts — are so indelibly impressed on the whole, that no seeming exceptions or anomalies can weigh for a moment against them, or leave a doubt as to the unity of plan, and its derivation from a higher

source than physical science can reach. There is no neutrality in this question. To doubt is to cease to reason at all.

But in recognising this supreme creative power, of which to our reason Man is the highest exponent, we are far below any comprehension of the great scheme in which we occupy this place. The question we have stated still presses upon us, as to the design of this profuse variety of life on the globe, so far beyond all reckoning of number or thought? It is easy to gather vague replies from those who look but on the surface, and indulge the belief that all these things were made for man, and his supremacy only. Such cannot be the belief of those who have read the book of nature fully and fairly. This great volume, while ever multiplying the proofs of power and design, inculcates a more humble interpretation of them; instructing us that we can approach the question through negatives only, which leave us far short of the solution sought for.

The most important of these negatives, undoubtedly, is that just alluded to, forbidding the notion that all life besides on the earth was created for the uses of man. We should scarcely stop to argue this matter, were it not that one or two particular points of proof have an interest beyond the simple terms of the question. The first of these is, the certain evidence, in the long series of fossil remains, of successive periods of animal life, so far anterior to man, that no calculation of ours can measure or approach them. Their various forms, from the minute Infusoria, the shells of which compose the mass of many of our existing rocks, to the huge and strange aspects of the Oolite and Weald reptiles, and the endless other varieties which now fill our catalogues, were doubtless adapted to the successive conditions of land, sea, and air in which they had their life. But no reason or plausible hypothesis can bring into connexion with the human race these tenants of an elder world. We may recognise the fact that the forests of these remote ages gave origin to the beds of coal, which, for the last two hundred years, have ministered so largely to the uses and powers of man. But we cannot equally apply this argument to the animal creations which have preceded us. No more direct relations than those of type and structure connect, as far as we can see, this ancient animal life with that of our own day. No purposes or final causes can be assumed as a necessary link between them. Any notion of *tentative acts* of creation must at once be put aside. To say nothing of the change it makes in our conception of the Creator of all, such notion is wholly contradicted by the actual gradation and intermixture of life in these successive epochs. That creatures of higher organisation are found

in the later than in the earlier periods,—and, highest of all, in the existing world,—is well assured as a fact. But this fact is limited to a general denotation of progress. The steps in the series are blended and broken, and Man walks the earth surrounded by beings as low in the order of life as any which the first fossiliferous rocks disclose to his sight.

This argument is drawn from the ancient part of creation. We take another from that part of it nearest to man; if not in date of time, of which we are ignorant, yet certainly in all that relates to physical organisation and intelligence. We allude here to the Anthropoid Apes; and very especially to the great Chimpanzee (the *Troglodytes Gorilla*), to which the attention of our most eminent naturalists, Owen amongst them, has of late been much directed. Certain definite differences of structure, the nature of which precludes any sort of progression or transmutation, leave Man still single in species and genus in the existing animal world. These creatures, thus far approaching him in physical features and certain intellectual functions, have no relation to him besides, save as the very rare and short-lived tenants of his zoological collections, where they are gazed upon for a few months by the curious, and then pine away and die. They are few in number; inhabit very limited spaces; are seldom seen by man in their native haunts; and minister to none of his uses, directly or indirectly. They might altogether disappear from the earth without leaving behind mark or memento of the change.

An instance, thus special and significant, renders needless the many and obvious proofs which might be drawn from other and lower parts of creation. In fact, we only touch upon this subject as a part of that great problem of life upon the earth, which is now deeply engrossing the philosopher, as well as the practical naturalist, under the shape of questions far better defined than in the earlier ages of human speculation. That the great design of the Creator on our globe extends beyond, and comprises more, than the mere present existence of man upon it, may be fully urged, without degrading the latter, or altering his place in the scale of created beings. Highest in organisation—supreme in intellect and the moral sense—ministered to in every way needful both to his bodily wants, and to his higher feelings and sense of beauty, by nature animate and inanimate around him—capable of raising himself, by his faculties of sense and imagination, far beyond the world he inhabits—this is a being whose nobility cannot be degraded, or his high destiny annulled, by admitting that the earth is not a dwelling-place for him alone in the purposes of creation.

Nor is our conception of the Divine Creator of all narrowed or otherwise impaired by this recognition. He has given existence to man. He has given life to countless other beings, inferior to man, but independent of him. To confess our utter inability to say why these things are so, is but to add another to the questions inapproachable by reason, and which it is our best wisdom to recognise as such. We are sure that there is design, wise in itself, and certain in its fulfilment. The doctrine of 'final causes' has incurred discredit, not from any inherent fault as a principle of reasoning,—for this is unimpeachable,—but from the rash endeavours to carry it beyond the bounds of just induction. Of final causes, properly so termed, some are assured to our knowledge; others are fairly open to future discovery; others, again, are in their nature a closed volume to human research.

We come now to another class of questions respecting animal life, more special in character; questions which have been, and yet are, the subjects of warm controversy, and strikingly illustrate the spirit of modern inquiry. We allude to those regarding the true nature and definition of species;—their capacity for change or transmutation;—the existence of types in the different grades of animal life;—the relations of date or order of succession of those several types, genera, and species;—their connexion with different geological periods;—and, lastly, the manner of generation or reproduction; so essential a part, as we have seen, of the definition of life itself. All these questions are closely allied; yet each is so large in its objects and details, that volumes have failed to exhaust the argument. We shall take them up chiefly on points which may best show the character of the controversies to which they have given rise. That some of these controversies have been carried on with anger and bitterness can scarcely create surprise. The new doctrines put forward have in many ways contradicted harshly the opinions held heretofore; and the offence to the sober-minded adherents of these opinions has been increased by the bold and dogmatic tone which some of their opponents have assumed, and the ultra-conclusions to which they have pushed their material hypothesis, of which Lamarck and his school furnish the most flagrant examples. To this it must be added, that these discussions, more than any other, deeply involve the relations of Man to the rest of the living creation; verge on various points of religious belief; and in these respects well explain the earnestness given to their pursuit. In what we have to say of them, we shall seek to put each topic in its simplest form, and to deal with all

impartially; as questions which science has raised, and for the solution of which we must look to science, where the matter does not transcend all human reason.

First, then, among these questions comes that of the nature and permanence of Species, as distinctive of the different forms of animal life, from the highest to the lowest. Our scientific readers need not be told how warmly this question has lately been agitated by naturalists. The controversy, which had its birth in France, and there provoked personal animosity as well as scientific dispute, was translated to England in a mitigated form; but has here also stirred up the depths of an argument, stretching beyond the limits of former inquiry, and liable, in some part, to the imputations of which we have just spoken. The laws which have governed the creation and succession of living beings come at once into the question; while the doctrine of transmutation of species regards man himself as a possible development from forms lower in the scale of life.

The whole argument, in fact, concentrates itself on this point. Are Species—best denoted as such by sexual character and the power of propagating their like—to be considered fixed and immutable as they came from the hands of the Creator, or subject to such variations only as tend always to return to the original type? Or is there an inherent liability to or faculty of change, either from accident or the operation of common laws, which can, and does, in the course of time, create new species out of antecedent ones;—an extension in effect, and higher result, of that principle of change by which varieties and races are brought into existence? The great name of Cuvier appears in the foreground on behalf of the former opinion; Geoffroy St. Hilaire made himself the chief of the opposite party. In England, the transmutation doctrine first gained currency through that well-known work the ‘Vestiges of Creation;’ and has since been espoused by other writers of greater or less reputation. Many of our most eminent naturalists, our geologists especially, have entered with earnestness into a controversy rendered inevitable from the progress of their science, and the new classes of phenomena coming before them. Looking generally on the conflict as it now stands in this country, we see distinctly a predominance of opinion for the fixity and permanence of species. But at the same time we notice a certain cautious reserve in announcing any absolute or final opinion on the subject; an effect doubtless of the ambiguities which still surround the question, and the difficulty on each side of reaching other than presumptive proof.

The *onus probandi*, however, unquestionably rests with those

who believe that species can undergo such transmutation, as permanently to change those conditions upon which the distinction has naturally; or even necessarily, been founded. It is their business to show some unequivocal instances of perfect transmutation; or, in default of this, some such approach to it, by gradations manifestly progressive, as to warrant the presumption that time only is wanting to complete the change. Less than this cannot be received in evidence of fact, however plausible an hypothesis of possibilities may be made to appear. The limit-line drawn around each species by its power of self-reproduction, may not be broken through without proof far stronger than any yet proffered to us. No single unequivocal instance has hitherto been obtained from any part of the animal kingdom to satisfy these conditions. Certain ambiguous cases in the lowest classes of life, which seemed in part to do so, have been discovered to belong to peculiar modes of generation, of which we shall speak hereafter. The question thus becomes one of possibility and presumption only. Possibility cannot be denied; but the advocate for the permanence of species, resting upon much that is assured to his knowledge, has a right to ask that the opposite doctrine should be fairly fortified by fact before its admission even as one of the outworks of science.

The arguments for the transmutation hypothesis are, mainly, the variations which species actually undergo; and which in many cases, especially where man is the artificer of new breeds, become fixed and hereditary;—the fact that in a certain number of instances the intermixture of species is prolific;—the existence of certain archetypes, or general forms, upon which specific forms are founded;—and the tendency of all research, in the fossil as well as living world, to bring the gradations between these forms into closer contact; filling up, more or less, thereby the void places which occurred in the series of genera and species before known.

Other arguments there are, but these lie at the root of the question, and may be taken *instar omnium*. In pursuing the controversy, one party has found it needful to assume, and the other to allow, an unlimited license as to time. We do not go over the geological proofs as to this matter, now become so familiar to all. It is enough to repeat, that prior to man and all the creatures occupying the world with him, there have existed on the earth several successive and separate conditions, of animal and vegetable life, as faithfully recorded in the rocky cemeteries below us, as if they were the creation and destruction of our own day. Though the order of succession is distinct here, no human estimate can reach the period of time these suc-

cessions involve; so vast is it, and so broken by intermediate changes, to which no measure can apply. In one sense then, that of the existence of life on the earth, time has no numerical limit which we can assign. But the advocate for transmutation of species must take it, subject to a question as to the nature of these intermediate changes or catastrophes. If they be such as to close one epoch of life on the globe before the creation or commencement of another, then the argument, as far as time is concerned, must be limited to that latest epoch in which we are now placed. Many of the *gaps* in the structural scale have been filled up, indeed, from the fossil remains of former periods; but, until some series can be shown connecting these periods together without breach of continuity, the hypothesis of development or transmutation cannot fairly borrow time from these anterior epochs, for the changes it presumes.

Nor does it really lose much by this limitation. The fossil remains of former ages of life afford no evidence as to transmutation of species, which may not as plausibly be drawn from the existing animal creation. We find the same general types of structure, declaring to our reason the *unity* of the creating cause, but evolved under many and singular diversities of form; with the special fact superadded, that the species of each epoch are peculiar to itself. Different species more or less approximate to each other; but in none of these periods do we find any such series as to indicate an actual passage from one to another, of anything more than this proximity, itself expressed in all cases by the same special forms and relations of parts.

There is, however, one point of connexion between these periods, which bears in some sort on the question before us. We allude to the fact — indisputable in itself, and deeply interesting in all ways — of the successive appearance of higher types of organisation and conditions of existence, in rising from the earliest of these epochs to that in which we have our own being. We shall revert to this topic hereafter, and notice it here only to show that it does not sanction, or even favour, the doctrine of transmutation. There is no regular gradation either as to time or type, as the theory would require. New and higher forms of life come in with new epochs, and continue to be associated with the lower types that before existed. Recent research has carried back some of these higher forms into geological ages more remote than was once supposed their limit; and this may go yet further. But it would not then, more than now, affect the argument we are holding.

The existence of such common types or *plans* of structure, extending throughout the whole domain of life, and giving

foundation to all special forms and varieties, may seem at first sight to furnish some valid argument for transmutation; and the rather since these types are found in one sense to graduate into one another,—the individuals of higher type, through the several great groups of the animal kingdom, going through certain stages of those lower in the scale, even down to the single germ of the Protozoa, before reaching their final and special organisation. Of this very curious fact, the human structure itself is an example; a fact not neglected by those (and, strange to say, from paradox or petulance there are such) who love to degrade man in the scale of being. The attempt is futile as it is malignant. The Protozoon stops at his destined place in the lowest scale of being. Man reaches by definite steps the high organisation which is designed for him. Each of these, and every species intermediate in the animal world, attain, and is arrested at, the point marked out for it in the long line of created life.

The whole subject of types is one of the deepest interest. The peculiar doctrines of St. Hilaire led him to refer all animal life to a single primitive type only. Cuvier, followed by the far greater number of naturalists, has denoted four as absolutely marked and distinguished in nature. Subordinately again, or included within this theory of types, comes the more recent doctrine of Homologues; teaching us the relations of equivalent parts of structure throughout the animal world. A fine conception of Goethe—half poetry, half philosophy—became, under what we will not call the sober inquiry of Oken (for the genius of Oken has no mark of sobriety upon it), but became by his research and that of other naturalists, an integral part of natural science. Had we space for it, we should gladly put before our readers some account of the valuable contributions of Professor Owen to this curious branch of knowledge;—the researches by which he has confirmed the view of the Skull as an extension of the vertebral column;—and his remarkable work on Limbs, in which portions of structure in different animals, seemingly the most unlike in aspect and use, are all resolved into a common relation to the same part of typical structure. These things must be regarded not as mere naked facts, but as the interpreters to our reason of an Almighty design, in action from the earliest ages recorded in the rocks below us, of which Man himself, highest and foremost in the series of types, appears to our present view as the consummation. But we have no right to dogmatise upon that futurity of time and event which stretches so far beyond all human comprehension.

From the system of types, however, the advocate for trans-

mutation of species can draw no fresh argument for his doctrine. It is still a series, more or less complete in its parts, of which each member or species, in past as well as present periods, has its defined and specific characters; and continues to have them as long as its existence comes within our view. The type, whether general or particular, represents to us certain common outlines — *ideas*, we are tempted to call them — in the scheme of creation, to which these separate members belong as individual parts. Were there anything like transference, or gradual transmutation amongst them, we might expect to have our catalogues crowded with instances of such transition, in every stage and aspect of its progress.

This brings us at once to what is a main argument in the matter; viz., the variations which actually occur in living species, and which strongly tend to become hereditary, if the causes of variation be continued. Examples to this effect are so numerous and familiar that it is needless to cite them in detail. They occur most strikingly among animals domesticated by man, or bred for his uses or pleasures. But they are produced also by variations of climate, food, and other physical conditions; — sometimes also by those more mysterious influences of generation, of which we can say little more than that they exist. In man himself these varieties take their highest, and perhaps most heterogeneous character. They are testified especially in the difference of races; a distinction so strongly marked in particular cases, as to have led some naturalists, — erroneously, as we believe, — to refer it to an actual diversity of species. That strangely familiar friend of man, the Dog, — *ad hominum commoditates generatus* — produces varieties scarcely less numerous and remarkable. An eminent French naturalist has stated that if we were to reckon as species the different breeds of this animal, we must carry the account above fifty. The extent to which such deviations may proceed, and become hereditary in a race, is one of the most curious inquiries in natural history; and well deserves to be diligently pursued in connexion with the subject of Animal Instincts, to which it is closely related. We cannot doubt that there is a natural limit to change in each particular case; and we think it probable that the deviation, though differing in different countries and communities, has long since reached its maximum in the animals bred and domesticated by man.

Even here, then, the advocate for transmutation fails to make good his case; since it may almost be affirmed that the particular capacity for variations in each species form in itself a *specific* character. These varieties or deviations are not changes

of species, but changes *within* them; and, with few and ambiguous exceptions, are confined within limits which the law of reproduction of species strictly defines. This law, in truth, comprises all the cardinal points of the question. It is a natural definition put before us, and so strongly marked, that the argument as to design might well be made to rest on this alone. If an instance could be brought of the intermixture of two species in generation producing a fertile offspring, capable of breeding with *similar hybrids*, or otherwise perpetuating the physical changes induced, the law would doubtless be impugned in its generality; and the disciple of St. Hilaire might urge the possibility of numerous such instances, if time and chances be taken into account. But we doubt much whether, in the animal kingdom at least, an unequivocal case of this kind really exists. It may be admitted that certain hybrid species — the equine, canine, and, possibly, but less certainly, some other animals brought closely under human culture — are to a certain extent prolific. But the true hybrid does not propagate with the hybrid; and its power of propagation, even with the perfect species, is very limited in degree, and soon comes to an end. This argument, then, for transmutation halts on the very threshold. It makes a certain fair promise, hitherto unfulfilled in the result; and, duly examined, may even be appropriated for the opposite conclusion.

The sexual relations cannot be omitted at a point of this question. Weighing fairly all the circumstances—and, amongst others, the *period of gestation*, which, even in the cognate species of the dog and wolf, is widely different—it appears almost certain that no real or permanent change of species can take place without a concurrent mutual adaptation of the two sexes in its progress; a contingency so improbable, seeing all that is required, that we cannot but regard this as one of the most cogent objections to the doctrine before us; and meriting more attention than it has usually received.

A word or two more must be said in regard to the varieties in species themselves. Strictly speaking, these are not structural differences; but variations in size, configuration, integuments, colour, and other external conditions, subject in each case to limits which they cannot transcend. The despotic folly of a Prussian monarch might breed, as well as steal, gigantic soldiers for his guards; but could not change in a single particular the anatomical characters of the men thus forced into his ranks. We have before referred to the dog. With the exception of a slight change in the bones of the hind foot in some breeds (the maximum of variation, as far as we yet know,

among animals), its bony structure and internal organs are the same under all its numerous varieties. The teeth, now so important a diagnostic mark, are alike in all. Its animal instincts, though much modified, or sometimes even suppressed, by human culture, are essentially the same throughout; and the dog himself well knows his own species, whatever varieties it assumes. It is needless to cite other instances, as they all correspond in their bearing on the question before us.

A point upon which stress has been laid by the disciples of Lamarck is the close approximation of the Anthropoid Apes to Man; warranting, according to them, the notion that the lower may here have passed into the higher grade of being. Admitting the similitude to its full extent (the *Simia quam similis!* of the old Latin poet), it is still but the mark of closest proximity in the scale. The evidence, either anatomical or of other kind, as we have already mentioned in speaking of the Chimpanzee, goes not a step further. And against the transmutation hypothesis here, we have the fact, distinctly stated by Owen, that the osteological differences between these animals and man are of such a nature as to be insusceptible, from any known external causes, of the changes required to accomplish the supposed transmutation. This supposition, then, we put aside as one utterly without proof.

The arguments we have been using for the fixity of species will be familiar to many of our readers. But there are others to whom the question has come only in a crude and general way; and to these it is well, seeing how deeply it strikes its roots into the mysteries of creation, that it should be presented in such form, as to make clear the distinction between what is vague speculation only, and what the sound induction of the best naturalists of our day. We use the word *vague* here, as very descriptive of the manner in which the doctrine of transmutation is propounded to us. There has been no common understanding as to the foundation, or first steps, of the scheme supposed. With some (but these happily few) it is a notion of gross materialism altogether. Genera and species of living beings come into existence through undefined combinations of matter, and are mutable without limit from material causes acting upon them; — or, as some prefer to phrase it, from a *nisus* of the animal itself to attain new scope and powers of existence. Others, more modest in their assumptions, have supposed certain original created forms, capable of gradual development into new species, unlimited in variety, if unlimited time be given to work the transformation. We cannot reasonably require any positive date as the foundation of this system. But we may

fairly complain of the vague asseveration on which it is built. We have a right to ask for some denotation, however general, of these primitive beings, the parent stems of the genera and species we now see around us. The doctrine of types, as already explained, furnishes no reply here; nor to the questions we have a further right to ask, whether any of the primitive forms yet remain in existence as such? or whether the principle of mutability is now exhausted in power, and the existing genera and species represent a scheme of transmutation worked out to its end? Other questions might be asked, some of them already alluded to; showing how vague the hypothesis is in its first principles; and how little fitted, by any present proof, to meet the demands of a sound inductive philosophy.

In arguments of this nature, it is of great value to obtain such instances as are not only indisputable in themselves, but extend their conclusions to other kindred cases. The Electrical Fishes have always appeared to us to furnish a striking example of this kind. If there be any case to justify the notion of a primitive stem branching off progressively into different species, we should expect to find it in animals gifted with this very peculiar power. Yet any such notion of original unity is refuted by facts. The electrical apparatus itself differs so much in these animals, that we lose the inference from common quality in this diversity, and must follow other structural differences in proof of their separate origin as species. The argument is analogous as relates to the Poisonous animals, whether reptile or insect in kind. The differences of the poisons themselves, and of the parts instrumental to them, are such as to annul all idea of primitive community of species, even in the case of the venomous serpents, where it would be most natural to expect it. The same reasoning might be applied to the Luminiferous animals; and to many other cases, where some special property or provision pervades many species, yet leaves distinct the individuality of each.

We might find a further argument in the different figure and size of the blood-corpuscles in different animals; — a very curious subject, but not yet enough explored to furnish any certain inferences. The reasons we have stated, however, are, we think, sufficient to justify the belief, not indeed in all that have been denominated *Species* (for doubtless many duplicates and varieties are catalogued as such), but in the fixity and permanence of the vast majority so recorded. No sound reasoner will raise an objection in the multitude thus supposed distinct in their origin. Whether we look to the great or small in creation, — whether to the stars of heaven, or to the infusorial animalcules of our

own globe,—equally must we regard *number* in the hands of the Creator as a thing wholly apart from our own feeble and limited conception of it. The miracle to us is the *act of creation* itself. This recognised, (and can it be other than recognised?) the exertion of the power is subject to no artificial limit of ours. A hundred and a hundred-thousand are the same to all actual or possible comprehension of the matter.

We have already spoken of the certain design in the vast and various profusion of life spread over the earth at successive epochs; and we may now advert to another case, where designed progression is obvious to our reason, though in a different sense from that of progressive transmutation, and lending no authority to that hypothesis. This is the fact—already adverted to, and well authenticated—of the successive introduction of higher forms and attributes of life into the series, as time has moved onwards through the ages anterior to our own being on the earth. From the period when the Cephalopoda were supreme in the animal kingdom, to that when Man became its head, we have a series of types, each rising in organisation, of which Fishes, Reptiles, Birds, and Mammals represent the most remarkable forms. Any controversy as to this point has arisen solely from certain seeming irregularities of such succession; these higher grades of life coming in without any apparent conformity to our measures of time or relative change. But the main fact is in no way impeached by this irregularity, and *intention* is on the very face of it. Making every allowance for our inability in many cases to say which of two proximate organisations is the highest or most perfect, we cannot doubt as to the relative character of the fossils of the Silurian and Devonian ages, and that of the Oolitic remains, where the Mammalia first come into view;—nor, again, can we hesitate as to the relation of Oolitic life to that of our own day.

We may quit this subject with the general remark, that if transformation of species be ever proved, it will probably be so in the lowest forms of animal life, where the organisation is of the simplest kind, and where the functions seem limited to mere maintenance and reproduction;—the latter, moreover, effected in some of them by means very different from the analogies of higher animal life, and more akin to the characters of the vegetable world. Even here no actual transmutation has yet been made known; and the argument we have been stating remains therefore still untouched. But we are bound to add, that very able research is still in progress on this question of the true definition and limitation of species; directed chiefly through the phenomena of breeding and hybrids, as the most legitimate channel of approach to its solution.

All these topics have close mutual kindred; and we have taken advantage of this to bring into the foregoing argument several collateral questions illustrating the vocation and spirit of modern science. We now come to another topic, linked into the same chain, viz., that of spontaneous or equivocal generation; — the question whether new species are still brought into existence, or have been so, within what may be called the *human period* of life on earth? We know that certain species have utterly passed away within this period; and that others are in assured progress towards extinction. Man himself has been largely concerned as the agent in these changes, whether of diminution or annihilation; but physical conditions have also doubtless had effect. Is there anything in the nature of an equivalent to them, by new acts of creation, or by spontaneous production of fresh life? Here again we are without a single fact in absolute proof. The extinction of certain species (and these, as far as we know, exclusively of the higher animal orders) does in no way imply the creation of others; and the only affirmative presumptions that can be offered are drawn from those minute and obscure forms of life, whose sexual distinctions are little marked, and the functions of reproduction of unwonted kind. Accordingly we find that those who express this belief (and they are chiefly, as might be supposed, of the material and transmutation school) dwell much upon the Entozoa; and yet more on the appearance of animalcule life in various artificial compounds of organic matter, under forms peculiar to each. The latter fact is incontestable as it is curious. But the conclusion from it must ever be ambiguous; seeing what we know of the wonderful retentiveness of reproductive power in the ova or germs of such animalcules. We may readily conceive the continual presence of these invisible elements of life in the earth, air, and water around us, ready to start into form the moment the physical conditions are present which can give them their proper *habitat* and nutriment. Many analogies in the vegetable world familiar to naturalists favour this view; and none, as far as we know, contradict it. The argument for spontaneous generation from the Entozoa is refuted by the fact that, with the exception of a few species which propagate by budding, they have all male and female organs. The Polygastric Infusoria have been brought in to support the doctrine. But in all the varieties of these animalcules there are fixed and invariable forms; and these, it may be added, closely assimilating them to the fossil infusoria, which existed ages ago.

Thus far, then, the opinion rests on very slender authority. We may add one argument, not usually quoted, yet as valid as

any of the foregoing; viz. those new forms of epidemic pestilence, which from time to time have appeared in the world, devastating whole continents in their progress, and depending, as we are much disposed to believe, on organic and living matters diffusing themselves as the virus of disease. In no other way, as far as we can see, are these wandering pestilences to be accounted for, than as derived from a *materies morbi*, capable of *reproducing itself*, and therefore coming strictly under the character of life. But here, again, admitting this view, we cannot affirm that the germs may not have existed for ages before, awaiting development; and the argument, therefore, is as vague in proof as all others which bear upon this question.

We pass here, by a short step, to another topic; one of the most interesting, but most obscure, in natural history — that of the reproduction of life. Modern science, active as we have seen in its interrogation of all nature, has eagerly explored this subject, and obtained many new facts and conclusions; but none which give a key to the ultimate mystery of life propagating similar life. The steps made are all intermediate; in no sense are they final or complete. We may refer, for example, to the recent discovery, due to the microscope, of the cell-structure, as the first distinct development of individual life, and the rudiment of future growth, both in the animal and vegetable world. In the zeal with which physiologists have adopted and pursued this discovery, there has been somewhat too high an estimate of its real value. The fact, indeed, is both curious and unexpected; but it carries us onwards by a single step only. Cells themselves, with whatever nuclei they may contain, must be derived from some more primitive germ or aggregation of matter; and when we read of *cell-force* and *cell-growth*, we have reason to ask what these terms really convey to us. The conception is even easier of growth from minute vascular structure, than from cellular aggregation: but both conceptions leave untouched the great problem of generation; the assumption of infinitely different, but perfectly definite forms, from rudiments thus simple, and seemingly similar. We feel that there is something beyond, which no hypothesis, however bold, can cope with: — that we are far below the level of that mysterious principle or power, by which the life of individuals and species is elaborated and maintained, generation after generation.

Modern research into these phenomena has not been limited to the discovery of formation through cells. Other strange facts and seeming anomalies, in some part indicated by earlier naturalists, have been subjected to more exact inquiry; and, had we

room for it, we might state many most curious results, particularly as regards those phenomena which the observations of Steenstrup and others have disclosed to us. The Greek, 'that 'musical and prolific language of ancient philosophy,' has been drawn upon so largely for scientific purposes in our own time, that we cannot quarrel with such terms as Metagenesis, Parthenogenesis, and Agamogenesis, though somewhat ostentatious as applied to the most minute objects in creation. They serve to betoken what are indeed very strange and complex modes of reproduction; in which the sexual influence, though not lost, and in some part and form always necessary, yet is, in certain cases, so wonderfully concentrated—*concreted* we may express it—in the organisation, that a dozen generations may be evolved in succession, without any renewal of the male influence in reproduction. This fact has been amply established by experiments reaching as far back as the days of Reaumur and Bonnet, and is well exemplified in the instance of the Aphides; the diversities of which—viviparous or oviparous; winged or wingless; alternating or without obvious rule of succession—offer a multitude of problems to sober, as well as to speculative, thought. This budding forth of a germ principle through successive generations from a first single fertilised germ, while closely connected with the principle of animal metamorphosis, is the fact which more than any other forms the link—very difficult here to dis sever—between animal and vegetable life. The Entozoa, Polypi, Medusæ, &c., all enter into and illustrate this great natural relation. The phenomena of fissiparous generation variously and strikingly attest it:—those curious cases where entire and repeated division of the animal does, under certain limitations, reproduce the perfect form in each of the divided parts. In some of the Infusoria, the problem is further perplexed by a double manner of generation through ova, and by self-division of the animalcules themselves.

All these things, and others equally wonderful,—such as the modes of parasitic or complemental generation described by Mr. Darwin in his Monograph on Barnacles—may well astonish those who come unprepared to the subject. In reality, there is nothing more unintelligible here than in the familiar facts of ordinary generation, nor more wonderful than what we before knew as to the economy of other animals higher in the scale of creation. The modes of reproduction of the Bee (especially as last developed by the researches of Dzierzon and Van Siebold) may be taken as a representation and epitome of all that is most marvellous in this great function of life. The true mystery, as we have already said, lies deeper, and is equally associated with

every variety and aspect of these phenomena. It is one of the many cases in science and philosophy where familiarity gives a semblance of knowledge; satisfying the shallow inquirer, but otherwise estimated by the more cautious seeker after truth.

Another topic of eminent importance to all our views of life, and the economy of living beings, is that of Animal Instincts. Much has been observed, thought, and written on this subject; but less connectedly and systematically, we think, than its interest requires; nor can we name any one signal discovery of our own time in contribution to this part of natural knowledge. Facts have been multiplied and better defined, and the structures serving to the fulfilment of instincts more carefully explored. But the great problem here remains as entirely unresolved as in the earliest days of ancient philosophy. What is the source or proximate cause of those actions—definite, peculiar, and permanent in each species—which we call *instinctive*, as distinguished from the acts of reason and intelligence? The main points of doubt, speculation, and controversy are all concentrated within this question. It involves one which in some sort is precursory to all, viz. the reality and nature of the distinction between reason and instinct; faculties so closely bordering on each other, and often so blended in the same acts, that it becomes difficult to distinguish or discover them. To obtain a just definition, we must look at the more simple and extreme cases of each. ‘The absolute hereditary nature of Instincts,—their instant or speedy perfection prior to all experience or memory,—their provision for the future without prescience of it,—the preciseness of their objects, extent, and limitation,—and the distinctness and permanence of their character for each species,’ (we quote from a volume lying before us) are the more general facts upon which we define true instincts, and contradistinguish them from the acts of mind and reason. These two great faculties may be said to exist in inverse ratio to each other throughout the whole scale of animal life. Where intelligence is highest in power and effect, instinct is lowest and least in amount. It augments progressively as we descend in the series; and at some point, hardly to be defined, seemingly embraces and gives origin to all the acts of animal existence.

The only probable advancement, as far as we can see, in the theory of Instincts, will be through such researches as may determine their more exact relation to reason in the same individuals or species. The very blending and intermixture of the faculties in the higher order of animals, while it perplexes in some points, does in others offer the chance, if not the certainty, of illustration to both. Without undermining the distinction

between them by metaphysical subtleties, we may well admit that the questions they suggest are in great measure the same in kind, and of like difficulty in solution. The method of research we suggest through these common relations, though often touched upon in part, has never been explicitly and systematically pursued. It would require varied experiments, as well as minute observation. It must of necessity be an assiduous labour, and divided among many; but also a labour of high interest and aided by numberless facts already ascertained, but not yet collated or reduced to order. A systematic work on Instincts is still wanting to us, derived from every part and province of animal life, and carefully brought into relation with those various degrees of reason which animals possess. Such a work, even partially completed, would undoubtedly supply fresh material to physical science and philosophy.

Associated, though less closely, with the foregoing topics comes another inquiry, which has earnestly engaged the naturalists of our day; viz., the manner of distribution of the types, genera, and species of animal life over the surface of the globe. The diversities of such distribution have long been noticed; but to botanists, and especially to Decandolle, we owe the first clear conception of geographical provinces, within which are located certain predominant typical forms, diffusing themselves as from a centre; arrested in some cases by the intervention of sea or land; in other cases mingling on the border with the types and characters of other provinces. In animal life also we find this local distribution strongly marked; and though its boundaries are still somewhat vague, and the number of provinces not fully defined, we are sufficiently assured of the fact to reason upon it as a part of the living economy of the world. And a most curious fact it is; connected as we must necessarily regard it, either with the original conditions of animal creation, or with those great revolutions of the earth's surface, recorded by geology;—those mighty interchanges of land and ocean, by which continents have been raised or submerged, climates changed, and all living nature brought into subjection to this elemental strife.

Australia is generally, and with much reason, quoted as the most striking example of this local limitation of forms, both in animal and vegetable life. This strange Continent—scarcely known ninety years ago, now the flourishing seat of British Empire in the Southern hemisphere—stood, when discovered, in a sort of solitary contradiction to the rest of the known world. Of 4,100 species, forming its earliest recorded Flora, only 106 were found elsewhere. The Eucalyptus and

leafless Acacias, in their numerous species, gave a sombre hue to its scenery. The habits of the marvellous animals, with other strange configurations of animal life, gave an eccentric and paradoxical character to the creatures which inhabited it. The Galapagos Isles, so well described by Darwin, furnish another example, even more striking from its limitation. These isles (volcanic in formation, which adds to the singularity of the case) are only 600 miles from the South American coast, yet form a distinct province, both in their Flora and Fauna; with scarcely a single organic production which is not aboriginal in species, and unknown elsewhere. And, as in Australia, we find sub-provinces on the eastern and western coasts respectively, so in these isles there are two which differ much in their productions from the rest, though alike in all obvious physical conditions. South America itself is the peculiar domicile of the very singular order of Edentata, or toothless animals, which are here found both living and fossil; while north of Mexico they are unknown except in the fossil state. The Sloth, that strange and grotesque member of this order, and the Armadillos, are found in America only. New Guinea, with some island groups to the east, forms a particular zoological province, singular from being destitute, with one exception, of all warm-blooded quadrupeds. The Elephant, Rhinoceros, Giraffe, Hippopotamus, &c., are limited now to certain portions of the old world, though their fossil remains are much more widely diffused. The marine animals, much more vaguely of course, give evidence to the same fact of local limitation; and even lake and river fishes demonstrate it, narrow in comparison though the spaces are which they occupy. We may seem to understand why the Salmon, found in all countries bordering round the Arctic Circle, should nowhere exist in the Southern hemisphere. But how are we to explain the different families of fish, found by Agassiz in each of the great fresh-water lakes of North America, connected as they are by a common river? or how the fishes peculiar to the Ohio and many other rivers? or the species limited in existence to some of our own lakes? Or why should we find in some mountain pools near Killarney a molluscos animal not known elsewhere in the world?

Such instances, which might be endlessly multiplied, show how curious are the problems belonging to this part of natural history; and how perplexed in every part by the doubt of what may belong to a primitive geographical distribution of limited beings;—what to the revolutions of the surface of the globe, paroxysmal or gradual, which have since intervened. The argument for the former, supported as it is by the complete

analogy of vegetable life, is too strong not to compel belief; though leaving it doubtful to what extent the limitations of localities and species originally existed. Further research may do something towards clearing away these doubts, but can never wholly remove them. The unquestionable changes in climate, and other physical conditions essential to life, from geological revolutions on the earth's surface; and the mighty influence of man, when he became a tenant of the globe, in multiplying, destroying, or transplanting, whatever of the living creation existed around him, have removed many of the marks or outlines which might have denoted this primitive distribution. Fossil geology to a certain extent comes in aid of the research; though in solving some questions it evokes others not less difficult. In the vast periods of time through which it carries us, we see the same revolutions of surface, elevations, depressions, and changes of land and sea; but the further we recede from our own time into these depths of ages, the more entirely do we lose all analogies of geographical distribution. 'Even in some of our most recent strata,' as Professor Owen remarks, 'fossils occur for which we must seek the representatives in America; and to match the mammalian remains from Oolite, we must bring specimens from the Antipodes.'

In treating of these various questions, which have relation to Life as the subject of modern science, we have only partially alluded to that branch of the inquiry denoted by the special term of Animal Physiology — the history of those organs and functions through which vitality receives and maintains its individual existence. This subject, in truth, is too vast in outline as well as details, and the discussions it embraces too various and important, to be dealt with in any single Article, even exclusively thus directed. The functions of nutrition and assimilation, — of circulation and respiration, — of secretion and excretion, — and of the nervous system in its many parts — all these have been the objects of refined experiment and sedulous observation by the physiologists and physicians of our day; and with results which give a new face and form to this branch of science. But while putting aside the subject generally (or it may be reserving it for some future occasion), there is one class of the functions just named which we cannot wholly omit when treating of physical science in its relation to vital phenomena. We mean those wonderful functions which are fulfilled through the instrumentality of the nervous system, and which we cannot err in describing as of far higher interest than any others of the animal economy; seeing that they connect the *conscious being*, whatever its grade in creation, with every part of its own

organisation and with the world without. Sensations in all their forms, volitions in all their acts, find transmission solely through this portion of structure;—one so little intelligible to the eye or outward observation, that not a single anatomist or philosopher of antiquity placed a right interpretation on its nature and uses. Modern science has encountered the subject with the better appliances of experimental inquiry and sound induction; and though much remains to be done, and much more may be deemed wholly unattainable, yet we can safely affirm that some of its greatest achievements are to be found in the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system.

Into the details of these discoveries we cannot enter. They relate chiefly to that organisation and distribution of nervous matter (including the Brain as an integral portion of it) through which the power is generated and transmitted in fulfilment of the various functions of life: and, yet further, to the especial relation between the several parts of the nervous system and their different functions; whether such as appertain to animal life appropriately, or those more purely of organic kind. This latter distinction in itself may be deemed a recent discovery, and one prolific in curious and instructive results; as, in truth, are all those relations which connect particular parts of nervous structure with the offices they fulfil. Every step in these researches opens out new views to the speculative eye, and offers new problems for experiment and reason to resolve. The successive and successful labours of Bichat, Bell, Magendie, and other eminent physiologists, thus directed, have been more recently extended and surpassed by those of Brown Sequard; to whose subtle powers of anatomical inquiry, still actively employed, we owe some of the most interesting discoveries in this part of animal physiology.

Among these various topics, there is one question so closely allied to some we have been discussing, that it cannot fitly be put aside. Is there any special physical agent, acting in and through the nervous system, and by such action giving fulfilment to its numerous offices in the living economy? Or must we look to some mysterious power existing here, apart from matter and the forces acting on matter, as needful to explain the phenomena, and particularly those which connect the nervous system with consciousness and the mental functions? This question, like the analogous one as to a Vital Principle, presses upon us almost as a necessity of thought. As in so many other cases, language has sought to evade the difficulty of solution by phrases more or less convenient for use, but which indicate no new or real knowledge acquired. We have the

terms of nervous *power*, *principle*, *energy*, and *element*, *nerve force*, *innervation*, &c.; all preferable, doubtless, to the older phrase of *nervous fluid*; but preferable simply because less definite in their meaning and assumption.

To the question stated above, science has yet rendered no certain answer; but there are several presumptions favouring the view that some physical agent — analogous to, if not the same as, the natural forces of which we have so often spoken — does directly minister to the functions of the nervous system. One of these presumptions is founded on that conception of *quantity*, which is forced upon us in every consideration of nervous power, and is expressed equally by excess or deficiency in amount. We exhaust energy by action; we augment it again by time and rest. Scarcely can we name a function of life which does not include the fact of a power applied to it, thus varying in degree.* Whether we can apply the term *intensity*, as separate from quantity, is more doubtful; for though the distinction is valid, as applied to electrical action, we have no sufficient evidence to give it the force of an argument here. A much more cogent presumption to our purpose is that furnished by *time* as an element in action through nerves. This very interesting fact of a *rate of motion*, already conjectured and vaguely estimated, has been recently attested by the beautiful experiments of M. Helmholtz on the crural nerves of the frog, giving the result of a space of somewhat more than *eighty* feet passed through in a second of time. To subsequent observations of M. Helmholtz we owe the further remarkable facts that the rate of motion of the nervous power in Man is about two hundred feet in a second, or more than double that observed in the frog; and that it sensibly *augments* with any augmentation of animal temperature. These experiments are so delicate in apparatus and manipulation, that few can undertake them; but their principle is one which in skilful hands may hereafter illustrate some of those variations and anomalies of nervous power which at present perplex all our reasoning. Meanwhile the fact ascertained of the propagation of power in definite time, brings us at once to the conception of a physical force, like those which act on matter through its molecular structure elsewhere in the natural world. And this presump-

* This consideration of *quantity*, as an element of the nervous force — expressed both by excess and deficiency, in health and in disease — has not, we think, been sufficiently regarded by physiologists or medical writers. We find it explicitly discussed by Sir H. Holland, in a chapter of his volume on Mental Physiology.

tion is strongly enforced when we come to consider the actual and intimate relation of these forces, and of electricity especially, to the functions and phenomena of the nervous system.

At this point, however, a serious doubt suggests itself. Can these functions, so diverse in nature and quality as well as in degree, be due to any *single agent* of motion and power? Can we possibly predicate *unity* of any proximate cause, in actions which combine the functions of the several senses; voluntary and involuntary muscular contractions; the nervous influence directed to the various secreting organs; and the sympathies between different organs, which John Hunter well describes as the 'internuncial office' of the nervous system? This question will be at once seen as of great, perhaps insuperable, difficulty. As we cannot multiply agents to meet the many conditions just stated, or find adequate explanation of them in any structural differences of the conducting nerves, we can only approach a solution by looking to the diversities of organisation upon which the nervous force acts; and by presuming, as indeed we are compelled to do, that these diversities are often of a nature to evade the most subtle research. The chemist and the microscope have disclosed to us many marvellous secrets of molecular aggregation; but they have rarely, if ever, been able to tell us of that ultimate structure, which at once defines and fulfils the various functions of life.

We have spoken of Electricity as the physical power most nearly allied, as far as we yet know, to that acting through the nervous system. We are not propounding here one of the many vague hypotheses to which electricity, from its striking and complex phenomena, has given birth; but what is a legitimate inference from the most exact and delicate experiments. These, while leaving the fact of identity still unproved, and many collateral questions yet unresolved, have nevertheless disclosed such analogies and intimate relations, as to make it probable that the forces in question are at least *mutually convertible*, in the sense we have already given to this phrase. Had we space for it, we might relate some of those wonderful results derived from the experiments of Du Bois Reymond and Matteucci, which most especially favour this interpretation. We may merely mention, as being perhaps more cogent in its conclusions than any other, the experiment we have ourselves seen; where a simple but sudden and forcible contraction, *by will*, of the muscles of the fore-arm, evolves a current of electricity capable of passing through two or three miles of a helix coil, and thereby creating power enough to deflect the needle of a delicate galvanometer 60° or 60° or 70°; according to the vigour of the muscular con-

traction. The inference here seems direct and decisive; and it corresponds with the conclusions drawn from other beautiful experiments of Du Bois Reymond, on the direction of the electrical currents pervading all muscular fibres, so *uniform* in character as to assume at once the conditions of a new law. Yet we are still short of that certainty which science is rigid in requiring. We have reason to believe all muscular action — perhaps every vital action — to be attended with some chemical change in the parts concerned; and every chemical change, as we know, produces disturbance of the electrical equilibrium. Changes of temperature, moreover, or molecular motions, each incidental to muscular contraction, may be concerned in evolving these electrical currents. But whatever are the ambiguities of this question, it is obvious that they all lie within that single circle which comprehends and connects the great Correlated Physical Forces of the universe; — a *magical circle*, we may well call it, since it comprises within itself some of the most profound and mysterious problems which human reason can venture to approach.

We must here come to a close; although there are still many topics which we might bring before our readers, illustrating the efforts and results of modern science in relation to this great subject of Life on the earth. It will have been noticed how often the question of Final Causes comes before us, as a consequence, and even integral part, of these inquiries. We have already alluded to this point; but cannot conclude without reverting once more to a principle of reasoning which it is of signal importance should be rightly appreciated in the interpretations it affords. A misplaced sophistry, fortifying itself by a single phrase of Lord Bacon's of doubtful meaning, has sought to impugn this method, and the conclusions thence derived. It cannot be done. Such reasoning is an integral necessity of our mental constitution. The fallacy lies here, as so often elsewhere, in imputing to the use of the faculty what belongs to abuse; since, if using that caution which the nature of the subject inculcates, we may safely and profitably employ it as a guide in research, as well as an exponent of discovery, in every part of the great domain of created life.

- ART. IX.—1. *Political Progress not necessarily Democratic, or Relative Equality the true Foundation of Civil Liberty.* By JAMES LORIMER, Esq., Advocate. 1 vol. 8vo. 1858.
2. *A Treatise on the Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal.* By THOMAS HARE, Esq., Barrister-at-law. 1 vol. 8vo. 1859.

LORD DERBY, shortly after his accession to office, in explaining to the House of Lords the principles upon which his Administration had been formed, adverted to the fact, that Bills for Parliamentary Reform had been proposed or promised by previous governments, and signified the probability of his proposing a similar Bill in the Session of 1859. This announcement has since been repeated in less general and more confident terms by several members of his Cabinet. One head of a department has informed us that he has even enjoyed a sight of the measure in its infant state; and it is generally understood, by those who are not admitted to these legislative *arcana*, that Lord Derby's Government has prepared, and will early in the Session produce, a Bill for amending the existing laws relative to the representation of the people. It may therefore be expected, that soon after the publication of these pages, Mr. Disraeli, as the organ of the Government in the House of Commons, and the leader of that Assembly, will lay before it a new Reform Bill; that an early day will be fixed for its second reading; and that the Members of that House who hold Liberal opinions, and are not the regular supporters of the present Government, will be called on to decide whether they will vote for or against that motion. We feel a perfect conviction that, whatever may be the character of the forthcoming measure, the Conservative members, who gave a steady support to the present Ministers in the last Session, on several questions eminently trying to Conservative feelings, will vote in its favour, without exercising their critical faculties upon it, or questioning the infallibility of its authors. They will doubtless show that uninquiring faith in their leaders, that teachable resignation of the judgment to authority, which is the characteristic excellence and traditionary distinction of the Tory party. At the epoch of the second Reform Bill they may be expected to exhibit an unanimous deference to Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, which they refused to Sir R. Peel and the Duke of Wellington, for the settlement of the Catholic question and the repeal of the Corn Laws. But the majority of the House of Commons and

of the country, who hold Liberal opinions, will require some reason for their faith; before they approve the Government Bill, they will demand to be convinced that its probable effect will be good, and that it will satisfy the conditions which a new Reform Bill, deliberately proposed by a Government and accepted by Parliament, in the year 1859, ought to fulfil. It will be our object, in the following pages, to furnish some assistance towards the solution of this problem, and to show what are the standards by which the ministerial measure, when it shall have been produced, ought to be judged. With the view of explaining the present position of the question, we shall premise an outline of its history since it became the subject of parliamentary discussion; which, it will be found, is comprised within narrow limits, notwithstanding the immense importance of the matter to which it relates.

Lord Chatham may be considered as the first Parliamentary Reformer. A letter, addressed by him to Lord Temple, in 1771, was publicly read and entered on the journals of the Common Council of London, in April, 1780, in which the great Minister declared his opinion that 'a plan for more equal representation, by additional knights of the shire, seems highly seasonable; and to shorten the duration of Parliaments not less so:' and in the same year (1771) he declared himself in Parliament, 'with the most solemn and deliberate conviction, a convert to Triennial Parliaments, as some stronger bulwark must be erected against the enormous power of the Crown.' And a few years later he ventured, in private conversation, to prophesy that 'before the close of the century, either the Parliament would reform itself from within, or would be reformed with a vengeance from without.' In the House of Lords he often lamented the growing venality of the smaller boroughs, and he proposed the immediate addition of a hundred county members.

The first formal motion was that of the Duke of Richmond, in June, 1780, who at that time held strong Whig opinions; while Lord George Gordon's rioters were thundering at the doors of the House of Lords, and pulling the peers out of their carriages, the Duke of Richmond was calmly expounding a plan for reforming the representation of the people by universal suffrage and electoral districts. Next came the motions of Mr. Pitt, in 1782, 1783, and 1784, who doubtless sought to give effect to the views of his illustrious father on this subject. His plan of 1783 was to disfranchise corrupt boroughs, and to add one hundred to the knights of the shire and to the representatives of the metropolis. That of 1784, was to transfer the

right of choosing representatives from thirty-six decayed boroughs to the counties and to large unrepresented towns. We do not doubt the sincerity of Mr. Pitt when he made these motions; and we are persuaded that one or the other branch of Lord Chatham's prophecy would before long have been fulfilled if an event had not happened which neither Lord Chatham nor any other person anticipated, and which has influenced the politics of Europe from the time of its occurrence to the present day; we mean the French Revolution of 1789. In England the effect of the French Revolution was to render all political reform impossible; to cause every reformer to be denounced as a Jacobin, and a promoter of French principles. Mr. Flood, indeed, in March, 1790, attempted to revive the question, by a motion for leave to bring in a Bill; his plan was to add a hundred members to the representation, to be elected by the resident householders in every county. The question was then taken up by Mr. Grey, who, undeterred by the war and by imputations of Jacobinism, brought forward motions on the subject of the representation in 1793 and 1797. In the latter year he proposed that the county members should be increased from 92 to 113; that copyholders and leaseholders, of a certain value, should be voters for counties; and that the remaining 400 members should be returned by householders.

It should be observed that the primary object of the Parliamentary Reformers of the last century was not to diminish the influence of the great borough holders, but to restrain the power of the Crown. It is true that one object could only be accomplished through the other; but their ultimate purpose was to prevent the Crown from bartering patronage for borough votes; their policy was rather anti-monarchical than anti-aristocratic. During a large part of the reign of George III. the Crown secured a majority in the House of Commons to a Ministry of its choice by a traffic of this description. The motion of the Duke of Richmond on Parliamentary Reform was made in the same Session as the celebrated motion of Dunning against the influence of the Crown, and both had in fact the same object. The really independent part of the House of Commons then consisted of the English county members, and of the members for those few towns where the representation was open. Scotland was at that time one vast rotten borough. Ireland had still a separate Parliament. Hence the reformers of the last century, whose jealousy was of the Crown, not of territorial influence, all proposed to increase the number of the county members. Lord Stanhope remarks that, at the end of the American War, the majority for Ministers had ceased to be any token of public

feeling in their favour, as it was in great measure composed of members returned for nomination seats. He mentions as an instance that, in one of the last divisions under Lord North's Ministry, the two members for Cornwall voted against him, but of its borough representatives, who took part in the division, there were eight opponents, and thirty supporters, of the Government.

From Mr. Grey's motion in 1797, the year of the mutiny at the Nore and the Bank restriction, the parliamentary discussion of the Reform question was, under the combined influence of the French revolution and the French war, virtually suspended for more than twenty years. The attempt of Mr. Brand, in 1810, to purify the borough system, faintly followed up by him in 1812, was crushed by a large majority; it was not until 1819, after the oratorical campaign of Hunt and the other political agitators, who, for the first time called themselves 'Radical Reformers,'* that the parliamentary discussion of this question was effectually revived. In the first Session of this year Sir Francis Burdett moved a resolution for an early consideration of the subject, which was negatived by 153 to 58 votes. He argued the question chiefly on the ground of retrenchment and excessive taxation. In the second Session of the same year (Dec. 14.), Lord John Russell made a motion on the same subject, which deserves attention as being the first real step in that progress which ended in the Reform Act of 1832. In moving resolutions on the subject, he assumed a middle position, and distinguished himself from two extreme parties—on the one hand from those who 'were willing that the constitution, like the temples of the gods at Rome, should remain with 'all its dust and cobwebs about it, and thought it profane in 'any hand to remove the corruptions by which it was defaced;' on the other, from 'the champions of radical reform, who seemed 'desirous to raise their name by applying a firebrand to a sanctuary which had stood for ages.' The evils for which he proposed remedies were the representation of small and decayed boroughs, and the non-representation of wealthy and populous

* The phrase may have been first used in this year as the designation of a political party, but it is at least as old as the Antijacobin. In the imitation of Bion are these verses:—

'Now these and more (a phrenzied choir)
Sweep with bold hand confusion's lyre,
'Till madding crowds around them storm
"For one grand Radical Reform."'

The same phrase also occurs in the imitation of Acme and Septimius.

towns.* Subsequently he brought in a Bill for the disfranchisement of Grampound, which had been convicted of corruption, and for the transfer of its franchise to a populous town. This Bill was extinguished by the dissolution consequent on the death of George III., but was revived in the Session of 1820. Lord Castlereagh then proposed to throw the franchise into the neighbouring hundreds, as had been already done with New Shoreham, Cricklade, and Aylesbury.† The Bill was, however, dropped on account of the proceedings in the Queen's case. In April 1821, Mr. Lambton proposed a plan of parliamentary reform, consisting of triennial parliaments, a tax-paying franchise, and abolition of rotten boroughs. His motion was negatived in a thin House, by 53 to 43, the mover himself being absent. Later in the same Session, Lord J. Russell moved resolutions affirming the same principles which he had previously laid down, with respect to the disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs, and the enfranchisement of wealthy and populous towns. The first resolution was negatived by 155 to 124 votes. He likewise introduced a Bill for taking away the right of election from Grampound, and giving it to Leeds. This Bill was read a second time; but in Committee the clause conferring the right of voting upon inhabitants of Leeds renting houses at 10*l.* a year, was, upon the motion of Mr. Stuart Wortley, amended by the substitution of 20*l.* for 10*l.* After the qualification had been thus raised, Lord John Russell gave up the charge of the Bill, as not being sufficiently popular in its character; and Mr. Stuart Wortley moved the third reading. In the House of Lords, it was strenuously opposed by Lord Eldon and Lord Bathurst; Lord Liverpool supported it, but proposed and carried the transfer of the two seats to Yorkshire instead of Leeds. In this shape it was returned to the Commons, and it was agreed to by that House. In the same year Lord Archibald Hamilton brought forward a motion on Parliamentary Reform for Scotland, which was negatived by 57 to 41 votes.

By these proceedings, an impression was made in favour of some Parliamentary Reform; but the question first began to assume an aspect of immediate practical importance in 1822.

* See the article on Parliamentary Reform in this Journal, for Nov. 1820 (vol. xxxiv. p. 461.), which supports the views promulgated by Lord J. Russell.

† New Shoreham was thrown into the neighbouring hundred in 1771, Cricklade in 1782, and Aylesbury in 1804. See 11 Geo. 3. c. 55., 22 Geo. 3. c. 81., 44 Geo. 3. c. 50.

In that year, Lord John Russell moved a resolution 'that the present state of the representation of the people in Parliament required the most serious consideration of the House' (April 29th); and introduced his motion with an elaborate argument. The positions which he undertook to establish are expressed in the following passage:—'If I can show (he said) that the state and condition of the people has materially changed, and that the change in the state of the House has not been agreeable to that change in the state of the people, but of a very different and opposite tendency, then it must be allowed that the House and the people have no longer that accordance which they ought to have, and that some remedy is required.' The plan of Reform which he proposed, was to deprive the 100 smallest boroughs of 1 member each; and add in their place 100 members, of whom 60 should be elected by counties, and 40 by large towns. The motion was opposed by Mr. Canning (who had at that time accepted the office of Governor-general of Bengal), in a carefully considered and impressive speech, which ended with the following peroration:—'That the noble lord will carry his motion this evening, I have no fear; but with the talents which he has shown himself to possess, and with (I sincerely hope) a long and brilliant career of Parliamentary distinction before him, he will, no doubt, renew his efforts hereafter. Although I presume not to expect that he will give any weight to observations or warnings of mine, yet on this, probably the last opportunity which I shall have of raising my voice on the question of Parliamentary Reform, while I conjure the House to pause before it consents to adopt the proposition of the noble lord,—I cannot help conjuring the noble lord himself to pause before he again presses it upon the country. If, however, he shall persevere—and if his perseverance shall be successful—and if the results of that success shall be such as I cannot help apprehending; his is the triumph to have precipitated those results, be mine the consolation that, to the utmost and the latest of my power, I have opposed them.' Upon a division, it appeared that the motion was supported by 164 against 269 votes. 'The strength which the minority mustered on this occasion (says the Annual Register for the year), gave them more rational hopes of ultimate, though remote, triumph than had been entertained for more than thirty years.' In 1823, Lord John Russell renewed his motion of the previous year; the numbers were nearly the same, being 169 for the resolution, and 280 against it. In 1826 he repeated it with a repetition of the arguments which he had used in previous years, as to the representation of

decayed boroughs and the non-representation of populous towns: the resolution was negatived by 247 to 123. Such was the course of the Parliamentary proceedings on this subject, until the close of Lord Liverpool's Administration.

In 1828, a Bill passed the House of Commons for disfranchising Penryn, and conferring the right of electing two members upon Manchester. A similar Bill for disfranchising East Retford, and for transferring its franchise to the hundreds, likewise passed the Commons; but both Bills were lost in the Lords. In Committee on the latter Bill, Mr. Huskisson voted for transferring the franchise to Birmingham, and in consequence of this vote, he tendered his resignation to the Duke of Wellington, by whom it was accepted. In 1830, the East Retford Bill was renewed, and passed; Mr. Huskisson and Mr. C. Grant again gave an unavailing support to the proposal for transferring its franchise to Birmingham. At the same time, Lord Howick moved resolutions declaring the insufficiency of specific Bills, and affirming the necessity of a general measure. In consequence of this decision, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a Bill for giving members to Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, which was refused by 188 to 140 votes. Subsequently, Mr. O'Connell attempted to introduce a Bill to establish triennial parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot; but his motion was supported only by 13 votes. Lord John Russell then moved a resolution declaring the expediency of giving members to large towns and additional members to counties of great wealth and population. Other resolutions provided for depriving 60 boroughs, where the population did not exceed 2,500, of one member each, and for compensating the boroughs thus partially disfranchised. These resolutions were less favourably received than the Bill for giving members to the three manufacturing towns: they were negatived by 213 to 117. Thus ended the series of motions on this subject anterior to the great measure of Lord Grey's Ministry.

In October 1830, Lord Grey's Administration succeeded to power. The anti-reform declaration of the Duke of Wellington had precipitated his fall, and Lord Grey had, before he accepted office, obtained the King's consent to making Parliamentary Reform a Cabinet measure. The new Ministry, therefore, was called upon to propose a measure of reform at the earliest opportunity; and, on the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell, as the organ of the Government, though not as yet a member of the Cabinet, brought forward the plan, which ultimately became the Reform Act of 1832. We do not think it necessary

to follow in detail the progress of this measure, which is, indeed, within the personal recollection of our elder readers; but we will only recall so much to their minds as may serve to show how it was received by the Tory or Conservative party, and how it was received by the country.

The Bill was framed essentially upon the principle originally proposed by Lord Chatham and Mr. Pitt, adopted with modifications by Mr. Flood and Mr. Grey, and subsequently enforced, with fuller developments, and under more favourable circumstances, in the second stage of the question, by Lord J. Russell and others from 1819 to 1831. This principle was to proceed upon the basis of the existing representation, but to correct its chief anomalies and defects by withdrawing the franchise from the small boroughs, which were either corrupt, or under the control of a single patron, and to transfer it, with amended qualifications of voting, to large counties or unrepresented populous towns. The original plan was to disfranchise 60 boroughs, returning 119 members, to reduce 47 boroughs from 2 members to 1, and to reduce Weymouth from 4 members to 2, making a total reduction of 168 seats. Of these seats, 34 were given to 27 unrepresented towns, 7 of which were to return 2 members, and 20 to return 1 member each; 54 were given to 27 large counties, each of which was to return 2 additional members, and 8 seats were to be given to 4 metropolitan districts. These changes were confined to England. In Wales, it was proposed to add some new towns to the existing contributory boroughs, and to create a new district of boroughs at Swansea, returning 1 member. It was not proposed to disfranchise any borough either in Scotland or in Ireland; but 5 members were to be added to the representation of Scotland, and 3 to that of Ireland. The result was, that 168 seats were abolished, and 106 new seats were created, leaving a diminution of 62 in the total number of the House of Commons. It was further proposed to create a uniform borough constituency of householders, to the annual value of 10*l.*, for the entire United Kingdom, thus abolishing all the close corporation franchises. With regard to the English counties, the 40*s.* freeholders were to be retained; but the suffrage was to be conferred upon copyholders to the yearly value of 10*l.*, as well as leaseholders for twenty-one years to the annual value of 50*l.* Both in Scotland and Ireland the county voters were to consist of owners of lands or houses to the annual value of 10*l.*, and leaseholders to the annual value of 50*l.* After a debate of seven nights, in which the plan was denounced by Sir B. Peel, and other leaders of the Conservative party, as an

incendiary measure, intended merely for keeping the Ministers in power, leave was given to introduce the Bill without a division. The second reading of the Bill was fixed for the 21st of March, and on the following night the division took place, when the numbers were;—for the second reading 302, against it 301, leaving a majority of 1 in its favour. Considering the number of members who were personally affected by the Bill, it is a remarkable proof of the force of public opinion that it was not rejected by a large majority; but the reception which the Bill had met in the country rendered its ultimate success a matter of certainty. It was clear that numbers were too evenly balanced in the existing House for the question to be settled without a dissolution of Parliament; and an opportunity for an appeal to the country, by which public opinion would be tested, was soon given to Ministers. On the 10th of April, upon the next stage of the Bill, General Gascoyne moved a resolution that the number of representatives for England and Wales ought not to be diminished. This motion was carried by a majority of 8, the numbers being 299 to 291. On the 22nd of April the King prorogued Parliament, with a view to its dissolution, and on the following day it was dissolved. This dissolution was hailed as a great popular triumph; the elections took place under the influence of strong excitement; and they decided the fate of the Reform Bill in the elective House of Parliament. Out of the 82 county members for England, all but six were pledged to vote for the Bill. Parliament met again on the 21st of June, and on the 24th Lord J. Russell obtained leave to bring in a second Reform Bill, which, on the 6th of July, was read a second time by 367 to 231 votes; the majority of 136 being a measure of the results of the dissolution. After a long contest over the details in the Committee, the Bill passed the House of Commons on the 21st of September by a majority of 109 votes.

There now remained the ordeal of the House of Lords; and in this branch of the Legislature, the Bill, after a debate of five nights, was rejected on the second reading by a majority of 41, the numbers being 199 to 158. This division took place on the 8th of October, and on the 20th Parliament was prorogued. The rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords caused feelings of disappointment and anger to pervade the country, produced serious riots at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol, and called forth the activity of the political unions of the large towns. The anxiety for a speedy settlement of the question was intense; Parliament was again assembled on the 6th of December, and on the 12th Lord John Russell obtained leave to bring in a

third Reform Bill, which differed in many of its details from both its predecessors; it was read a second time on the 18th, and on the 23rd of March it passed the House of Commons by a majority of 355 to 239. The Bill found the House of Lords in a somewhat altered mood, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 9; but in the Committee, Lord Lyndhurst moved the postponement of the disfranchising clauses, and carried his motion by a majority of 35.* In consequence of this decision, Lord Grey and his colleagues, having failed in obtaining from the King permission to create new peers, tendered their resignations, which were accepted. A negotiation then ensued, through Lord Lyndhurst, with the Duke of Wellington, for the formation of a Conservative government, which should be pledged to carry (according to His Majesty's words) 'an extensive reform in the representation of the people in Parliament.' But Sir R. Peel declined to be a party to an extensive reform, or to join the proposed government; the House of Commons passed a vote of confidence in Lord Grey's Ministry by a majority of 80; the country assumed an attitude of menace; and the attempt to carry a Tory Reform Bill under the auspices of the Duke of Wellington was abandoned as hopeless. Lord Grey and his colleagues resumed their functions, having obtained from the King the requisite authority for influencing the House of Lords, to be used in case of necessity. His Majesty's wish was conveyed in writing to the Conservative peers, that they would offer no further opposition to the Bill, and it passed the House of Lords on the 4th of June, by a majority of 106 to 22; the royal assent was given by commission on the 7th of June, 1832. The Bills for Scotland and Ireland subsequently went through both Houses without material difficulty.

Such was the happy result of this formidable struggle, which entirely engrossed the attention of the country for the fifteen months during which it lasted, and which involved one of the

* Lord Ellenborough subsequently stated the alterations which it was intended to make in the Bill, if Ministers had acquiesced in Lord Lyndhurst's amendment. Schedule A., the schedule of entire disfranchisement, was to be retained; but Schedule B., which deprived certain boroughs of one member, was to be omitted. Two members were to be given to each of twenty large English towns, and one member to each of two towns in Wales. The remaining seats were to be distributed among the English counties. No addition was to be made to the Irish or Scotch representation. The 10*l*. household franchise was to be retained. It seems, therefore, that the House of Lords were prepared at this time to assent without further struggle to the entire disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs.

greatest changes of political power ever extorted from a reluctant legislature by constitutional means. As soon as the plan was promulgated its reception in the country was conclusive. The popular cry rose for 'the Bill, the whole Bill; and nothing but the Bill.' In truth, the close-borough system, on account of the small number of persons who benefited by it, was even in the counties regarded by the class of gentry with jealousy; among the middle classes of the towns it was universally disliked. Hence a new election, even under the old system, produced a House of Commons which carried the Bill by a large majority, and in which nearly all the English county members were reformers; and the House of Lords, in whom the real interest in favour of close boroughs resided, were forced to yield, when the inability of the King to turn out the Reform Ministry had been practically demonstrated, and he had been compelled to submit to the necessity of consenting to the creation of new Peers.

The Conservative party fought the battle against the Bill in both Houses of Parliament at every stage, and succeeded in producing many alterations in the measure; so that the third edition of the Bill, as it ultimately passed, differed in several material points from the original plan. By the Act which became law, 56 boroughs were disfranchised, 30 boroughs lost 1 member, and Weymouth was reduced to 2 members: of the seats thus liberated, 64 were assigned to English towns, 1 to a Welsh borough district, 62 to English counties, 5 to Scotland, and 5 to Ireland, the total number of seats remaining the same. By these transfers, and by the introduction of a uniform borough franchise, the borough representation of England was completely altered in its character. But in Scotland and Ireland the Reform Act produced a still greater change; it gave to those parts of the United Kingdom a real representation in the Imperial Legislature, which they had never up to that time possessed. The entire representation of Scotland, both counties and boroughs, was close; in Ireland the counties were indeed open, and it was through the county of Clare that Mr. O'Connell had forced a settlement of the Catholic Question; but the boroughs were in the hands of exclusive Protestant corporations, and through them the popular voice could not be heard. Altogether, when we consider the effect of the Reform legislation of 1832, we must perceive that it did for the House of Commons what the Revolution of 1688 did for the Crown; it effected a final and constitutional settlement of a question which had previously been in a fluctuating and indeterminate state. Prior to 1688, the theory of our Con-

stitution was, that the Crown was limited, and that its powers were checked by the Houses of Parliament; but this theory was not always recognised by the King in practice. The Revolution of 1688 brought the theory and practice into harmony. Since that time the Crown has never attempted to govern without Parliament. Prior to 1832, the theory of our Constitution was that the House of Commons was a representation of the people in Parliament; but the right of electing representatives had become so restricted and capricious in its distribution, that the popular House often diverged widely from the people, and showed little or no sympathy with public opinion. The Reform code of 1832 settled this question, by giving the people an efficient and decisive voice in the election of their representatives. In this sense we consider the Reform Act of 1832 as a 'final measure'; it finally settled the question as to the popular character of the House of Commons, which was strenuously contested by the Conservative party at the time, and which has been acquiesced in by them ever since. Though the Reform Act did not draw an impassable line in the direction of popular progress; though it admitted of a future extension of popular franchises; it nevertheless established a definitive boundary against the encroachments of aristocratic power, and placed the real representation of the people on an immovable basis. The celebrated question asked by the Duke of Wellington, 'How is the King's Government to be carried on if the Bill passes?' which has since received a practical answer, indicates without concealment the real view of English government entertained by him and his party. They held that if the majority of the House of Commons consisted of persons, not nominated by great borough proprietors, but freely chosen by genuine popular election, the Government could not be carried on. They believed it to be necessary that a Government should repose upon an immovable phalanx of Members for close boroughs; and that the Members returned for open seats should be a minority, who would confine themselves to criticising the Government in their speeches, without being able to shake its stability by their votes. This theory, which was the esoteric doctrine of the Tory party, was finally demolished by the Reform Act. From that time, if a Government is to stand, it must stand by the support of a majority of Members returned to Parliament by a real popular election.

Since the passing of the Reform Act, the principal question affecting the representation of the people which has occupied Parliament has been that of the Ballot, or secret voting. The procedure for trying election petitions has been amended; the

poll for counties has been reduced to one day; two English boroughs have been disfranchised for corruption; the law relating to bribery and treating has been altered; the Irish franchise has been regulated; the property qualification has been abolished; but no extensive proposal for revising the Reform legislation of 1832 was made until the Session of 1852, when the Queen's Speech contained the following paragraph:—

‘It appears to me that this is a fitting time for calmly considering whether it may not be advisable to make such amendments in the Act of the late reign relating to the representation of the Commons in Parliament as may be deemed calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded.’

In accordance with this recommendation, Lord John Russell, then first Lord of the Treasury, introduced, on the 9th of February, a Bill to amend the representative system; but as his Government was soon afterwards dissolved, the Bill did not reach a second reading, or undergo discussion. In 1854, under the Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, the Queen's Speech contained an announcement that measures would be submitted to Parliament for the amendment of the laws relating to the representation of the Commons, and a Bill for this purpose was introduced by Lord John Russell, then leader of the House of Commons, on February 13th; but the Government, in conformity with the prevailing wish, desisted from proceeding with the Bill at the commencement of the war with Russia. Soon after the general election of 1857, Lord Palmerston, then First Minister, stated his intention of proposing a similar Bill in the ensuing Session; the attention of Parliament was called to the subject in the Queen's Speech for the Session of 1858; and Lord Palmerston's Government were prepared to fulfil their engagement, if they had remained in office until the end of the Session, although their views had not, at the time of their sudden resignation, been reduced into the form of a Bill. The priority necessarily given to the India Bill prevented Lord Palmerston from proposing a Reform Bill in the early part of the Session; and we may remark that subsequent events have fully justified the refusal of the late Government to postpone their measure, and the choice of the time made for the establishment of the Queen's direct sovereignty in India. We have adverted above to the declarations subsequently made by Lord Derby and his colleagues on this subject.

Looking, therefore, to the present position of the Reform question in Parliament, we perceive that the members of three successive Liberal Administrations have concurred in the pro-

priety of proposing a new Reform Bill as a Government measure; and that the existing Conservative Administration is about to adopt the same course of action. When the leading members of both parties have pledged themselves to the same principle, it may seem superfluous to discuss its policy; nevertheless we think it desirable to state our reasons for approving of the production at the present time, of a Government measure for amending the representative system as constituted by the Reform of 1832.

Since that Reform was proposed to Parliament, nearly a generation has passed away. It was the first extensive and systematic measure, for the amendment of our representative system, ever proposed to Parliament by a Ministry, with the assent of the Crown, and under circumstances likely to ensure its success. It was proposed by the first Whig Administration, which, with the exception of the short-lived Ministry of 1806, had been in office for nearly fifty years. It was proposed after the long legislative inaction caused by the French Revolution, the war, and the Tory dominion. It was the first measure proposed by the heralds of a new era, after the break-up of the old system. Although it established important principles,—though it has become a great constitutional landmark, and has finally settled questions as to the boundaries of aristocratic and democratic power, which were previously in a fluctuating state,—yet the time and mode of carrying the measure rendered it impossible that the details then agreed upon should not, after a certain time, demand revision. Moreover, although the Bill was hailed with delight by the general voice of the country, it came like a thunderclap upon those who were interested in maintaining the abuses of the close-borough system. Their indignation and resentment against the proposers of the reform were unbounded; their denunciations of its revolutionary tendency, their predictions of spoliation, confiscation, confusion, anarchy, national degradation and ruin, filled every London drawing-room, resounded in Parliament, and were echoed through the country by the ‘Quarterly Review,’ and by the rest of the Tory press. These passionate prophecies have been falsified by the event; experience has proved that the estimate of the probable effects of the Reform Bill, made at the time by the Conservative party, was utterly erroneous. This is now an admitted fact; the organs of that party confess (what is indeed incapable of denial) that their judgment of its tendency was mistaken; and we are now about to witness the spectacle of a Conservative Administration proposing an extension of that measure, which, when it was proposed, was loaded by the Conservatives with every vitu-

perative epithet in the language, and was resisted by the whole strength of their party. The furious and unreasoning violence of interested partisans naturally excited the honest fears of many timid well-meaning people, who were thus led to believe that some frightful convulsion was at hand. All this storm has long since been appeased; the very excitement of that great struggle has become a matter of history; the swords of that day are turned into ploughshares; Lord Macaulay, instead of pleading the cause of an unrepresented community before an excited House of Commons, is devoting his hours of silent study to the annals of his country; a new generation has grown up, who know the Birmingham Union and the Bristol riots only from books. The subject may therefore be now reconsidered with a calmness which was absent from the original discussions.

The passion of 1831 and 1832 was undoubtedly a great evil, but it was inevitable. The waters had long been unnaturally dammed back; when the barrier was removed, the stream, though it kept within its banks, was violently agitated, and the vessel of the state was tost about in the current. But now everything is tranquil; instead of an exasperated Conservative opposition charging Whig Ministers with a deliberate design of creating confusion and anarchy in order to retain their places, we shall have a Conservative Ministry tendering a Reform Bill to a Liberal opposition, who will not fail to accept with readiness any popular concession of a really beneficial tendency. The opponents of Reform, in 1831, complained that Parliament was called upon to legislate under circumstances which rendered cool deliberation impossible. The complaint was just, though it was necessarily disregarded; but the opponents of Reform, in 1859, will not be able to allege that fair discussion is impeded by popular excitement and impatience. On the other hand, the intense excitement of 1831 concentrated the whole energy of the country on the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, and gave an impulse which carried the nation straight to its mark. All minor differences of opinion became subordinate to the paramount object of carrying the Bill. When this high pressure of excitement is altogether wanting, differences of opinion assume a greater degree of importance: the mind of the country is more speculative but less resolved; every portion of such a question is open to debate, and the modes of dealing with it, which may be suggested, are infinitely numerous. Hence, the practical difficulty of carrying any given proposition is increased. Happily, we may add that not only has the general character and conduct of the House of Commons been such as

to preclude any popular impatience for its reform, but the healthy and active state of our manufactures and trade, and the tranquillity of our foreign relations, prevent the existence of any factitious motives for change. There is not at present any of that uneasy feeling, consequent on privation and distress, which seeks a remedy in any political innovation, provided that it departs widely from the existing order of things.

The calmness of the public mind with respect to the question of Reform, is further evidenced by the rational and philosophical tone of the contemporary publications bearing on the subject; such as those whose title is prefixed to this article. And recent experience has shown that all attempts to advance the progress of the question by intemperate language or extravagant proposals have met with no response from the nation.

It has been affirmed that our present representative system is a sham; that the existing House of Commons has failed to represent the opinions and feelings of the people, and that its legislative operations have been such as to show that its constitution needs reform. We maintain, on the other hand, that since 1832 our representative system has not been a sham; and that the legislation of the Reformed House has been more successful and more beneficial than even a sanguine friend to Reform could, in 1832, have reasonably anticipated. If its legislation had been mischievous, the opponents of Reform would have had good ground for arguing that the measure had failed. There is no decisive test for distinguishing between genuine and spurious representation. The number of voters is not alone sufficient to discriminate between the reality and the sham. If universal suffrage alone suffices to constitute real representation, the existing French Chamber is a reality. On this point therefore we can only oppose assertion to assertion, and can only declare our opinion to be that the present representative system is not a sham. That the existing House of Commons has reflected with fidelity the predominant opinions of the great body of the community, and particularly of the educated and intelligent classes, we hold to be a matter of fact, established by the evidence of general notoriety. We defy any person to produce an instance where the House of Commons, since 1832, has shown an undue disregard of public opinion. As to its legislative works during the last twenty-five years, they are attested by the statute-book, and cannot be denied. During that quarter of a century—no long period in the life of a nation—a large portion of our legislation has been revised and remodelled; there is not one of the great institu-

tions of the country which has not been amended, and some have undergone a fundamental change. We cannot undertake to make a complete enumeration of these legislative measures, but we will mention a sufficient number to show the successful activity of the House of Commons—the great moving power of reform—in its own proper department. Since 1832, the constitutions of the municipal corporations of England, Scotland, and Ireland have been re-organised on a new and popular footing. The dangerous abuses of the old English Poor Law have been removed, and a new system of administration established. A poor law, founded on a safe principle, has been introduced into Ireland; and the poor law of Scotland has been amended. A county police has been organised in Great Britain, and the borough police improved. A system of county lunatic asylums has been created in the three kingdoms, and placed under proper superintendence. The entire penal system has been recast; transportation to the colonies has been nearly abandoned, and penal servitude at home been introduced on a large scale; the inspection of gaols has been provided for. The labour of women and children in factories and mines has been placed under statutory regulations. A department of education has been created, and large annual Parliamentary grants have been made for the assistance of schools, both in Great Britain and in Ireland. Measures for the reform of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, constituting Commissions with extensive powers, have been agreed to; the Oxford Commission has completed its labours with success. The Established Church of Ireland has been subjected to extensive reforms, as respects its hierarchy and the appropriation of the revenues of the episcopal sees. In England, likewise, the revenues of bishops, deans, and chapters have been redistributed and reformed. A system of commutation of tithes has been introduced in England; also a civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages. Acts for facilitating the inclosure of waste lands, and the enfranchisement of copyholds, have been passed. Extensive reforms in the law, which we cannot particularise, have likewise been made. County Courts, with a cheap simple procedure, have been established over England; the Ecclesiastical Courts have been abolished, and the jurisdiction in divorce cases transferred from the Parliament to a regular Court; the mitigation and consolidation of the criminal law has been proceeded with; the forms of conveyancing and pleading have undergone great changes; the Irish Encumbered Estates Court has created a revolution in Irish landed property without producing any sense of insecurity, or

violating the sanctity of contracts. The measures relating to foreign and domestic trade are too numerous to be separately recounted; our entire tariff has been revised, and the Corn Laws have been repealed: the time-honoured code of Navigation Laws has likewise been swept away. The Usury Laws have been repealed; the issues of the Bank of England and of all country banks have been placed under regulation. The Private Bill legislation of the House of Commons has occupied much of its attention; public works of all kinds, including the railway system introduced since 1832, have been carefully scrutinized: and although this part of the labours of the House may not have been quite successful, the failure has been principally owing to the unwillingness of the public to entrust larger powers to the Executive Government. It would be a vain attempt to enumerate the useful projects of all kinds which have of late years come under the cognisance of the House. We may particularly mention steam communication with our own possessions, and with foreign countries, for which liberal grants have been made. The system of lighthouses and harbours of refuge has received attention. Our internal post-office system has been completely renovated, and its benefits have been rendered accessible to all classes, by the introduction of the penny post, and the cheap book post. Many important amendments have been introduced into our military and naval systems; our administrative system has undergone numerous reforms. Slavery has been abolished in our colonies: transportation to Australia has been discontinued; several colonies have received free constitutions, and the system of responsible Government has been introduced into those colonies which were fitted to receive it. For our Indian Empire, the principle of Fox's India Bill has been at last established; the Government of the Company has been abolished, and the direct authority of the Queen and her Ministers has been brought to bear on that great dependency. Now if all this miscellaneous legislation, extending over every branch of human affairs, and over the most remote quarters of the world, had been hasty and extemporaneous; if it had failed in its objects, and had been condemned by subsequent experience; it might be said with truth that the Reformed House of Commons had proved the Reform Act to have been a defective measure. But such is not the fact: its legislation was carefully prepared, under competent advice, and maturely considered: it has in general produced the effects intended by its authors, and its practical operation has stood the test of experience. We would refer

in particular to Ireland; whose social state has been completely renovated by the wholesome Imperial legislation of the last twenty-five years. Now when we compare the legislative results of the period from 1832 to the present time with those of the period from 1815 to 1832 — to say nothing of the long torpid period of the war — we cannot but think that the comparison is highly in favour of the Reformed House, and that the character of its legislation raises a presumption in favour of a further change conceived in the spirit of the Act of 1832. The success of the Reform of 1832, which we take to be an undeniable fact, seems to us, after an interval of twenty-seven years, and the great development of the country during that period, to afford an argument for again reviewing our representative system upon principles similar to those adopted at that time.

It is easy to say, with the Birmingham Reform Association, that there are some improvements in our institutions which remain to be effected; that there are still excise duties on paper and hops; that pauperism is not extinguished; that the national debt remains undiminished; that judges sometimes differ about the law; and that the question of National Education is unsettled. By such arguments as these any legislature may be proved to be ill constituted. We rather infer from the efficient manner in which the Reformed House has done its work, and from the generally beneficial character of its legislation, that a renewal of the process from which it received this wholesome impulse, if conducted with skill and discretion, will again be attended with the same satisfactory results. It is true that in the long list of remedial and beneficial measures which we have just quoted, and which we are entitled to regard as the progeny of the Reform Act of 1832, there is scarcely one — if indeed there be one — which has not had in its time to encounter and to surmount the resistance, the opposition, and the denunciations of the Tory party. Yet by an unparalleled change in the spirit or the policy of these very same men, the country is now asked to believe that *they* are the fittest persons to improve on the measures they so strenuously combated, and to complete the work they once described as mischievous or impracticable. Nay, they do not scruple to appropriate to their own purposes that ground, every inch of which was wrung from them by hard fighting, and to claim a mastery in the science of Reform which they have only learned by five and twenty years of incessant defeat.

Since 1832, the course of this nation has been one of continuous and rapid progress. Its social and economical state has

undergone extensive amelioration. The different classes of society are more firmly knit together. The wealth and political importance of the middle class — the keystone of the community — have made a steady growth. The untiring efforts of religious and philanthropic societies have strengthened the general feeling of humanity towards the less favoured portions of society, and have exercised a strong democratic and fraternising influence. Partly by voluntary efforts, and partly by public aid, popular education has been widely diffused. The influence of the cheap press has contributed to the spread of useful knowledge; and an undoubted advance in the intelligence of all ranks of society is observable. Among the working classes this advance has shown itself in the absence of machine-breaking and rick-burning, and generally in the abstinence from organised violence. Even in the rural districts of Ireland, though agrarian murders are still occasionally perpetrated, yet agrarian disturbances on a large scale, accompanied with a general intimidation and sense of insecurity, have not occurred for many years. It is our belief that no socialist or anarchical views are entertained by any large classes of our population, either in town or country, and that all alarmist reasonings founded upon that supposition are erroneous.

Entertaining these views—on grounds which, as we think, cannot be shaken — of the character of the Reform of 1832, of the subsequent legislation of the Reformed House, and of the circumstances which render an ulterior reform now advisable, we need scarcely say that we entirely dissent from the opinions on this subject promulgated by Mr. Disraeli in his speech at his re-election on the 8th of March last. The view put forward in that speech is that the Reform Act of 1832 was a ‘great party manœuvre’; that it was in substance a measure designed to perpetuate and consolidate the power of the Whigs; and that an ulterior reform, intended to remove this partial character of the measure, is needed, and ought to be produced by the present Government. Now, without going into the detail of the enactments in question, which effectually contradict this assertion, we would simply appeal to the history of the Reform Act, and to the manner in which it was forced successively upon each of the three branches of the Legislature, by the irresistible pressure of public opinion, as proving that it was no merely party measure. If ever there was a measure which deserves to be called popular and national, it was the Reform of 1832. It was undoubtedly opposed by the Tories, and in that sense was a party measure; but the Whigs had the country at their back. If the natural effect of an extension of the representative system, and of its establishment on a more

popular basis, was to increase the power of the Whig, and to diminish that of the Tory party, this result must have been owing to the fact, that Whig, and not Tory opinions, prevailed among the classes which were then enfranchised, and not to any partial character of the measure itself. It should be observed that the Reform Bill, though anti-aristocratic, was not simply democratic. It distributed power over a wider surface, which had previously been concentrated in a few hands; but it made the distribution upon various principles.

From the success of the Reform of 1832, from the prudence and justice by which we believe it to have been characterised, and from the subsequent development of the country, we draw the conclusion that the measure now needed is one which should be founded on the same principles, but should apply them to the existing state of things, and under the light of the experience which has been since acquired. We think, therefore, that any Bill which should seek to counteract the policy of the Act of 1832; which should treat it as a 'concoction of Whig jobs,' and attempt to stigmatize popular concessions as party tricks; which should seek to introduce changes of a merely Conservative and aristocratic character; and which should try, by perverted statistics, to add to the power of the landowners in the representation, and thus disturb the existing balance of interests, would be a step in the wrong direction, and ought to be instantly rejected. On the other hand, we think that the Reform Bill of 1859 ought, like that of 1831, to proceed upon the basis of what exists; that it ought not to treat our parliamentary and electoral constitution as a *tabula rasa* upon which a modern Abbé Sièyes is to inscribe a fancy picture of his own; that, like the Bills of 1852 and 1854, it ought to amend and expand, but not to create. In fact, there is far less reason for extensive and systematic innovation at present than there was in 1831. At that time it was necessary to expand the ground plan of the edifice in order to make it complete; but at present a really representative system exists in every part of the three kingdoms, and we are only called upon to supply defects, to remove excrescences, and to introduce those changes which the 'great innovator, Time,' has rendered expedient. Where the political and social state of a country is so bad as to be nearly hopeless, men of ardent and patriotic feelings may be justified in recurring to that most perilous of all remedies, a revolution in the form of Government. The rarity of the success of this experiment certainly does not encourage its repetition, except in an extreme case. But that in a country in the present condition of England, enjoying a constitutional system which has gradually been widening its basis and in-

creasing its solidity, whose prospects are all bright and hopeful, any sane man should wish to introduce a subversive measure of Reform, which should alarm all the proprietary classes, and perhaps, in its consequences, expose us to the risk of a sanguinary struggle for power, passes our comprehension. By the insecurity which would thus be created, the commercial, manufacturing, and trading classes — in whose dealings credit forms so important an element — would be sufferers even in a greater degree than the classes connected with the occupation and ownership of the land. In speaking of a subversive measure, we do not imply that any practical reformer is likely to make a proposal for effecting a fundamental change in the existing Constitution. By a subversive measure we mean such a measure as is designedly framed with the object of creating disunion between the three branches of the Legislature, and of giving the House of Commons such a character as would render its harmonious working, in the existing order of things, impossible.

Every free Government is founded on a system of compromises. The essence of a despotic Government is that it listens to no compromise, and knows no other standard than the will of the prince. Compromise in the eyes of a Louis XIV. or a Napoleon is weakness, humiliation, disgrace, infamy. If he cannot be master in all things he may as well abdicate. He cannot stoop to parley with his inferiors. But a representative system, proceeding upon a basis of recognised equality, is peculiarly the subject of compromise. It is a compromise between principles, the most important of which are Numbers, Property, Intelligence, and Locality. Each of these elements ought, as we think, to have its place in a wise and well-balanced representative system. None but a politician of fanatical and absolute ideas would seek to found a representative system exclusively upon any one principle. An aristocrat who should look exclusively to property or intelligence, a democrat who should look exclusively to numbers, would equally adopt an unpractical standard. Each would find, when the strength of his edifice came to be tried, that he had omitted elements in its construction which are essential to its solidity. It is by a due composition of these elements, in fitting proportions, according to the existing state of things, that a reform of our representative system ought to be now effected.

In the first place, it appears to us that the numerical basis of our representation, as it was fixed in 1832, may be enlarged with advantage. It was estimated that the Reform Act would add 500,000 to the then existing constituency: but at that time, it is to be borne in mind, some of the largest English towns

were unrepresented, and in Scotland no popular elective body was in existence. The increase of intelligence among the operatives of the larger towns, and their orderly habits, point to their admission to the franchise in far greater numbers than heretofore. The Bill of 1852 proposed to fix the household qualification for boroughs at 5*l.* rated value, and the county qualification at 20*l.* rated value. The Bill of 1854 proposed for boroughs a rated value of 6*l.* and for counties a rated value of 10*l.* It would be premature at present, before we are in possession of the plan of the Government, to offer any opinion upon the detailed arrangements of a Reform Bill; but we will remark that whatever reduction of the borough franchise may be adopted, it will make the largest proportionate additions in the large towns, where the existing constituency is numerous, and the smallest proportionate additions in the boroughs of moderate size, where the existing constituency is not numerous. The introduction of a 10*l.* household qualification in the counties will enfranchise all the unrepresented towns, by making the householders county voters. It will therefore tend, particularly in the more populous parts of the country, to deprive the county representation of its exclusively rural character. If at the same time, the number of county members is augmented, it will thus far be a qualified adoption of the principle of uniform Electoral Districts.

With respect to the representation of Property, we think that the most important change which has taken place in this country since 1832, is the growth of the monied classes, as compared with the classes deriving their income from the rent of land. The enormous expansion of our trade and manufactures — produced in great measure by the liberal legislation of the Reformed Parliament, and evidenced by the rapid advancement of the large towns — has created a greater increase of wealth among the commercial and manufacturing classes, than could be produced among the class of landowners by any improvements in agriculture. We think, therefore, that by the Reform of the present year the monied classes ought to obtain a larger share in the representation than they enjoy at present. With respect to the manufacturing classes, this change may easily be effected by giving additional members to the manufacturing towns. With respect to the commercial classes, and particularly to that large portion of them whose head-quarters is London, this object is not so easily effected. It was hoped that this class of persons would be elected by metropolitan boroughs; but this expectation has not been verified. At present it is principally through the smaller boroughs that wealthy merchants find their

way into Parliament. Hence we should look with jealousy upon any reform of our representative system which should simply have the effect of extinguishing borough seats and transferring the franchise to counties.* We have no wish to see the House of Commons composed exclusively of members for counties and for large towns. At present, if the comparison be fairly instituted, it will be found that the interests connected with land have, if not an undue, at all events a preponderating, share in the representation. Nothing can be more deceptive than the arguments drawn from a comparison of the county and borough representations in the aggregate. The result of this comparison is that small agricultural boroughs, such as Arundel, Ashburton, Midhurst, Wilton, or Wycombe, are classified with Manchester, Birmingham, Finsbury, and the Tower Hamlets. A considerable portion of the boroughs represent the same interest and the same social class as the counties. In order to determine the respective shares of the landed and monied interests in the representation, it is necessary to institute a comparison founded on wholly different principles, and if this comparison is fairly made, we will venture to affirm that the existing share of the land will appear too large when tried by the test of property. We make this statement without any reference to the representation of the landed interest by the House of Lords, and solely with reference to the House of Commons.

* By the Bill of 1854 it was proposed entirely to disfranchise nineteen boroughs (Schedule A.), and to deprive thirty-three boroughs of one member each (Schedule B.). The boroughs in Schedule A. were Andover, Arundel, Ashburton, Calne, Dartmouth, Evesham, Harwich, Honiton, Knaresborough, Lyme Regis, Marlborough, Midhurst, Northallerton, Reigate, Richmond, Thetford, Totnes, Wells, Wilton. Those in Schedule B. were Bodmin, Bridgnorth, Bridport, Buckingham, Chichester, Chippenham, Cirencester, Cokermonth, Devizes, Dorchester, Guildford, Hertford, Huntingdon, Leominster, Lewes, Ludlow, Lymington, Lichfield, Maldon, Malton, Great Marlow, Newport (Isle of Wight), Peterborough, Poole, Ripon, Stamford, Tamworth, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Tiverton, Weymouth, Windsor, Chipping Wycombe. By this disfranchisement 62 seats would be set free, and with four vacant seats there were 66 to be disposed of. These 66 seats were distributed as follows: viz., 46 to English counties; 1 additional member to each of 9 large towns; 1 member to each of the towns of Birkenhead, Staleybridge, and Burnley; 2 members to a metropolitan borough formed of Kensington and Chelsea; 2 members to the Inns of Court, and 1 to the London University, making altogether 63. The remaining 3 were to be added to the representation of Scotland.

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‘ Bill; the Whigs have had their turn; and the new Bill must
‘ be proposed either by the Tories or the Radicals. The
‘ country will not trust the Radicals, and therefore the task
‘ must devolve upon the Conservatives.’ Such is the compen-
dious reasoning by which Mr. Estcourt proposes to settle this
question. That the Conservative Ministry will in their ‘ turn ’
propose a Reform Bill seems to be certain; but although there
may be turns of ministries and parties, there will not, as we
believe, be any turn in the principles upon which a Reform
Bill is to be constructed. If the present Ministry, assuming
the Reform Act of 1832 as their basis, adapt its principles to
the alterations which the country has subsequently undergone,
and make themselves the successors of Lord Grey’s Ministry,
by copying its policy and procedure; if they carefully abandon
the traditionary maxims of their own party, and borrow
those of their opponents, we may look forward to a successful
termination of their legislative enterprise. What matters it
that the Conservatives opposed the Reform of 1832, and all the
legislative measures to which that reform has given birth? It
may be answered that since March last they have seen a new
light. After their assent to the Jew Bill and the abolition of
Property qualification, and, we may add, their adoption of the
India Bill, we may confidently expect that they will pro-
ceed without reference to their own previous opinions or those
of their party, and propose whatever they think will be ac-
ceptable to the majority of the House of Commons. We
may expect that Ministers will be as oblivious of the past,
as docile and submissive to opponents, and as intent on self-
preservation, as they were in last Session. We have likewise
been glad to observe that the Government, with a like disregard
of their consistency, have in the recent Indian declaration ex-
pressed their confidence in Lord Canning, and their approval
of his Oude proclamation.

The reception of the Government Reform Bill by the House of
Commons will, we feel satisfied, depend upon its character, and not
upon party considerations. The plan must be judged as a whole,
and by its general spirit and complexion; minor details may be
rectified in Committee; but a Government Bill, on a question
of this magnitude and importance, if read a second time, must
pass substantially in the form in which it is proposed. The
Conservative party cannot carry a Reform Bill without the con-
sent and assistance of the Opposition. It is true, that the
party in opposition is now experiencing the state of things
which Lord Bacon describes in his ‘ Essay on Faction: ’
‘ when one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining

‘subdivideth.’ The abandonment, by the Conservative party, of all their characteristic opinions, and their almost entire annihilation as a power in the State, has rendered the Liberals indifferent about party organisation. Nevertheless, they have the majority in the House of Commons; by combining and acting as a party, they can at any moment, if they think fit, cause their numbers to tell. They hold in their hands the fate of the Ministry and of its measures.

With the Liberal party, therefore, will lie the serious responsibility of either rejecting the Government Bill as inadequate, or accepting it as sufficient, to meet the exigencies of the case. We have indicated, in general terms, the conditions with which a Reform Bill for the year 1859 ought, in our judgment, to comply. If an attempt were made to change the true basis of political power in this country, either by a reactionary measure in favour of aristocratic influence, or by a rash and unprincipled design to neutralise the votes of the middle classes by the addition of large bodies of venal and dependent voters to the constituency, we are convinced that the question thus presented to Parliament and the nation, would excite contention and encounter opposition of the most formidable kind. It is not by a Tory Reform Bill, conceived in the spirit of Lord Derby’s Government of 1852, when he boasted that the main function of his Administration was ‘to stem the tide of democracy,’ that the question can be set at rest for another quarter of a century; nor is it by an ultra-radical Bill, from whatever quarter it may come, that this amendment of the national representation can be constitutionally effected. We confidently assert, on the contrary, that by whomsoever this measure may be framed and carried, and under whatever colours the Administration of the day may happen to sail, the principles on which alone a Reform Bill can be securely based are the principles of steady and deliberate progress with which the Whig party is identified.

If Lord Derby, by resuming the principles on which he acted as a Minister of the Crown in the Reform Administration of 1832, should successfully accomplish the task he is about to undertake, his success will only afford another proof of the truth of the remark, that it is the fate of the Tory party to be perpetually betrayed by its leaders into measures of public utility, directly opposed to the principles which those leaders have professed in opposition. Lord Derby’s followers already rank among their political trophies the proud distinction of having emancipated the Catholics, repealed the Corn Laws, and admitted the Jews to Parliament, by the hands

of Tory Ministers. They will perhaps add to their triumphs that of having expanded and enlarged the popular representation of the country. But though the hands are the hands of Esau, the voice is the voice of Jacob. Nor, indeed, would they have carried these important measures against their own adherents if the steady support of the Liberal party had not been given to the cause they have so tardily and reluctantly made their own. On the present occasion a similar result may be expected to ensue, if the Government Bill be of a nature to fulfil the just expectations of the country. Every one must be of opinion that this momentous question is now ripe for decision: that nothing is to be gained by protracting the contest: and that the public good requires a prompt and effectual solution; for from the moment that all parties have agreed to a reform of the representative basis of the legislature, the legislature in its existing shape has forfeited a portion of its moral authority in the country. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the question has been already three times postponed, with the approbation of Parliament; and that a further delay would be preferable to a tame acquiescence in an imperfect and unsatisfactory measure, which would only lay the foundation for a renewed agitation of the subject at an early period.

THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR
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FOR
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TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

FURLIUS SYRUS.

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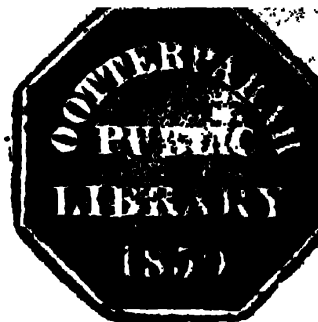
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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1859.

No. CCXXII.

- ART. I.—1. *The Results of the Census of Great Britain in 1851.* By EDWARD CHESHIRE. London: 1853.
2. *Report of Assistant Poor-law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture.* 1843.
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10. *The Laws of Life, with Special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls.* By ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, M.D. New York: 1858.

THERE was a time when continental visitors called England 'the hell of horses, the purgatory of servants, and the 'paradise of women,' from the two former having everything to do, and the latter nothing. The lapse of centuries has materially altered this aspect of affairs. The railways have annihilated the hardest-worked class of horses; improvements in the arts of life have relieved our servants of a great amount of toil, while on the whole elevating their condition; whereas

the women of the United Kingdom have been led forth from their paradise into a life of labour and care, more strongly resembling that of men than either the men or women of old times could have anticipated. Wearied as some of us are with the incessant repetition of the dreary story of spirit-broken governesses and starving needlewomen, we rarely obtain a glimpse of the full breadth of the area of female labour in Great Britain; and it requires the publication of the 'Results of the Census,' or some such exhibition of hard facts, to make us understand and feel that the conditions of female life have sustained as much alteration as the fortunes of other classes by the progress of civilisation. Sooner or later it must become known, in a more practical way than by the figures of the census returns, that a very large proportion of the women of England earn their own bread; and there is no saying how much good may be done, and how much misery may be saved, by a timely recognition of this simple truth.

The idea itself expressed by the form of words 'earning one's bread,' is somewhat modern,—except indeed in the primitive sense in which Adam was set to do it. In the modern sense of 'earning one's bread,' the position arose, for men first, and subsequently for women, after the creation of a middle class of society. The thing and the name have been recognised for some centuries in regard to men. Women have been more and more extensively involved in the thing, especially during the last half-century; but the name is new and strange; and the extent to which they work for a maintenance is a truth known scarcely to one in ten thousand of us. It is as well to know it; and timely attention to the fact is the best way of knowing it to practical purpose.

There is no reason to suppose that women's lives were less laborious than now, in the early days when they had no responsibility about their own maintenance. When there was no middle-class, and no shopping and marketing, the mere business of living was very hard work, both to men and women. They belonged to somebody, except the few who owned the rest; and the owners had perhaps as much on their hands as the dependents. The gentlewoman of ancient times had to overlook the preparation of every article of food, clothing and convenience, for a whole settlement, in days when the corn had to be grown, reaped, and dressed at home; and the wool and hemp the same; and all the materials of building, furnishing, and adorning. The low-born women had to grind the corn before they could make the bread; to spin the wool, and dye and weave it before they could make the clothes. Every pro-

cess was gone through on every estate. Every step of daily life was laborious; and all working men and women were slaves. Not a few of them were called so in the days when the Irish used to purchase their workpeople from England. 'The spindle side' of the house, as King Alfred called the gentlewomen, ascertained how many hands were necessary to do the women's work of the establishment; and the useless were got rid of, by one method or another, and chiefly by sale to Ireland, or the estate suffered. In those times, there was no such idea afloat as that of self-dependence for subsistence. The maintenance was a matter of course; and hard work a common necessity, everywhere outside of the convent.

The lot of the labourer seems to have been little lightened when the middle class began to grow, though more and more articles were to be had by purchase, and much toil and time were saved by new arts of life. It was a great matter when the mill saved the pounding of corn. It was a great matter when the first Flemish weavers came over with their looms, and spared the women a world of trouble about 'homespun.' Before that, the foreigners used to say that the English were scarcely anything but shepherds and wool producers. More wool than ever was wanted; but the saving of the women's time and labour led to an increased production of poultry and eggs, butter and cheese, and many other good things. Still, the work must have been as hard as any that is known now. The days of the small yeomen had come on; the trading-class was beginning to appear; and all domestic matters rested on the women as entirely in the farmhouse and cottage as in the castle or mansion. 'To winnow all manner of corn, to make malt, to wash, and to make hay, shear corn, and in time of need, help her husband to fill the muck-wain or dung-cart, drive the plough, to load hay, corn, and such other, to go to market and sell butter or pigs, fowls or corn,'—such was the duty of the farmer's wife, according to Fitzherbert, in the first English work on husbandry. The women had to make the straw or flock beds, and the chaff pillows, when that luxury replaced the log of wood. They had to spin, weave, and dye the coverlets, and all the fabrics worn by the household, not being wealthy enough to employ the Flemings as the higher orders did. All the measuring and administration of the corn and pulse was the women's business, and the preparation of the winter food; that is, the salting and drying of the lean cows which were killed in autumn because no way was known of keeping cattle alive till the spring grasses were ready. The women made the candles and the salt, and the soap; and the

mead from the beehives, and the cider from the orchard; and they spent no little time in collecting the finest inner bark in the forest, and the best herbs in the fields, to make bread of when corn and pulse failed. In all the intervals, the spinning was going on;—that art which has given a denomination to the unmarried women of Great Britain and the United States to this day. First, in keeping the cattle, sheep, and swine, the women plied the distaff, as we now see the Alpine girls plying it amidst their goats, and the Arab maidens near almost every well or moist *wady* in the desert; and then, when the spinning-wheel came in, its whirr was heard all over the land, all day and the last thing at night. ‘It stops a gap, and so must needs be,’ was the reason assigned by the men; and in every house or hovel, there stood the wheel for every woman to sit down to, in the intervals of other business.

The gentlewomen first exhibited the change wrought by the rise of a shop-keeping class. It gave them more time than English women ever had before. There were seasons when, in the absence of husband or father, they had to govern large households or small districts, — with millions of details to attend to; but even then, from the time when the miller ground the corn, and the vintner supplied the wine, and stuffs were to be had from the merchant, the mistress of an establishment had something of the leisure of a princess for doing what she had a fancy for; — and that was, for the most part, working tapestry. While the priest wrote the letters, and the steward kept the accounts and made the purchases, the lady could overlook the garden from her lattice, and the kitchen from the gallery, without much interruption to the grave labour of stitching the ‘siege of Troy, or the finding of Moses, in coloured wools or silks. These coloured silks bring us to a point of view whence we can get a glimpse of a change in the life of those times. When shops were so established an institution as that laws were made from year to year to regulate measures and weights, and exportation and importation, a rabid hatred sprang up against the Lombards who brought in silk ready for use, (‘deceitfully wrought’) so as to destroy the mystery of the silkwomen and spinners, ‘and all ‘such virtuous occupations of women.’ This was in 1455. Half a century later, the new prohibitions of small articles of wrought silk from abroad went by the name of enactments ‘for silk-women;’ and it seems as if there were really women who made ‘knit articles,’ girdles, cauls, nets, laces, &c., for profit, as well as for household use. While reading the pulpit censures aimed at the ladies’ dress, in those days when silk was a bewitching novelty, the ‘headdresses, horns, tails, and ornaments of

'pomp,' we can easily imagine that there was a demand 'for 'silkwomen' beyond what separate households could supply; and hence the rise of one of the earliest branches of female industry.

We can, at this moment, recall very few others capable of yielding a subsistence. In all ages and all nations there has been a tendency to commit medical and surgical practice to old women. It is so now, in the heart of Africa, and in the backwoods of America, and in the South-sea islands, and in remote parts of some islands which lie in a northern sea. One of the earliest figures in the lengthening series of female bread-winners is that of the doctress, with her simples and her ointments, and her secrets, and her skill in dressing wounds. By a similar mysterious adaptation, the doctress has been, in all times, the fortune-teller, or the witch, or at lowest the match-maker,—vocations by any of which a good deal of money has been obtainable from age to age. In some analogy with these is, or was, the vocation of cook,—a profitable one also. Sending her messes from her own fire, or carrying her own saucepans and spices and herbs to the rich neighbour's kitchen, or the lady's still-room, the skilful cook was more patron than client, in times when English banquets were emerging from utter barbarism. There seems to have been little besides, in the way of paid industry. The occasional foster-mother took the infant home to be reared. The sick nurse was either one of the household, or the doctress. Orphans, or the daughters of impoverished gentlemen, entered the household of some great lady, as maids-of-honour did those of queens: but, beyond this, it does not appear that women sustained themselves by any other industry than the kinds we have indicated.

In those days, therefore, the supposition was true which has now become false, and ought to be practically admitted to be false;—that every woman is supported (as the law supposes her to be represented) by her father, her brother, or her husband. In those days, unmarried women were rare; and convents were the refuge of celibacy. It was not only in royal families that children were betrothed in their cradles. In all ranks, parents made matches for their children at any age that suited the family convenience; and the hubbub that ensued, when a daughter refused to marry at her parents' bidding, shows what a disaster it was considered to have a woman in the house who would neither marry nor become a nun. There was, in such a state of society, no call for female industry, except within the establishment,—whether it were the mansion, the farm, the merchant's dwelling, or the cottage.

From that time (the uprising of a middle class) to this, the need and the supply of female industry have gone on increasing, and latterly at an unparalleled rate, while our ideas, our language, and our arrangements have not altered in any corresponding degree. We go on talking as if it were still true that every woman is, or ought to be, supported by father, brother, or husband: we are only beginning to think of the claim of all workers,—that their work should be paid for by its quality, and its place in the market, irrespective of the status of the worker:—we are only beginning to see that the time must come when such artificial depreciation must cease, under the great natural laws of society. We are (probably to a man) unaware of the amount of the business of life in England done by women; and if we do not attend to the fact in time, the knowledge will be forced upon us in some disadvantageous or disagreeable way. A social organisation framed for a community of which half stayed at home, while the other half went out to work, cannot answer the purposes of a society, of which a quarter remains at home while three-quarters go out to work. This seems to be clear enough. It does not follow that extensive changes in the law are needed; or that anybody is called upon to revolutionise his thoughts or his proceedings. The natural laws of society will do whatever has to be done, when once recognised and allowed to act. They will settle all considerable social points,—all the controversies of the labour-market, and the strifes about consideration and honour. All that we contend for at this moment is, that the case should be examined and admitted. Under a system like ours, in which the middle-class of society constitutes the main strength of the whole organisation, women have become industrial in the sense of being the supporters of themselves and of a large proportion of households: and their industrial production is rapidly on the increase. The census of 1851 affords some idea of how the matter stands. ‘While the female population has increased (between 1841 and 1851) in the ratio of 7 to 8, the number of women returned as engaged in independent industry has increased in the far greater ratio of 3 to 4.’ (*Industrial and Social Position of Women*, p. 219.) We are not very far from another census, which will afford the means of learning what that progress will have been in ten years. Meantime, we can hardly do better than prepare ourselves to estimate the next disclosure, by looking at the case as it stands to-day.

The first head of industry is always Agriculture. The Americans pride themselves on employing no women in agriculture, and are exceedingly scandalised at the sight of the

peasantry in continental countries tilling their ground in family concert—the women and girls working there with their husbands and brothers. It may be questioned whether the yeoman's wife in New England, and the back settler's daughters, have an easier life of it than the German peasant-woman, or the Devonshire labourer's wife, or Highland lassies at a shearing. Considering the maple sugar-making, the soap-boiling, the corn-husking, &c., we should doubt whether any women work harder than some who would on no account be permitted to handle a hoe or a rake. However that may be, there seems to be no doubt of agricultural labour being relished by English women, and of its being, on the whole, favourable to health and morality. Health is morality, to begin with; and, if the woman's labour improves the family diet, and subscribes to the clothing club, while bacon and new shirts would be out of the question from the husband's labour alone, the fact may be less deplorable than a well-to-do young republic may consider it. If the children are not at school, they are with their mother in the field; and this is better than the fate of the town child, whose mother is out at work. It is not, then, to be regretted that the proportion of women employed in agriculture seems increasing in England. No census affords the means of more than an approximate estimate of the numbers, because we have not yet been told (as we must hope to be in 1861), how many of the rural labouring class become domestic servants. In the 'Industrial and Social Position of Women', we find this statement:—

'Going through the necessary calculation, we are led to the following conclusions, viz., that, of the whole number of domestic servants, nearly two-thirds are born in rural parts; that the agricultural class, although little more than half as numerous as the classes engaged in trade, commerce, and manufacture, sends out nearly twice as many domestic servants; that of the women of town families engaging in independent industry, about one-third become domestic servants; and that, of the women of country families engaging in independent industry, six-sevenths become domestic servants. To a great extent, therefore, the women of the rural classes monopolise that situation both in town and in the country.' (P. 192.)

According to the census of 1841, there were then 66,329 women, above twenty years of age, employed in agriculture, without reckoning the widow-farmers (who are not few), or the farmers' wives. The late census gives 128,418 as the number so occupied, exclusive of the 'farmers' wives' and 'farmers' daughters,' who are specially, but perhaps not completely, returned as being 289,793. Of the independent female agri-

cultural labourers, about one-half, or above 64,000, are dairy women. Neither in America, nor anywhere else, would dairy work be objected to as a feminine employment, conducted within doors, as it is, and requiring feminine qualities for its management: yet it is harder work, and more injurious to health, than hoeing turnips or digging potatoes. 'No end of work' is the complaint; and it is not an unreasonable one. On a dairy-farm, the whole set of labours has to be gone through twice a day, nearly the whole year round; and any one of our readers who has seen the vessels on a Cheshire farm, the width of the tubs, the capacity of the ladles, the strength of the presses, and the size of the cheeses, will feel no surprise at hearing from the doctors that dairywomen constitute a special class of patients, for maladies arising from over-fatigue and insufficient rest. There is some difference between this mode of life and the common notion of the ease and charm of the dairymaid's existence, as it is seen in a corner of a Duchess's park, or on a little farm of three fields and a paddock. The professional dairywoman can usually do nothing else. She has been about the cows since she was tall enough to learn to milk, and her days are so filled up, that it is all she can do to keep her clothes in decent order. She drops asleep over the last stage of her work; and grows up ignorant of all other knowledge, and unskilled in all other arts. Such work as this ought at least to be paid as well as the equivalent work of men; indeed, in the dairy farms of the West of England the same labour of milking the kine is now very generally performed by men, and the Dorset milkmaid, tripping along with her pail, is, we fear, becoming a myth. But even in Cheshire the dairymaids receive, it appears, only from 8*l.* to 10*l.* a-year, with board and lodging. The superintendent of a large dairy is a salaried personage of some dignity, with two rooms, partial or entire diet, coal and candle, and wherewithal to keep a servant—50*l.* a year or more. But of the 64,000 dairywomen of Great Britain, scarcely any can secure a provision for the time when they can no longer lean over the cheese tub, or churn, or carry heavy weights.

Ireland has to be treated separately in all these surveys, from her having had no place in the census; and yet, in considering the female industry of the United Kingdom, that of Ireland is the most prominent, and commands the most surprise. It will be ever memorable that during the transition period in which Ireland passed over from destitution and despair to comfort and progress, the nation was mainly supported by the industry of the women. Our readers may remember the 'Cottage Dialogues' of Mrs. Leadbeater, — a homely book

which shows what rural life in Ireland was like before O'Connell broke up the good understanding formerly existing between the landlords and the peasantry. That book represented the ordinary life of the peasant women, spent in the field or the bog, and in managing the manure and the pig at home. In the succeeding period, and after the famine, the desire for the lowest-priced labour led to the employment of women and children; and the strange spectacle was then common of the women toiling on the farms or pastures, while the strong men were nursing the babies and the grannies at home. It was not only, nor chiefly, the agricultural labour however which fed the peasantry, before the men resumed their proper place. The Scotch merchants employed 400,000 women and girls in 'sewing,' or what English ladies call 'working' muslins. The Glasgow employers paid 90,000*l.* a week in wages for this Irish work. A good deal more was earned by other kinds of fine fabrics. On the whole, the change from outdoor labour to this seemed to be unfavourable to health in one direction, and 'favourable' in another, while the social benefit was indisputable. The sedentary employment was less wholesome than the laborious one; but the homes became cleaner and more comfortable. There is nothing in needlework, any more than in dairy-work, to make a woman a good housewife; and the Irish peasant woman had yet another step upwards to make, to constitute her the labourer's wife that we may hope to see her; but the pig no longer shared the cabin, and the children were not tumbling about in the midden all day. The family diet is of a higher order than the old potato; and, as one consequence, there is a stronger demand for dairywomen. The land which used to be sub-let for potato grounds is more and more devoted to the service of the butter-merchants, causing an expansion of female industry in that direction. Whenever cheese is added, there will be still more for Irishwomen to do. It is odd that the innkeepers in the most rural districts of that island have to get every ounce of their cheese from England. Even without this prominent kind of women's work, the female industry of Ireland must be very great. It is not less now than when it nearly supported the population, though the men have again taken the lead in the toils of life, and their reward.

In connexion with agricultural labour we should consider the rearers of poultry, pigs and lambs; the makers of cider and perry; and the bee-mistresses, who gain a living by their honey in many rural districts. The enormous importation of eggs from the continent, and especially from France, shows that there is more work for women yet in this direction: but the

reigning passion for poultry-yards must result in a great diffusion of the knowledge and skill which the upper classes are cultivating so diligently. In addition to the twenty thousand female farmers and land-owners of England, and the half-million and more of 'farmers' wives and daughters,' a separate class of poultry-women will soon be able to make a good subsistence out of eggs and chickens. Then there are the market-gardeners, — thousands of women, most admirably employed. There are the florists and nursery-gardeners, — not infrequently Quakers. It is a pretty sight, — a good nursery ground and set of conservatories, under the charge of a sensible Quakeress, whose shrewdness penetrates the whole management. There are the flax producers too, — not a small number, if we include the care of the crop, the pulling, steeping, beetling and dressing, and bringing to market; and, as 60,000 acres of Irish land are annually under flax, and as 500,000 acres would yield no more than is wanted; and as millions of pounds sterling (2,000,000*l.* in ten years) have been wasted in buying an impure seed from abroad when it might easily be obtained at home, we may conclude that flax-producing is, or might be, an extending branch of female industry. We may add that the demand for labour will increase, instead of diminishing, when the farmer consigns the preparation of the flax to establishments organised for the purpose, instead of insisting on doing it at home, and sinking in the market. At present, the women are in one place, poking in the ditch or pond at home, amidst an insufferable stench, and waiting on the weather for days or weeks; and then beetling with the old-fashioned instrument; while in another place they are about the same work in scutching-mills, to far greater advantage. The steeping, done without the stench of decay, and in a few hours or days in vats; and the dressing by patent machinery, are proper work for women, and will, no doubt, employ more and more of them, — especially as a great deal of seed is saved by the process. It is worth while to spend 170*l.* in labour to save 1,200*l.* in seed: and, as we spend 300,000*l.* in importing seed, the prospects of labour in the flax-producing department are well worthy of notice. When we have mentioned the itinerant classes of female agricultural labourers, — the hay-makers, reapers and binders, and the hop-pickers, we have reviewed, in a cursory way, the whole of that division of female industry.

On the whole, its prospects are good. The introduction of agricultural machinery does not at first please the Irish hay-maker, the Scotch reaper, the Berkshire bean-setter, or the Norfolk turnip-hoer: but neither did their grandfathers

like the threshing-machines in the days of Farmer George. Time and patience show that the results of that particular change are two, among others,—an increased demand for labour, and an elevation of the character of the employment,—two very good things in view for the scores of thousands of our country-women who are engaged in agricultural processes of one kind or another.

Next to those who draw commodities from the surface of the land should come those who draw commodities from its depths,—the women engaged in mining processes. We are happily spared the dismal chapter of coal-pit life which we must have presented a few years ago. It is true, the desire for an independent maintenance,—the popular craving for wages,—causes a good deal of evasion of the law; and women do get down into the pits in disguise, or by connivance; but the employment of women in coal-pits is no longer a recognised branch of industry among us. Who then are the 7000 women returned in the census under the head of Mines?

They are, no doubt, for the most part, the dressers of the ores in the Cornish and Welsh mines. The work is dirty, but not too laborious;—less laborious than the work which may perhaps be included under the same head,—the supplying porcelain clay from the same regions of the country. Travellers in Devonshire and Cornwall are familiar with the ugly scenery of hillsides where the turf is broken up, and the series of clay-pits is overflowing, and the plastered women are stirring the mess, or sifting and straining, or drying and moulding the refined clay. The mineral interest is, however, one of the smallest in the schedule of female industry; and it is likely to contract rather than expand,—except the light labour of sorting the ores.

Next to the produce of the land comes that of the waters. Here again, scores of thousands of women find employment (otherwise than as fishermen's wives and daughters) within our four seas. It is true the amount of fish-eating in our country by the lower classes of the population is inexplicably small. No one seems yet to have accounted for the neglect of, or prejudice against, a kind of food so excellent and so abundant. But the demand created by railway carriage, and by the removal of various restrictions, bids fair now to restore something like the fish-eating of the old Catholic days. A few years since, tons of good fish were buried in the sands of the coast because they could not be disposed of while they were fresh, though the price in the neighbouring districts was so high that fish came to be considered a delicacy for the rich. The ponds of old abbeyes and mansions had fallen into ruin; the river fish were dwindling in

number and quality; and the uncertainty of the great coast and deep sea fisheries became so extreme as to render that branch of commerce a mere lottery. Through all this, the fishwomen of all kinds stood their ground, with more or less difficulty. We do not mean only the sellers,—the celebrated Billingsgate fair, or the Musselburgh dames, and the Claddagh women. The shrill voices of the fishwomen all round the coast, and in all the ports, will for ever forbid their being forgotten when the independent industry of women is in question. They seem to be appointed to show how independent industrial women may be. A far larger number, however, are employed in the curing, and even in the catching of fish; and these held on through bad times and good times; but, it is supposed, in decreasing numbers till a new period set in. We need not describe the change wrought by the railway system, which scatters fresh fish all over the country, so that you may meet a man on the Yorkshire hills with a string of mackerel, or enjoying his haddock or fresh herring in the midst of a sporting county in the heart of England. The new arrangements for the protection of salmon, and for pisciculture, in imitation of the French practice, point to a steady growth of fish-eating at home; and the extension of our colonies, and of new settlements all over the globe ensures an increased demand for the staple of our great sea-fisheries. The pilchard fishery, confined (with pilchard-eating) to two counties and exportation to Italy, employs thousands of women. Jersey oysters alone employ 1000 women, and this may give us some idea of the amount of independent support afforded to women by our herring and cod fisheries (which last includes a variety of kindred sorts); the mackerel and oyster, and lobster fisheries, round our own coast,—to say nothing of the remote cod and turbot,—and the whale fisheries, in which the women take a part when the cargoes return. There are probably few of us who have not seen more of this direction of industry than of manufactures and commerce in which women are the labourers. In every seaside place we have seen the women and girls pushing their shrimping-nets through the little lagoons on the beach, or visiting the lobster traps at low water. In the Scotch islands, and on many an Irish promontory, we have seen the curing-houses where rows of women were at work in a way suggestive of Red Indian life, where the squaws sit cleaning their fish on the margin of Lakes Ontario or St. Clair. The further north we go in our own island the more we find the women habituated to marine industry, as well as to preparing its products for the markets. From Berwick to the Ork of Caithness the hardy race of men who fish the German Ocean are bred and

nurtured by a race of women as amphibious as themselves, and busy all the year round in mending nets, vending fish, or salting and curing the 'crans' of autumnal herrings. They swarm along the bleak coast of Aberdeen, and they give at some seasons the activity of a vast manufactory to the little harbours of Helmsdale and Wick. In the sea-lochs and western islands of Scotland, it is common for the girls to ply the oar, whether at ferries or in the fishery. The art which young ladies now practise on the still waters of their fathers' pleasure-grounds, as an exercise to open the chest, the daughters of England all along her coasts, and yet more those of Scotland, have practised as naturally as walking, all their lives. Here the memory of Grace Darling will rise in all hearts,—as it ought; and with it the protest she made against being singled out for fame, on account of an act which she declared to be very common. Notwithstanding that protest, some of us prize above most of our cabinet treasures the statuette from the Northumberland monument which represents her sleeping after her battle with wind and tide, with her oar at rest upon her arm. Yet more do we prize the immaterial monument raised to her in that crypt within us wherein great deeds are laid by for eternal remembrance. Not the less, but the more, for her protest against her own fame is she become the type of a class of our hardy countrywomen, who are good angels in storm and shipwreck. As long as her monument remains, it should be remembered that she received her renown with grief and remonstrance, 'because,' as she said, 'there was scarcely a girl along the coast who would not have done as she did.'

Before we leave the margin of the sea, we must just glance at the smaller occupations pursued there by women. The most considerable of these was once the gathering and burning of kelp: but chemical science has nearly put an end to that. There is still a great deal of raking and collecting going on. In some counties, half the fields are manured with small fish, and the offal of larger, and seaweeds and sand. Then there is the gathering of jet and amber, and various pebbles, and the polishing and working them. The present rage for studies of marine creatures must afford employment to many women who have the shrewdness to avail themselves of it. Then there are the netting women, who supply that part of the fishermen's gear; and the bathing women, where visitors congregate. We have no means of learning the numbers engaged in such a variety of seaside occupations, but they must be considerable.

As nearly two-thirds of our maid-servants are country-born, that class presents itself next for review. There are some

standing marvels in regard to the order; how it is that so few of them marry, and how they live in old age; both questions being pertinent to every inquiry into female industry.

The small proportion of marriages among domestic servants is no marvel if we consider that nearly half a million of our maid-servants have come from country places, where the proportion of the sexes was about equal, to towns where their numbers are added to the women's side, while a considerable percentage of the men are absent as soldiers, sailors, fishermen, commercial agents, &c. We find the following passage in 'The Industrial and Social Position of Women':—

'Take for illustration the town of Edinburgh. In 1851 there were in that town (including Leith)—

Men above the age of 20	-	-	47,049
Women	"	"	64,638

the proportion being as three to four. In the same town the number of the sexes below the age of 20 was about equal. Turn then to the number of domestic servants. Of these there were no less than 12,449 above the age of 20, besides nearly half that number below the age of 20. In other words, 1 out of every 5 women in Edinburgh above the age of 20 is a domestic servant, while in Great Britain, on the average, 1 in 10 only is so. Even this large number of domestic servants does not suffice to account for the large disproportion of the female sex in the town in question. It is partly attributable to the seaport of Leith; and the even distribution of wealth in such a town as Edinburgh, besides drawing from rural districts an unusually large proportion of domestic servants, draws also many women from the same districts to the trade of millinery, and to other assignable and unassignable occupations. But, that the main cause of the disproportion of the sexes in Edinburgh is referable to domestic service, may be seen by comparing the statistics of that town with those of its rival Glasgow. Glasgow is in many respects a wealthier town than Edinburgh, but not in the same sense. In Edinburgh a large section of the population stand above the working ranks, and wealth is distributed. In Glasgow riches tend to accumulate in the hands of a smaller number of individuals; wealth is not distributed; a larger section of the population fall within the working ranks, and fewer persons can afford to have domestic servants. Hence, although Glasgow is one of the most extensive shipping ports, with many of its population absent at sea (an agency, however, that is probably counterbalanced by the influx of adventurers), the sexes in that town counted, in 1851, as follows:—

Men above the age of 20	-	-	83,455
Women	"	"	100,574

the proportion being as six to seven, or thereby, in place of three to four, as in Edinburgh. In Glasgow, the number of female domestic servants above the age of 20 is 9635; less than one in ten of the

female population of the same age, less than the average of Great Britain, and about one-half the proportion obtaining in Edinburgh.' (Pp. 194-6.)

This explains a great deal of the celibacy of the class. In houses where men-servants are kept the housemaids and cooks marry; and so they do in country mansions, where they are considered good matches by the young labourers round; but in middle-class households, in towns, it is rather a remarkable circumstance when a servant marries from her place. This tends to establish the independence of female industry. The class is so large, and their earnings are so completely at their own disposal, that their industrial position is as determinate as that of men. The household, of which they form so useful and essential a part, becomes their home. Born for the most part in a cottage, and destined, if they marry, to struggle through married life in narrow circumstances and bitter privations, it is only in the houses of the middle and higher classes that they participate in those comforts and even luxuries of domestic life which capital, as well as labour, affords. There are few changes in the life of a woman more severe than that by which she transfers herself from the security and ease of domestic service to the precarious independence of married life; accordingly, this check operates with great power on the propensity to marriage among female domestic servants, and, as we have seen, a very large proportion of them do not marry at all. As for the other question, how they are supported when past work, there may be several answers, none of which are very cheering. Our readers must be aware that this is one of the points on which we have found it necessary to consult the female members of the family council. They, and the clergyman, and the physician, can, among them, afford some degree of satisfaction, though of a dismal quality. The physician says that, on the female side of lunatic asylums, the largest class, but one, of the insane are maids of all work (the other being governesses). The causes are obvious enough: want of sufficient sleep from late and early hours, unremitting fatigue and hurry, and, even more than these, anxiety about the future from the smallness of the wages. The 'general servant,' as the maid of all work is now genteelly called, is notoriously unfit for higher situations, from her inability to do anything well. She has to do everything 'somehow,' and therefore cannot be expected to excel in anything. At the same time, her wages are low, because it is understood that a servant of high qualification in any department would not be a maid of all work. Thus she has no prospect but of toiling on till she

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drops, having from that moment no other prospect than the workhouse. With this thought chafing at her heart, and her brain confused by her rising at five, after going to bed at an hour or two past midnight, she may easily pass into the asylum some years before she need otherwise have entered the workhouse. 'This is horrible!' some of our readers will exclaim, 'but it relates to only a small proportion of one out of many classes of maid-servants,—a very small class, probably.' Not so. Little as the fact is generally understood, the maids of all work constitute nearly half of the entire number of female domestics, as computed at the last census, including the large class of charwomen, who amount to nearly 54,000. We are apt to forget that all the households in the land have not each a cook and housemaid at least, and a nursemaid where there are children; but if we would consider the vast tradesman class, and the small manufacturers, and the superior artisans, we should not be surprised to find that in Great Britain (without Ireland) there are upwards of 400,000 maids of all work. Beginning upon five or six pounds wages in youth, they rarely rise beyond ten pounds. They have no time to take care of their clothes, which undergo excessive wear and tear, so that it is a wonder if there is anything left for the Savings' Bank at the year's end. Such is the aspect of one branch of independent industry in England.

How is it with the other classes of the sisterhood? What are their chances of escaping the workhouse?

The next in number to the 'general servants,' and rather more than one-eighth as many, are the charwomen, as we have just seen. In full practice, a charwoman makes from twenty to twenty-five pounds a year (at one shilling and sixpence a day, Sundays excepted), apart from her food. As 'advantages' of various kinds occur to occasional servants, she may obtain enough in that direction to provide her room and bed, and thus she can, if alone in the world, and at the head of her kind of service, lay by ten pounds a year: but the chances are much against it, and all the wives and widows, with children at home, must find it as much as they can do to live. Next in number, to our surprise, we find the housekeepers, who are scarcely short of 50,000. The wages of a housekeeper, in the proper sense of the term, are, we are assured, not less than forty or fifty pounds, provided she has nothing to do with cooking; but a 'cook and housekeeper' is a domestic officer of a lower grade. If, then, housekeepers wear out naturally, and are not heavily burdened, they may easily afford to purchase a small annuity (and, if a deferred annuity, a not very small one) from

their savings. The cooks come next; and in no class are the wages so various. A middle-class household, in which two servants are kept, pays the cook ten pounds, and from that point the wages rise (we are informed) to about forty pounds, when the man cook assumes the command of the kitchen fire. Of the 47,000 women cooks in our kitchens, the larger proportion receive from twelve to eighteen pounds a year. The housemaids are fewer than the cooks, their number being under 42,000. Their work is easier and lighter than that of any other class in domestic service, and it is somewhat less highly paid. We are told that they, for the most part, have twelve pounds, almost as many having ten pounds, and few rising above fourteen pounds. Among the nursemaids the lady's-maids must be included, unless they come in with the housemaids in the tables before us, which seems improbable. The nursemaids are set down as amounting to 21,000. It is a surprise to fond papas, who think that their children are not made of the same clay as other people's, that their personal attendant, the guardian of such treasures, should be paid no higher than the woman who sweeps the chambers and polishes the grates; but the truth is, the best nursemaids are young girls, properly looked after by the mamma. So think the children, and they are good judges. The nursery girl begins with her five or six pounds, and if, in course of years, she becomes the elderly head nurse in a dignified place, her wages rise to perhaps four times the amount. Indeed, we have recently heard of a case in which the head nurse, guardian no doubt of babies of price, receives in wages no less than forty pounds: but we trust, for the sake of the nurseries of England, that the case is a rare one, and that our indiscreet disclosure of the fact will not be followed by a general strike in that department. To make up the half million, there are the gate-keepers in country mansions (between three and four hundred), and the 20,000 inn-servants, whose receipts are not, for the most part, in the form of regular wages.

Now, how can half a million of women, accustomed to the comforts of our households, provide for the time when they must go and seek a home for themselves? Most of them belong to poor families whom they must assist; but if not, what can they save in the way of a provision? Two or three pounds a year is as much as the larger proportion can possibly spare. Where the choice is offered them of a money payment, to provide themselves with tea and beer (about two guineas a year for each), the two or three pounds may be made four or five; and this, we are assured, often happens. Still, with every

advantage of good health and quality, and consequent continuous service, and with all aids of economy, it is apparently impossible for domestic servants to secure for their latter days anything like the comforts they have been accustomed to from their youth upwards. The clergyman can tell how shockingly thankful they often are, in the cold and bitter season which closes their lives, for the bounty which passes through his hands. Our wives say they encounter old servants in every almshouse they visit. Too often we find that the most imbecile old nurses, the most infirm old charwomen, are the wrecks and ruins of the rosy cooks and tidy housemaids of the last generation. This ought not to be. We are not alone in the wonder we have felt all our lives at the exceedingly low rate at which we obtain such a benefit as having the business of living done for us. There must be a change. When society becomes aware of the amount of industrial achievement performed by women, the chief impediment to an equalisation of wages for equal work will be removed, and domestic servants will then require higher wages, or leave service. In fact, this change has already begun. Wages are rising to unprecedented sums, is the cry we hear from the domestic exchequer; they have probably increased in the last twenty-five years more rapidly than the price of any other branch of female emoluments; they are increasing more rapidly in towns than in the country, and most rapidly in London. Unhappily the taste for expensive dress increases in the same ratio, and a very large portion of these legitimate earnings is squandered to procure a smart bonnet, a silk dress, a mantilla, and a parasol for Sundays. It is certainly a moral duty of no slight obligation on masters and employers to endeavour to assist the members of their household to make a judicious use of their earnings. It is not difficult for them to do justice, without running the risk of putting too much money into unprepared hands. There are Savings' Banks and many kinds of Assurance societies where distant annuities may be secured on various terms.

Under the head of 'service' several kinds of independent industry occur which need only be pointed out: as sick and monthly nurses, matrons and nurses in asylums and hospitals; women who go out to brew, to cook, to wash, and to sew; the searchers at police and custom-house offices; matrons of gaols; light-house keepers; pew-openers; waiters at railway refreshment rooms, and the like. These lead us, by a natural transition, to the commercial directions of female industry, some of which partake of the character of service.

In looking over the census returns, the occupations mark

out the classes of women employed, the widows, wives, and maidens. The shopkeepers, like the farmers, are almost always the widows, who, as wives, assisted their husbands, and who now endeavour to keep up the business for the sake of the children. The same is the case with the 10,000 beershop keepers and victuallers, and the 9000 inn-keepers, and the 14,000 butchers and milk merchants, and the 8000 waggon or hack-carriage proprietors. Considerable as these numbers are, they would range higher if women were taught bookkeeping in a proper style. So many are seen to decline in fortune, or to marry again, or in other ways to hand over the business to men, while in France, and in the United States, the same class prosper at least as well as men, that inquiry is provoked into the cause of the English failure; and it is usually found that the weakness lies in the financial ignorance of the women. The weak point is in the multiplication table;—in plain old English, they are bad at ciphering. This leads us to consider the wives. The ‘shoemakers’ wives’ alone are nearly 94,000, their business being both shopkeeping and manufacturing. They serve ladies and children, and sell across the counter, and in the intervals do the lighter part of the shoemaking. Some other denominations are returned separately, as the 27,000 victuallers’ wives, and the 26,000 butcheresses; but it is enough to say here that the industrial wives, specially so returned, amounted in 1851 to nearly half a million. It would be a prodigious benefit to their households if they were qualified to manage the accounts. That there is no good reason why they are not is proved by the recent rise of a class of female accountants in London, as well as by the instances in many of our large towns of the counting-house desk behind the shop, or in the manufactory, being occupied by women. We have never heard a doubt suggested as to the capacity of women for arithmetic; on the contrary, the girls in the Irish National Schools equal or excel the boys in mental arithmetic; and in every good girls’ school of the middle-class there are some children who had rather cover their slates with sums for play than go for a walk. Elderly people remember, too, the old-fashioned sight, in unregenerate shops, of the wife or daughter, well-shawled, and in gloves with the finger-ends cut off, sitting from breakfast time till dinner, and from dinner till dusk, with the great books before her, and the pen always in hand; the light of a candle being observed till late on Saturday evenings, when the accounts of the week were posted up. During the first period of the new style of shopkeeping, the desk class of women seemed to

disappear; but they are evidently coming back again. And this fact leads us on to the employments of the single women.

The shopwomen (distinguished from shopkeepers) are surprisingly few. The figures seem scarcely credible. The shopkeepers being nearly 29,000, the shopwomen are only 1742. This fact will remind many people of the controversy about the dignity of shopmen, during and since the late war, when not only newspapers but a quarterly review attacked 'the men-milliners' who smirk behind the counters of our shops,' and bade them be off to the army, and leave women's work to women. Our impression, on the whole, was that the shopmen exhibited a much better case than could have been anticipated by careless observers, though we are far from denying that, as a class, they are jealous of the competition of women, and act in the spirit of that jealousy. One or two of the facts of the case ought to be remembered; as, for instance, that the light business of 'dandling tapes and 'ribbons,' and exhibiting ornaments, &c., is usually coupled with work requiring bodily strength. In the shop where ribbons are sold, silk and velvet dresses are sold also; and it is more than most women can do to 'dandle' rollers of silk and whole pieces of velvet, at intervals for twelve hours per day. Where tapes are sold, there is demand for those very ponderous articles,—sheetings and shirtings, and table linen. In jewellery shops, men must attend, and a sufficiency of them, to deter thieves before whom such temptations are spread. Again, it seems to be proved, unexpected as is the fact, that our wives discourage the employment of women behind the counter. It is not very long since we met with the following illustration in the columns of a newspaper:—

'A large, well attended draper's and mercer's shop, in a good situation, became, by a sort of accident, the property of a benevolent and sensible person, who saw in the accident the means of employing female labour in a suitable department. He had always cried shame on the exclusion of women from the counter, where they could surely measure ribbons and cambrics as well as men. The well-stocked shop was served by women, picked for their aptitude and experience, as well as their respectability. The old custom fell off, and the proprietor was assured that it was because there were only women behind the counter. It became necessary to introduce some shopmen, to reassure the ladies who could not trust the ability of their own sex. Two shopmen were introduced. It would not do. They were worked off their feet, while the shopwomen stood idle; for the ladies had no faith in female ability, even behind the counter.'

Such incidents as this disclose the true reasons of the shopwomen of Great Britain being (apart from the shopkeepers)

only 1742. Now that girls, however few, are trained with a view to their becoming accountants, either as a separate profession, or as managers of the family business, we may expect to see the difference, from one ten years to another, in the census returns. The growing contrast between the recent and the coming time is exhibited in certain anecdotes now before us; one in 'Women and Work,' and the other in a Scotch newspaper. Mrs. Bodichon says:—

'There are now many trades open to women with good training in bookkeeping and knowledge of some special branch of business, not difficult to acquire, if fathers would help their daughters as they help their sons. Two or three young women together might enter upon most shopkeeping businesses. But very few young women know enough arithmetic to keep accounts correctly.

'We remember seeing two young women who kept a shop in a country village, slaving to answer the perpetual tinkle-tinkle of the shop-bell, dealing out halfpennyworths of goodies, bacon, or candles, who, when asked how much they were paid yearly for the hard work of attending the shop, hardly understood the question, and only knew that *generally* they did not have to pay more for their goods than they sold them for, and got their food into the bargain, week by week. "But how do you make your other expenses out?" "By "letting lodgings," said they.' (*Women and Work*, p. 15.)

'In taking a ticket the other day at the Edinburgh station of the Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee Railway, we were pleasantly surprised on being waited upon by a blooming and bonnie lassie, who, along with an activity quite equal to, exhibited a politeness very rare in, railway clerks of the literally ruder sex. We observed that the department was entirely occupied by women, there being another giving out tickets, and a third telegraphing. This innovation thus far north is rather startling, but, instead of objecting to it, we think it highly commendable, and hope to see the employment of women in light occupations rapidly extended.' (*Scottish Press*, December, 1858.)

The mention of telegraphing in this passage reminds us of another example. The 'Times' gives the following account of the way in which it was enabled to supply London breakfast-tables with the speeches of Mr. Bright and others, on occasion of the Gibson and Bright festival at Manchester last December.

'It is only an act of justice to the Electric and International Telegraph Company, to mention the celerity and accuracy with which our report of the proceedings at Manchester on Friday night was transmitted to the "Times" office. The first portion of the report was received at the telegraph office at Manchester at 10.55 on Friday night, and the last at 1.25 on Saturday morning. It may be added that the whole report, occupying nearly six columns, was in type at a

quarter to 3 o'clock on Saturday morning, every word having been transmitted through the wire a distance of nearly 200 miles. Some of our readers may be surprised to hear that this report was transmitted *entirely by young girls*. An average speed of twenty-nine words per minute was obtained, principally on the printing instruments. The highest speed on the needles was thirty-nine words per minute. Four printing instruments and one needle were engaged, with one receiving clerk each, and two writers taking alternate sheets. Although young girls in general do not understand much of politics, there was hardly an error in the whole report.'

In the United States, the telegraphing is largely consigned to women; and with it the kindred art of the compositor. From what we have heard in various directions within a few years, we believe that the manipulation of type by women is found to be such an advantage here that a great deal of our printing is likely to be done by them henceforth. Much was said beforehand about the impossibility of their enduring the smells of the office: but the same thing used to be said of oil-painting; and in both cases it is a mistake. If printing is on the increase among women, much more so is painting in oils and on glass. Printing reminds us of book-binding, which affords an admirable occupation to women. One well-known firm was, some few years since, employing 200 young women, under careful arrangements for their moral welfare, technical improvement, and daily comfort. Such means of instruction were provided as prevented their domestic qualities from being spoiled by their regular business. For the sake of quiet and respectability, little was said where so much was done; but the few who saw the workrooms, and followed the processes, from the folding of the sheets to the highest ornamentation of the covers, are not likely to forget that spectacle of cheerful and prosperous industry.

Before quitting the commercial department of female industry, we must remark that in all countries, and at all times, the fitness of assigning to women what may be called the hospitable occupations has been admitted. In metropolitan hotels the presence and authority of a master may be requisite; but, all through the country, the image of a good landlady presents itself when rural inns are in question. Throughout our literature, the country landlady is a pleasant personage; and we hope it may be so for ages to come. She makes the angler welcome, and gives him a luxurious home during his summer holiday; and she cooks his fish as no other woman knows how to do. Her sister in the sporting county has a similar abode to offer in autumn, among stubble fields, and near some choice covers; and she is as admirable at game as her sister in fish.

A pleasant landlord is very well; but a widowed hostess is fully up to the duty, and seems rightfully to fill the place. And so it is where the scenery is the attraction. She is weatherwise for the advantage of her guests. She can tell them at what time of day they should see the waterfall with its rainbow or slanting sunbeam. She can fit up the boat comfortably for delicate ladies or dreaming poets. She puts up good luncheons for explorers and mountain climbers; and when they come home wearied and hungry, she has the bright little evening fire ready, and the tempting light supper, and the clean airy bedroom. The race of rural landladies ought never to die out; nor should woman's stake in institutions of hospitality ever be withdrawn.

We are told that boarding-house life will become more common than it has been. We have boarding-houses in London and Edinburgh, Liverpool, and Hull, and other towns, for foreigners accustomed to that mode of living at home. We see also, more and more, the tendency of our bachelors, young and old, to dine anywhere but at their lodgings. Some go to luxurious clubs; some to boarding-houses; some to chop-houses; and some to cooks' shops, of various grades. Bad cooking seems to be both cause and effect of the growing change. An ill-cooked dinner, repeated sufficiently often, sends the lodger elsewhere for his chief meal; and the want of daily practice on the lodger's dinner causes the landlady to lose any skill she might once have had. Thus is swelled the popular lamentation over the decay of the art of cookery among the working women of England, from the peasant's wife, who gives her household dry bread or watery potatoes, to the great lady of the first-class inn, who is as helpless among her own servants as if she had come from another planet.

This is a topic worth a pause;—if indeed it be a pause or interruption to speak of an art which would, any day, make the fortune of any working woman who was skilled in it. Some of us, it may be hoped, have wives who are not bent on inflicting on us, in our leisure hours, the kitchen troubles of our own or our neighbours' houses: yet every man of us is aware that one of the irksome cares of life at present is the difficulty of obtaining cooks who can send up wholesome meals to the nursery (a thing of superlative importance), or satisfy the most moderate tastes of the dining-room. We are constantly hearing that the art of domestic cookery is declining in this country, and almost gone. After some deep reflection, and comprehensive observation on this matter, we are disposed to think that there is a good deal of exaggeration in some directions, while the evil is plain enough in others. Count Rumford's

Essays prove that cottage cookery was, throughout many counties, as bad in the last century as it is now. The contrast which he pointed out between the prisoners of war who made a warm, savoury dinner, out of a red herring and bread and water, and the natives round their prisons who ate up the same value in the shape of a slice of dry bread, and whose wives and mothers insisted that it must come to the same thing because it cost the same, was as striking as any cottage picture of a skill-less meal that we can offer now. Our religious tracts and other sermonising books for the poor tell us, as imaginative grandmothers used to do, of the labourer's home, where the wife made a good stew every day, and there was always the hot juicy rasher or the Welsh rabbit for the good man's supper; but Count Rumford's account was the true one; and the people (of more ranks than one) laughed to scorn his news that the process of cooking could alter the actual nourishment conveyed by a given portion of food. But there can be no doubt that the middle class of our countrywomen are far less skilled in the knowledge and practice of cookery than their grandmothers, who were themselves apparently inferior to *their* grandmothers. We are not going into the old controversy about how much time and thought the cares of the store room and kitchen used to occupy, and how much they ought to occupy. It is enough that the gentlewomen of a former century could not be said to be inferior in sense, intelligence, and manners to those of our own time; and that we have therefore every reason to believe that our wives and sisters would be no worse for understanding the business of the kitchen. The learning and graces of some of the ancient ladies of England compel us to suppose that, in each age, such narrowness or shallowness as exists is owing to restrictions on intercourse, by war or other influences; and that if the opportunities of our day had been granted to our ancestors, the dames would have been as accomplished as ours are, without being worse cooks. Well! is the art to be lost? or will an effort be made to recover it?

Our wives complain that they never had an opportunity of learning it. Their mothers took no notice of their natural wishes (every girl has an innate longing, we are confident, for the household arts, if nature had but her way); and the consequence is—a heavy weight of care on the heart in marrying, and many an hour of keen mortification afterwards, in addition to the constant sense of inability and dependence, and dread of shame and tacit reproach. Such is the wife's confession, when she can bring herself to make a clean breast of it. But what can be done for the daughters? There used to be means of

instruction in cooking and in sewing, as there now are in drawing and music. Why is it not a branch of female industry now to give such instruction, instead of leaving those departments of knowledge a blank, while hundreds of governesses are starving or living on charity, in the workhouse or out of it? It may not be necessary or desirable for young ladies to spend so many hours in the still-room, among conserves and quackeries, as the damsels of three centuries ago, when kitchen cookery was gross and wholesale; and it might be better that they should learn from their mothers how to order and superintend the administration of food; but if their mothers have not the requisite knowledge, skill and ideas, it would be a great blessing to have a professional instructress within reach. By none, we fear, is such a training more needed than by the heads of boarding-houses in England. Our ordinary tables-d'hôte are almost as bad as the American, in regard to the cookery. How different are the German, where every lady is a trained cook! If the ladies of London complain that their husbands spend more and more time at the clubs, and take fewer meals at home; if boarding-house keepers find the business not a good one in England; if lodging-house keepers complain of the small gain of inmates who only sleep at home; let them all look to their consciences as to the table they offer, and say whether it is not reasonable that we should go for our dinner where we can have a good one for the same cost as a bad one.

A suggestion has been made and repeated, but not yet acted on, we believe, that lecturers should travel through the country with a portable kitchen, to give instruction in plain cookery, as improved by modern science and art, and especially by the discoveries of the lamented Soyer. Humble housewives were chiefly in the view of the adviser,—the wives and daughters of small tradesmen, artisans and cottagers, who might become convinced, by the evidence of their senses, of the economy and luxury of a good treatment of the commonest articles of food. It would be a great work if some educated woman would try the experiment. Its direct success is more than probable; and it might introduce into our towns a regular method of instruction in establishments where young women of almost every rank would thankfully become pupils. Is not this one of the undisclosed paths of industry in which there would be no interference by the jealousy of men?

If the complaint be well founded, that there are no good cooks to be had for middle-class households, why is such an evil permitted? If womankind has always had a faculty for that kind of achievement, how comes it to be in abeyance in

England at present? Whose fault is it, if we are ill-supplied with cooks? The only use of asking the question is to learn how to supply the need. One mischief, no doubt, is the wrong-headedness with which we have gone to work in our popular schools, in our zeal to elevate the labouring classes. A letter on our desk, — from a lady who can cook and sew, after having been an excellent governess before her marriage, — indicates the case. She says: —

‘I am in a state of periodical irritability on the government education schemes, owing to the visit of Mr. —, the inspector. His tastes are philological; and he has written what, I have no doubt, is an excellent grammar for those who are worthy of it; and he seems to think that grammar in its uttermost niceties is to be the great intellectual engine in training our poor children. I have not a word to say against it in the case of the teachers (always provided they have made the elementary steps safe and sure), but I am quite certain that the highest class have learned far more practical grammar from me, indirectly, by conversation and writing, than by the scientific analysis on which such stress is laid. Mr. — went through a sentence yesterday with girls who were made to point out predicate, extensions of predicate, classifying the latter, and other minutiae, when I had in my pocket papers from these very girls, with shameful spelling, and the most elementary agreements of subject and verb disregarded.’

Some people will think, as we do, that this way of teaching girls whose business is to lie in domestic service, or something lower, is like insanity. Let us see whether we can find better sense in other directions. In one, we light upon what we want in the point of cooking; and in another we find the cooking so treated as to fill us with hope and cheer.

First, Mrs. Austin quotes, in her useful little tract, the prospectus of a school, instituted by Miss Martineau of Bracondale near Norwich, for the education of a few girls of the shopkeeping and artisan class, apparently. Two old-fashioned adjoining houses are devoted to the object; and there is a good playground. For sixpence a week a sound practical education is given.

‘This is the skeleton of the scheme,’ Mrs. Austin says of the prospectus, ‘which differs in nothing from a common day school, save in the things taught, and, above all, in the direction given to the tastes and habits of the pupils. Without seeing it in operation, it is impossible to imagine the life and energy which Miss F. Martineau and her excellent assistants have infused into it. The lessons on objects, which I heard, those on arithmetic, and the writing, were excellent. The attention of the children never flagged. Their eyes were fixed with eager inquiry on the cheerful animated

face of their young mistress. But excellence in these branches is not rare. Miss Martineau, in a letter now before me, touches the true points of superiority in her school and its mistress: "I think myself very fortunate in having a mistress so capable of teaching the higher branches of knowledge, and yet so anxious to give an interest to all home and useful duties. The idea of *taking pleasure* in cutting out their own clothes, washing, &c., seems so new to the children."

'According to Miss F. Martineau's wise plan of feeling her way, and attempting nothing on a large scale till she has proved its success on a small one, the girls at present only wash for the mistress and the housekeeper, who is their instructress in this department.

'On the same principle of slow and cautious advance, cooking has, as yet, not been attempted. This will come hereafter. Every needful appliance is ready. Meantime, an important step in domestic education has been gained. Those of the girls who live at a distance bring their dinners. Their humble repast is set out and eaten with the nicest attention to cleanliness and propriety. I saw the table exactly as it had been left by the girls who had just dined. Not a thing was out of its place, nor was there a trace of untidiness or disorder. The service of the table is performed by the girls in turn. They clear away the dishes and plates, knives and forks, clean them, and deposit them in their places. I saw one at her work washing the earthen vessels, wiping, *not smearing* them, and arranging them, dry and bright, on pantry shelves of spotless whiteness. It was with peculiar satisfaction that I soon afterwards saw the same girl come into the school and teach a class of younger girls arithmetic.' (Pp. 18-20.)

By an introduction of a subsequent date, we learn that at first the cooking was a difficulty,—the parents preferring sending the children with cold food of greater cost to paying a small sum which would enable them to have a warm meal, with the benefit of learning to cook it. But the opposition was gradually giving way.

A letter to the 'Times' (January 29. 1858), from the Vicar of Sandbach, Cheshire, exhibits the next scene of progress;—a scene which contrasts remarkably with that of a learned philological inspector, hammering his abstractions into girls who had no idea how to discharge any one duty in life, and were certainly not at all likely to learn it from him.

'The results of the Sandbach National School kitchen for the sick and aged poor, are—that with the sum of 77*l.* 12*s.* 6½*d.*, derived chiefly from the offertory collections, 852 dinners of roast mutton, 307 of mutton chops, &c., making in all 2,104 meat dinners, with 176 puddings, and 102 quarts of gruel, were supplied to the village, simply by the adoption of a judicious and economical system of cookery.'

Mr. Armitstead adds —

‘It is a matter of thankfulness, though not of surprise, that a system so easy and simple of operation should have excited an amount of inquiry, personal and by letter, to an extent which leads to a well-grounded hope that in a few years a kitchen will form a necessary part of the National School of every large parish throughout the kingdom, a result no less beneficial to the sick poor than to the children themselves, thus early initiated in industrial employments well suited to their condition in after life.’

This topic leads us directly into the middle of the great question, — perhaps the most important of all the practical considerations connected with the subject of female industry; — the effect of manufacturing employment on the domestic qualities of women. We have no space here, — and it is no part of our present duty, — to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of factory life for our female population. We have to glance at the facts of the extent of that kind of occupation, and at the probabilities of its being reconciled with that domestic existence for which women are constituted, and to which they sooner or later return, after every experiment which the progress of civilisation inflicts, amidst its play of social changes.

The number of women employed in textile manufactures in 1851 were nearly 385,000. Under this head are included cotton and its fabrics, woollen, flax, silk, straw, lace, and articles in fur, hair and hemp, and the paper manufacture. In the mechanical arts which usually rank in the same class, such as metal-works and earthenware, there were nearly 40,000. With these two classes may be united the third, — the women engaged in providing and treating Dress; — making, mending, and washing articles of dress. These are set down as above half-a-million. The three amount to within a fraction of a million. If we could include the women of Ireland, so largely engaged in the linen, cambric, and muslin manufactures of Ulster, and in the embroidery of muslins (as we have already shown), and in lace-making and knitted goods, the number would be greatly increased. Now, what a section of the nation this is, — a million and a quarter of women above twenty, earning an independent subsistence by manufacturing industry! The condition, claims, and prospects of such a section of the population ought to be as important and interesting to us as those of any class of men in the community.

The three sorts of employment need not here be considered separately. In the case of textile manufactures, the greater part of the work is done in factories; but not a little is carried on at home, — looms being set up in the cottage, or in the

town lodging. In such old towns as Norwich, and in many a village in the eastern counties, the click and smack of the loom is heard in the narrow streets and over garden walls, as it is in the singular region of Spitalfields. A visitor will find the family engaged in winding, piecing and weaving, — father, mother, boys and girls all doing different parts of the work : and this is just the case of a large proportion of the Birmingham metal workers. They have a light room which they call a shop, where they work together at the articles which are to be completed by a certain time. So it is with the occupations which relate to dress. The lace-maker is an old-fashioned figure in English life, — sitting at her door with her pillow before her, and her fingers busy among the bobbins. So it is with the straw-platter, and the clear-starcher and mender, and the artificial-flower maker, and the embroiderer, and, as we may see in every street, with the dress-maker. The ‘Song of the ‘Shirt’ tells us that this is the way also with poor needlewomen. On the other hand, the factory, and gregarious occupation in many modes, is not now, as formerly, supposed to mean cotton or flax spinning. Silk, cotton, and flax mills may still be the representatives of the factory life of English women ; but genuine factory-life can be seen at Birmingham as truly as at Manchester or Leeds. Long ranges of upper apartments in Birmingham factories are occupied by women, sitting in rows, quiet, diligent and skilful, putting together the links of cob-web gold chains, or burnishing silver plate, or cutting and polishing screws (a manufacture mainly in their hands, because the machinery requires delicate manipulation), or sorting needles, or painting *papier-mâché* trays. Of the 40,000 female workers in metals and clay, the greater portion now are factory-women, as much as any Lancashire or Yorkshire spinners or weavers. As for the third class, not only are the Nottingham and Leicester lace-makers and hosiery weavers of the genuine manufacturing class, but the London dressmakers may be called so ; and the upholstresses too. They are collected, not always in large apartments alas ! but in considerable numbers, and under a scheme of division of labour, — which is, we suppose, on an extensive scale, the distinction between domestic and factory labour ; a distinction not interfered with by the distribution of portions of the work to different members of the family at home. Whatever may be the respective proportions of the factory and domestic workers who make up the million and a quarter of industrial women now under notice, it is a question of the deepest interest to us all, in every view, whether the factory-work is likely to increase or diminish in years to come.

At first sight, most of us are disposed to pronounce that the number will certainly increase. The demand for industry seems at present rather to exceed the supply,—generally speaking. We want more soldiers, more sailors, more agricultural labourers and rough workers, while emigration carries off tens of thousands every year. The rapid increase of labour-saving machinery indicates a want, rather than a superfluity, of hands; and so does the liberty to work which has been acquired by women within a few years. It is not very long since the Coventry men were as jealous and tyrannical about the women winding silks and weaving ribbons as they are still about their engraving watch plates; yet now many thousands of women are earning a subsistence in the ribbon and fringe manufacture. The increasing use of sewing-machines, at centres of dressmaking, tailoring, and blouse and shirt making, points in the same direction. In a community where a larger proportion of women remain unmarried than at any known period; where a greater number of women depend on their own industry for subsistence; where every pair of hands, moved by an intelligent head, is in request; and where improved machinery demands more and more of the skilled labour which women can supply, how can there be a doubt that the women will work more and more, and in aggregate ways, as combination becomes better understood and practised? Such is the first aspect of the case: but there are others. It will not be going out of our way to show by an example that factory-life is not everywhere the same; that it does not necessitate the evils of which too many of our manufacturing classes are examples. We conclude, as a matter of course in England, that a factory-girl cannot make her own clothes, cannot cook her father's dinner, cannot do the household marketing, or cleaning; is, in short, fit for nothing but the spinning or weaving, burnishing or sorting, in which her days are passed. If we can find good evidence that the occupation need not have these effects, it will be a great comfort. There are such evidences in abundance, and the facts work in opposite directions,—on the one hand, extending the inducements to factory labour for women, and, on the other, giving the women themselves a freer choice, and a stronger disposition to remain at home.

Twenty years ago, there were about 4000 women employed in the cotton-mills of Lowell, in Massachusetts. They worked seventy hours per week, earning their meals and from one to three dollars per week. They had built a church, and a Lyceum, and several boarding-houses; and in the winter they engaged the best lecturers in the state to instruct them in their Lyceum. These factory girls issued the periodical called the 'Lowell

'Offering,' which Mr. Knight reprinted in his series of Weekly Volumes, under the title of 'Mind among the Spindles.' Prefixed to that volume was a letter from Harriet Martineau, in which the factory life of these literary spinsters was described. They are the daughters and sisters of the yeomen of New England,—some aiming at disencumbering the farm, or educating a brother for the church, whilst others club their earnings to build a house in which to live under the sanction of some elderly aunt or widowed mother. Whole streets of pretty dwellings adorn the factory settlement; and books, music, and flowers within testify to the tastes of the young proprietors. The girls are well-dressed, week-days and Sundays; and the Savings' Bank exhibits their provident habits. At the date of this account, in 1834, there were 5000 work-people at Lowell, of whom 3800 were women and girls; and the deposits, after all the public and private edifices were paid for, amounted to 114,000 dollars.

In a recent publication there is a contrasting view of the same class, employed in a silk-mill, under one of those dozen, or twenty, or fifty, or hundreds of good men who are each called by all who know them 'the best employer in England.' It is cheering to find how many 'best' there are. The writer was evidently taken aback at first, confounded by the 'yelling' and screaming' of the women in the lane, which she supposed to mean some terrible accident, and astonished at the universal supposition that everybody was purely selfish, and bent upon cheating everybody else. The experiment of inducing a more womanly mode of life among the girls is described in a very interesting way in the tract called 'Experience of Factory Life,' which is in the list at the head of our article. The passage is too long for quotation; but it is to be hoped that our readers will turn to it, if they have any desire to see what the differences between the factory girls of Old and New England really are, and to ascertain whether any part of what is repulsive and lamentable here is owing to the occupation, or to any mode of life which it necessitates. We believe that the conclusion of the best observers will be that it is not the labour of the factory which hardens and brutalizes the minds of men or women, but the state of ignorance in which they enter upon a life of bustle and publicity. The Lowell factory girls are great reciters, and even writers, of poetry: the Sunday sermon is quite a pursuit to them,—as in puritan New England generally. Literature and music are the recreations of many of the factory girls of the mills. Now—can the chasm be bridged over which divides these conditions of factory life? Can the English fac-

any girl be made as womanly as other people? If so, what is the effect on the industrial aspect of affairs?

We find something like an answer to this in such accounts as we can obtain of the operation of evening schools on this class of people. There was a narrative published in 'Household Words,' we remember, some years ago, which afforded great encouragement. In that case, the girls were eager to learn to write, above everything, one explanation being 'Hur wants to write to hur chap,' who was gone to Australia; but, where it was possible to deceive themselves about their own ignorance, they did so. No girl could pretend to write when she did not know a letter; but whenever they could fancy themselves treated like children, they put on airs of resentment,—as when one, who had to spell *ox* and say what it meant, exclaimed 'As if everybody didn't know 'that a *hox* is a cow!' They fancied they could sew till a pull at the thread undid half a yard at a time. They were averse to bringing clothes to mend, but liked making new smart gowns. They were partly interested and partly offended at the instruction given about the human frame and its health—one, who was laced up into the shape and stiffness of a tree-stem, exclaiming that she had 'got only six-and-twenty whalebones.' Some of them had witnessed a sad misfortune,—the first and fatal quarrel of a married couple from the bride having rendered her husband's one white shirt unwearable, the first Sunday after their marriage, by starching it all over, 'as stiff as a church.' She had spent two days on the job: neither of them knew how to get the starch out: and the bridegroom cursed his spouse as a good-for-nothing slattern. Such cases were coming before them every day. The handsome shawl which the lover so admired on Sundays was found to be pawned on Monday mornings, and redeemed on Saturday nights. All clothes had to be bought ready-made, and all food prepared, as far as it could be. The bread and the ham,—a shilling plate at the time,—were obtained on credit at the huckster's shop; and, to obtain that credit, every article of every sort had to be bought at that miscellaneous shop. The wives could not boil potatoes, nor mend stockings, nor wash a garment, nor even scrub the floor. These deficiencies sent pupils—married women as well as single—to the evening school, eager to learn. What was the consequence? A vast complacency in carrying home a garment of their 'own making,' and a desperate set-to at arithmetic in its ordinary form. The sorters could reckon by grosses, miraculously; but had no notion of pounds, shillings and pence: and, sooner or later, the notion dawned that it might be *worth while* to be comfortable at home, and that their teachers meant to show them how to manage it.

At a more advanced period, came further discoveries. The wife who locked her door before daylight, and turned her back upon her home till dark, except on Sundays, obtained a good deal of money : for at that time women's factory wages had risen twenty-per-cent., and were still rising : but yet there was never any cash left over, and generally more or less debt at the huckster's shop. When able to keep accounts, even in the humblest way, the wife occasionally found a penny set down in the shilling column,—not necessarily from dishonesty, for the small shopkeepers themselves are often very ill-educated. This discovery led to inquiry and thought ; till the grand idea presented itself that it might answer better, even in regard to money, to stay at home than to work at the factory. No more plates of ham or light loaves ! no more expensive washing-bills, or heavy purchases of ready-made clothes, or fancy headdresses which cost nearly a week's wages ! No more hard potatoes, smoky fires, and tea smoked accordingly ! No more damp, half-grimy floors on Saturday nights ; nor husbands driven elsewhere in search of comfort ! If they earned twelve shillings a week less, they saved twelve shillings a week, and much of more valuable things that no money can buy.

Since those early attempts at schools for wives were instituted, great improvements in particular cases have become common : but there has not yet been that distinct step in civilisation which gives every woman in a manufacturing town the clear understanding that she has to choose between being an earner of money in a way which precludes her being a housewife, or being qualified for a housewife, at the expense of some of her power of earning, but with great power of saving her husband's earnings. We need not despair of seeing girls so educated as that they may be capable of both employments ; and this is well, as there can be no expectation that, within any time we can look forward to, the employment of women in factories will cease. If it is ever superseded, it will not be by the labour of men, but by new inventions : and in the interval, it will do no good to declaim, and exhort, and lament. We must take in hand the evils of the case, and improve its conditions. We must see whether we cannot make needlewomen and plain cooks of the little girls, and sensible housewives as they grow up. This done, we suspect that not even the best paid factory labour will throw them back to the point from which many of the class are now rising.

This leads us on to the class of manufacturing operations which can be carried on by women in their own homes. As the era of female industrialism has set in, indisputably and irreversibly,

it is of the utmost importance to contemplate this phase of it, and to assist it as far as possible:—which means to relieve it from oppression and hindrance. We need say nothing of the ordinary ‘woman’s work’ which may be done at home,—the needlework of various kinds; nor of the weaving which men have long ceased to oppose. But there are arts to which female faculties are particularly appropriate which women cannot practise on account of the monopolising spirit of the men. Take the watch-making business as an instance.

Watches are so dear in this country that labouring men, the working-classes generally, and young people of all but the wealthy orders, are placed at a disadvantage about the use and economy of time, from the absence of the means of measuring it. The dearness of watches is proved to be a gratuitous evil, imposed by the mistaken selfishness of a small class of the community. In this country 186,000 watches per annum are manufactured; and, as this goes a very little way towards supplying the demand, there is a large importation from Switzerland,—exceedingly profitable to somebody at our expense, as the price of the article is kept up by the artificial scarcity at home. Now,—who makes the watches that we import?—In the valleys of Switzerland, in the cottages on the uplands, in the wildest recesses that men can inhabit, as well as in the streets of the towns, there are women helping to make watches. We are told that 20,000 women are actually so employed. Why not? The metal in the inside of a watch costs about sixpence in its unwrought condition. By the application of the fine touch so eminently possessed by women, guided by their fine sight and observation, that sixpenny-worth of metal is so wrought and adjusted as to become worth several pounds. If there are 20,000 Swiss women at work at their own windows, with their children about them, and their husband’s dinner at the fire, making watches for Europe and America, why are there not 40,000 Englishwomen helping the family independence in the same way? Simply because the caste or guild of watchmakers will not permit it. We need not explain to our readers that the monopolists punish themselves, as well as the public, and tens of thousands of our countrywomen. In Switzerland, the greater the number of women so employed, the greater the number of men also. By simply meeting the demand for watches at home, and yet more by preparing a due supply for America and our own colonies, our watchmakers would open a new vein of employment and profit for themselves and their households. Instead of this, what do they do? One case which fell under our own know-

ledge, is this:—The wife of a respectable watchmaker wished, as did her husband, that she should work with him at his special division of the manufacture: but they dared not attempt it, under the eyes of the craft. She therefore engraved the ‘brass work,’—a commoner and easier kind of work. As soon as the fact was discovered, an outcry was raised, and intimidation was tried, to drive her from her occupation. She kept her husband steady to their household plan: but it was only by permitting their friends to set up a plea of apprenticeship, on the ground of her father having been seen to do that kind of work in her presence, that she obtained any peace and quiet. She brought up her two daughters to the business, while training them in housewifery as well. By this time we hope many daughters and sisters are seen, as we have seen a few, enamelling the faces of watches, polishing them, inscribing the hours, and conducting the nicest mysteries of the art. If it is true, as we are assured, and as may well be, that the parts of watches made by Swiss women are imported into this country, it seems impossible that our countrywomen should be long excluded from that province of industry. It seems incredible that some thousands of foreign women should be supported by making watches for us to buy dear, while thousands of needlewomen should be starving in London, for want of permission to supply us with cheaper watches. Mr. Bennett’s exertions seem to be making the case clear to an increasing number of the public; and the time cannot be far distant when the tyranny of a virtual guild will be overthrown, like that of so many actual guilds. As for the mode in which the change will be made,—we may obtain a hint from the Swiss. The watchmakers are an educated class; and the more highly they are educated the better are the watches they produce. The fact appears to be undisputed; and the lesson is sufficiently plain.

This last topic would naturally lead us to consider other arts, requiring a higher education, which women have found it difficult to get leave to practise: but we must first devote a few moments to the miserable class of poor needlewomen,—whether the makers of shirts and trowsers or of gowns and petticoats. The sempstresses are returned as nearly 61,000 at the time of the last census; and the milliners and dress-makers as nearly half a million.

The wretched dependents on the slop shops are suffering under the last struggles of their art with the improvements of the time. We see the sewing-machine coming into use. It will do great things; and it will bring in further methods which will extinguish the craft of the poor needlewoman. Already we hear

of more than one establishment in London which uses seventy of these machines, each of which dispatches as much work as fifteen pairs of hands; and of provincial shops, where the introduction of one machine has caused the dismissal of thirty women and girls. At first, it was supposed that only long rows of plain work could be done in this way; but now we hear of shirt-collars, gloves, and other delicate pieces of stitching being done, as well as saddlery and harness-making, and shoes. Both the needle and the awl are largely superseded by it; and it can be managed by even young children. Thus is the case of poor needlewomen to be solved! They can scarcely be worse off than at present; and if the change should reintroduce the art of genuine sewing, our countrywomen will have reason to rejoice. At present, we hear it said, that the art of sewing seems wellnigh lost in England, except among the ladies who have a taste for it, or who were trained by an unfashionable grandmother. The superiority of French *lingères* to English sempstresses is most remarkable, and proves that the handiwork of sewing is far better taught and practised in France than in England.

No machinery can supersede sewing altogether, though it may, and ought to, extinguish slop-making at fourpence a day: and whereas scarcely a good sempstress can now be obtained, for love or money, we may hope to witness so much restoration of the art as is needed for economy and neatness. It is not desirable to wear out eyes, and spend precious time in marking letters, with a fine needle and coloured thread, on a cambric handkerchief, when we are in possession of marking inks, and practised in drawing with a free hand: but we must have a release from the ragged edges, loose buttons, galling shirt-collars, and unravelled seams and corners which have come up as the quality of needlewomen has gone down. Let our wives undertake the case of the remnant of the poor sempstresses,—the last, we hope, of their sort. Many may be retained for the management of sewing-machines. Many may emigrate, under careful arrangements. The younger may possibly be even yet taught to sew properly, or to do something else that is useful; and all might, by a sufficient and well-concerted effort, be kept out of the hands of the middleman. That department of the industrial market is undergoing vital changes. If some thousands of suffering women are to see their loathed occupation extinguished, the ladies of England should see that the two or three millions of girls who are soon to be maintaining themselves by their industry shall be exercised in all household arts, (and the needle, not last nor least) as the proper foundation

of all others. In order to justify our estimate of the value of good needlework, and also to give pleasure to our readers, we cite a passage from a Report of one of the Inspectors of Schools, Rev. J. P. Norris, in the Privy Council Minutes for 1855.

‘It appears to me that girls’ schools have a great advantage over boys’ schools, in the fact that nearly half the day is spent in industrial work. Independently of the practical value of skill in needlework, it would be well worth while, for the sake of the effect on the girls’ characters, to occupy half their time at school in this way. No one can have marked the quiet domestic aspect of one of our better girls’ schools when arranged for needlework, the scrupulous cleanliness which their work necessitates, the continual interchange of kindly offices, and that most wholesome union, which a boys’ school seldom presents, of industry with repose, of a cheerful relaxation of mind, with the most careful and decorous order, without seeing at once that it is here rather than during the morning lessons that the character of the future woman is formed. When we add to these considerations the paramount importance of skill in needlework, picturing to ourselves the contrast that a few short years will show between the slattern, in her cheap tawdry shop-finery, and the white-aproned tidy housewife, with her knitting in her hands, or a shirt for her husband in her lap, we shall, I think, be more than ever anxious that this most valuable department of schoolwork should not be neglected. It has often occurred to me that one serious objection to mixed schools is the great probability of the needlework being slighted. The girls, thus brought into competition with the boys, regret the time spent away from their books. And, besides, the afternoon sempstress will appear to disadvantage when compared with the more intellectual morning teacher; her authority will come to be slighted, and the discipline will be impaired. I have often found that in these schools the girls get a notion that the needlework is of little or no consequence; and, with few exceptions, all the schools that produce the best needlewomen in my district are separate girls’ schools.’ (Pp. 480, 481.)

To return to the difficulties created by the jealousy of men in regard to the industrial independence of women:—it shows itself with every step gained in civilisation; and its immediate effect is to pauperise a large number of women who are willing to work for their bread; and, we need not add, to condemn to perdition many more who have no choice left but between starvation and vice. The jealousy which keeps Coventry women from the employment of engraving the brass work of a watch, and from pasting patterns of floss-silk upon cards, for trade purposes, long kept the doors of the School of Design in London closed against female pupils, and renders it still almost impossible for an Englishwoman to qualify herself for treating the diseases of women and children. The same jealousy cost many

lives in the late war, by delaying the reception of the nurses into the hospitals in the East, and by restricting their action when there. In the Staffordshire potteries women are largely employed in painting porcelain,—an art which they are better qualified to practise than men. It will hardly be credited, but we can vouch for the fact, that such is the jealousy of the men that they compel the women *to paint without a rest for the hand*, and the masters are obliged by their own workmen to sanction this absurd act of injustice.

The immediate and obvious consequence is, that women who must earn their bread are compelled to do it by one of two methods,—by the needle or by becoming educators. Often and emphatically as this has been said, we must say it again in this place; but we need not go into the description either of the miseries of needlewomen or of the tremendous mischief done by driving shoals of incompetent persons into the ranks of educators. Good and qualified governesses are as sensible of the evil as the employing class; and they are perhaps as keenly afflicted by it. The only certain remedy is to leave open every possible way to employments of the most various kinds that are suitable to the abilities of women. The merely incompetent instructress would never have placed herself in a position so painful and precarious if a way had been open to support herself by something that she could do better. The injury to the qualified governesses is cruel. The reputation of the whole class suffers by the faults of its lowest members; the emolument is depressed, first by the low average quality of the work done, and again by the crowded condition of that field of labour. The wretched condition of many of these unfortunate persons can hardly be exaggerated. We find under our eyes the following passage in one of the Reports of the ‘Governesses’ Benevolent Institution’:—

‘On a recent occasion, there were one hundred and twenty candidates for three annuities of twenty pounds each. One hundred and twenty ladies, many reared in affluence, and all accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of at least our middle ranks—all seeking an annuity of twenty pounds! Of these, ninety-nine were unmarried; and, out of this number, fourteen had incomes of, or above, twenty pounds (eleven of which were derived from public institutions or private benevolence, and *three* from their own savings); twenty-three had incomes varying from one pound to seventeen pounds; and eighty-three had absolutely *nothing*. It will be recollected that all these ladies are above fifty years of age; and, of the utterly destitute, forty-nine were above sixty.’

One way out of the desperate position is obvious and open. It is now a recognised truth that education is an art requiring

instruction and training, as much as the function of the divine, the physician, and the lawyer; and the unprepared are cast out, more and more every day. The immediate misery thus caused is dreadful. It is that of the hand-loom weavers, and the slop-makers, with the aggravation that the sufferers are, generally speaking, gentlewomen by birth, and universally accustomed to the comforts, and many of the luxuries, of life. It would open a dismal chapter to show how many of them have reversed the old rule of woman's destiny,—that of being supported by father, brother or husband,—having given all their earnings to pay a father's debts, to sustain an idle or struggling brother's professional appearance, or to indulge the vices, or to neutralise the shiftlessness, of a husband. Facts seem to show that the proportion of governesses who have the advantage and use of their own earnings is very small. Instead of such just and pleasant results of their industry as a small independence at a time of life when some power of gratuitous usefulness and of enjoyment of ease is left, we read, till sheer pain of heart stops us, of the cases which come before the Governesses' Institution :—old age, or impaired health in middle age, amidst perfect destitution; failing sight, paralysed limbs, over-wrought brain, and no resource or prospect whatever; though (or because) the sufferers have supported orphans, saved a father from bankruptcy, educated brothers, or kept infirm and helpless relatives off the rates. We need not go on. The evil is plain enough. The remedies seem to be equally clear;—to sustain and improve the modern tests of the quality of educators; and to open broad and new ways for the industrial exertions of women; or at least to take care that such as open naturally are not arbitrarily closed.

The function of industry which might be supposed to be always standing wide for women is not in fact so,—the nursing function in all its directions, in private dwellings, in work-houses, in hospitals and in lunatic asylums, where it is at least as much wanted as anywhere else. We shall not argue it, or plead for it here. Florence Nightingale and her disciples have inaugurated a new period in the history of working-women, and the manifest destiny of the nursing class will fulfil itself.

There may be more difficulty about the kindred function,—that of the physician and surgeon: but it cannot long be a difficulty. The jealousy of the medical profession is, to be sure, proverbial: but it is not universal. From our youth up, some of us have known how certain of the wisest and most appreciated of physicians have insisted that the health of women and their children will never be guarded as it ought to be till it is put

under the charge of physicians of their own sex. The moral and emotional considerations involved in this matter need no discussion. What has been done in the most advanced of the United States of America, where social conditions most nearly resemble those of England, shows what will be done here, and very soon. Some of the medical colleges have, after long opposition, or protracted deliberation, admitted ladies as students, and have conferred degrees; so that several of the cities have the blessing of highly qualified female physicians. The thing could not have been done without the sanction and practical encouragement of some of the first professional men in the community. That sanction and encouragement have been freely rendered, and are still continued, so that there is now a history of the change to be told. There are charters and grants of money by state legislatures for dispensaries, and medical colleges, and attendant hospitals, for the training and practice of female physicians, an increasing number of whom are established in the great cities from year to year. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, whose excellent work on the 'Laws of Health' is one of the list which heads this article, led the way; and by the influence of her high character, attainments, and success, she has conquered prejudice, and established the enterprise. In our country, more time will, no doubt, be required. Prejudices are stronger; the capabilities of women are less tested and understood; and social service is not so earnest as in the younger country: but, if English physicians of two generations ago desired and foretold the change, it is for us to reckon confidently on it. In the branch of practice too much encroached upon by ignorant poor women, a few desultory efforts have been made, with no other success than preparing the way for more. Mrs. Hockley was a professional accoucheur for many years, and in excellent reputation. Dr. Spencer, of Bristol, educated his daughter for the same office; but the prejudice was too strong for her endurance, and she entered the ranks of governesses, where her honour and success indicated what her career as a physician might have been. The institution of the medical profession as a career for women in any one country facilitates its opening every where else; and we have no doubt whatever of the approaching conversion or supersession of such opponents as would deny the means of special training to educated women who demand it.

There remain the classes which speak so well for themselves as to leave others little to say;—the artists and authors. Here nature indicates the path of action; and all that we are practically concerned with is that her behests are not disobeyed,—her guidance not perverted,—her elect not oppressed, through our

mismanagement. A Jenny Lind cannot be stopped in her singing, nor a Siddons in her dramatic career, nor a Currer Bell in her authorship, by any opposition of fortune: but none of us can tell how many women of less force and lower genius may have been kept useless and rendered unhappy, to our misfortune as much as their own. We have adverted to the opposition made to opening Schools of Design to female students. We must permit no more obstruction of that kind, but rather supply the educational links that are wanted, if we would render the powers and the industry of women available to the welfare of society. For one instance;—it is a good thing to admit students freely to Schools of Design, and to train them there: and it is a good thing that manufacturers of textile and metal productions employ women at rising wages, in proportion to their qualifications. But there is a chasm between the training and the work which requires bridging. The greater part of the higher order of designs are practically unavailable, for want of knowledge on the part of the designer of the conditions of the particular manufacture in question. The economic possibility and aptitude are not studied; and hence, the manufacturers say, an enormous waste of thought, skill, and industry. This want supplied, a field of industry practically boundless would be opened to female artists, as well as artisans; and it would be an enlightened policy to look to this, while the whole world seems to be opening its ports to our productions.

It seems not very long ago that the occupation of the Taylor family, of Ongar, was regarded as very strange. The delightful Jane Taylor of Ongar and her sisters paid their share of the family expenses by engraving. Steel engravings were not then in very great demand; yet those young women were incessantly at work,—so as to be abundantly weary of it,—as Jane's letters plainly show. For a quarter of a century past, many hundreds of young women, we are assured, have supported themselves by wood engraving, for which there is now a demand which no jealousy in the stronger sex can intercept. The effort to exclude the women *was* made, in this as in other branches of art; but the interests of publishers and the public were more than a match for it. One of the most accomplished 'hands' in this elegant branch of art has built herself a country house with the proceeds of her chisel; and will no doubt furnish it by those of her admirable paintings on glass.

Strangely enough, the Report before us lumps together the female artists, authors, and teachers, so that we have no means of knowing the numbers of each. They are set down collectively at 64,336. The artists have an unlimited field before them;

and the annual exhibition of the works of female artists proves the disposition to occupy it. The contributors have it now in their power to ascertain whether there is any other than an educational barrier in the way of their attainment of excellence in painting and sculpture. Lord Lyndhurst said the other day, in stating to the House of Lords the claim which the Royal Academy of Arts undoubtedly has to the respect and gratitude of the public, that all Her Majesty's subjects have a right to the gratuitous instruction afforded by the first artists in the country to the students who attend its classes, on the simple condition of good moral character and a competent knowledge of elementary drawing. But women are not at present included in this our principal National School of Arts, though, from the use they make of the National Gallery, no class of students would derive greater advantage from it. This deficiency should be remedied. Photography has annihilated the secondary class of miniature-painting, which a considerable number of female artists practised with success. But photography itself has opened an enlarged field to their industry, both in the operations of that art and in the application of painting to it.

We look to cultivated women also for the improvement of our national character as tasteful manufacturers. It is only the inferiority of our designs which prevents our taking the lead of the world in our silks, ribbons, artificial flowers, paper-hangings, carpets and furniture generally. Our Schools of Design were instituted to meet this deficiency: and they have made a beginning: but the greater part of the work remains to be done; and it is properly women's work. There is no barrier of jealousy in the case, for our manufacturers are eager to secure good designs from any quarter.

For the rest, the female artists can take very good care of themselves. Music will be listened to, if it is good; and sculpture and painting must assert their own merits. Miss Herschel sat unmolested in her brother's observatory, discovering comets; and Mrs. Somerville became a mathematician in a quiet way, and after her own fashion. Our countrywomen have the free command of the press; and they use it abundantly. Every woman who has force of character enough to conceive any rational enterprise of benevolence is sure to carry it through, after encountering more or less opposition. For a Catherine Monpeison, supported by her husband's companionship in a plague-stricken village two centuries ago, we have had a Mary Pickard doing exactly the same work, but alone, within our own century. Mrs. Fry in Newgate, Florence Nightingale and Mrs. Bracebridge at Scutari; Miss Dix reforming lunatic asylums; Sarah Pellatt

reclaiming the Californian gold-diggers from drink; Mary Carpenter among her young city Arabs: all these, and several more, are proofs that the field of action is open to women as well as men, when they find something for their hand to do, and do it with all their might.

Out of six millions of women above twenty years of age, in Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, and of course of the Colonies, no less than half are industrial in their mode of life. More than a third, more than two millions, are independent in their industry, are self-supporting, like men. The proceedings in the new Divorce Court, and in matrimonial cases before the police-magistrates, have caused a wide-spread astonishment at the amount of female industry they have disclosed. Almost every aggrieved wife who has sought protection, has proved that she has supported her household, and has acquired property by her effective exertions. It is probable that few of our readers have ever placed this great fact before their minds for contemplation and study: yet it is one which cannot safely be neglected or made light of. The penalty of such neglect or carelessness is an encroachment of pauperism at one end of the scale, and the most poisonous of vices at the other. How do we meet the conditions which stare us in the face? Mr. Norris's Report supplies us with the answer.

‘But I much fear the chief reason that more is not done in this direction, is the very general apathy that prevails in the matter of girls' education. Why is it that, where you find three or four good boys' schools, you will find barely one efficient girls' school? Why is it that in pamphlets, and speeches, and schemes of so-called national education, they are almost uniformly ignored? The reasons are twofold: a very large number of the people who are interested in the progress of education think of it only in connexion with our national wealth; they mean by education the extension of skill and knowledge as essential elements of productiveness, and, therefore, with them, girls' schooling is a matter of little or no moment. Another still larger class of persons, who, from native illiberality of mind, are opposed to all education, though ashamed to confess this generally, do not blush to own it with respect to girls. So that on either hand the girls' school is neglected. And what is the result? For want of good schools for girls three out of four of the girls in my district are sent to miserable private schools, where they have no religious instruction, no discipline, no industrial training; they are humoured in every sort of conceit, are called “Miss Smith” and “Miss Brown,” and go into service at fourteen or fifteen, skilled in crochet and worsted work, but unable to darn a hole or cut out a frock, hating household work, and longing to be milliners or ladies' maids. While this is called education, no wonder that people cry out that education is ruining our servants, and doing more harm than good! •

‘But there are other evil results arising from the neglect of girls’ education, far more serious than the want of good servants; — as the girl is, so will the woman be; as the woman is, so will the home be; and as the home is, such, for good or for evil, will be the character of our population. My belief is, that England will never secure the higher benefits expected to result from national education, until more attention is paid to girls’ schools. No amount of mere knowledge, religious or secular, given to boys, will secure them from drunkenness or crime in after life. It may be true that knowledge is power, but knowledge is not virtue. It is in vain for us to multiply the means of instruction, and then sit down and watch the criminal returns in daily expectation of seeing in them the results of our schooling. If we wish to arrest the growth of national vice, we must go to its real seminary, *the home*. Instead of that thriftless untidy woman who presides over it, driving her husband to the gin palace by the discomfort of his own house, and marring for life the temper and health of her own child by her own want of sense, we must train up one who will be a cleanly careful housewife, and a patient skilful mother. Until one or two generations have been improved, we must trust mainly to our schools to effect this change in the daughters of the working classes. We must multiply over the face of the country girls’ schools of a sensible and practical sort. The more enlightened women of England must come forward and take the matter into their own hands, and do for our girls what Mrs. Fry did for our prisons, what Miss Carpenter has done for our reformatories, what Miss Nightingale and Miss Stanley are doing for our hospitals.’ (*Minutes on Education*, 1855-6, pp. 482, 483.)

Further illustrations may be found in the group of good books with which we have prefaced these remarks. The volume on the ‘Industrial and Social Position of Women,’ and the Reports of the Census and the School Inspectors, are written by men; and the rest are even more worthy of attention as being by women, who best know their own case, though they must appeal to us to aid them in obtaining free scope for their industry. The tale is plain enough, — from whatever mouth it comes. So far from our countrywomen being all maintained, as a matter of course, by us ‘the breadwinners,’ three millions out of six of adult Englishwomen work for subsistence; and two out of the three in independence. With this new condition of affairs, new duties and new views must be accepted. Old obstructions must be removed; and the aim must be set before us, as a nation as well as in private life, to provide for the free development and full use of the powers of every member of the community. In other words, we must improve and extend education to the utmost; and then open a fair field to the powers and energies we have educated. This will secure our welfare, nationally and in our homes, to which few elements can contribute more vitally and more richly than the independent industry of our countrywomen.

ART. II.— *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa ; being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government in the years 1849—1855.* By Dr. HENRY BARTH. 5 vols. London: 1857-58.

AFRICA seems at last doomed to yield up her mysteries. The dark and impenetrable cloud which has hung since the origin of the world over regions inhabited by no inconsiderable portion of the human race, has been pierced by European and Christian enterprise. Those arid deserts have been crossed, those unknown rivers have been explored, those savage tribes have been visited, those unwritten languages have been examined ; and the result is, that all over this enormous continent population is scattered in wandering races or settled in primitive villages ; towns, whose very names are strange to our eyes, are found to contain within their mud walls communities as numerous as the towns of Europe ; agriculture of a simple character prevails ; caravans radiate from Kanó, the emporium of Central Africa ; and, in short, tracts which have been for ages the enigma and the despair of geographical science, begin to assume the form of known countries and to present to our observation many of the phenomena of social life, though in its most rude and barbarous shapes. The whole of Central Africa, from Bagirmi to the east as far as Timbúktu to the west, says Dr. Barth, abounds in fertile lands irrigated by large navigable rivers and central lakes, ornamented with timber, and producing, in unlimited abundance, grain, sugar, cotton, indigo, and other commodities of trade. The eastern branch of the Niger opens an uninterrupted navigable sheet of water for more than 600 miles into the heart of the country, while the western branch may be ascended for 350 miles from the coast. In fact, the remote and hitherto unapproachable interior of that compact continent is now closely pressed on all sides. We are in daily expectation of receiving very ample information respecting the populous country on the shores of the great inland sea of Eastern Africa, the very existence of which was hardly known fifteen years ago. Dr. Livingstone has related his expedition to the shores of Lake Ngami, and his extraordinary journey from Loanda to Quilimane ; but though Livingstone has had the good fortune to obtain a higher degree of popularity from his personal adventures, from his missionary character, and from the daring character of some of his speculations, we venture to

affirm that Dr. Heinrich Barth, whose portly volumes are now before us, will, in the end, be found to have rendered more real services to geographical science than his competitor in the lists of African discovery. He had, in fact, to encounter far greater perils amongst the fierce and fanatical tribes of North-western Africa, than those which surrounded Livingstone among the negro population of the South. He possesses in a high degree those scientific attainments which are essential to accurate observation, and in which Dr. Livingstone states himself, and sometimes shows himself, to be extremely deficient. He was fortunate enough to preserve his original journals, made day by day, whilst those of Livingstone were unfortunately lost. Livingstone's great discovery of the identity of the River Leeambye with the River Zambézi still rests upon very imperfect evidence; it has been impugned by some of the ablest African geographers in this country; and we suspend our judgment upon it, until the expedition now in progress shall have verified or disproved his statements and inferences. Barth's discovery of the River Bénouwé is, on the contrary, indisputable, and to him was reserved the glory of removing the obscurity of ages from the course of that great stream. His work has, moreover, throughout a character of strict precision to which Livingstone hardly lays claim; and though the abundance of his materials has occasionally led the worthy German into too great prolixity, we entertain no doubt that subsequent investigations will demonstrate that his discoveries are correct, and, as far as they extend, complete. We shall, therefore, proceed without further delay to lay a succinct account of them before our readers.

In 1849 Mr. Richardson, exercising in Malta the profession of a journalist, naturally directed his attention to the attempts said to be made by the French in Algeria to establish commercial relations with the interior. He was thus led to make an excursion to Ghadâmes and Ghât, which furnished him with the materials of a communication to the Foreign Office, respecting the trade of Northern Africa. This being well received, he felt encouraged to propose the prosecution of similar inquiries on a grander scale, and to throw himself wholly into the career of an African traveller. His offer to proceed to Bornu to negotiate a treaty of commerce was accepted, and then came the suggestion to add to the mission two members, whose business it should be to attend to the interests of science. The gentlemen selected for this purpose—and the influence of the Prussian minister, Chevalier Bunsen, was shown in the choice of Germans—were Dr. Barth, already known by a published narrative

of travels along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and Dr. Overweg.

These gentlemen reached Tripoli before the arrival of Mr. Richardson from Malta, and while the preparations were still far from being complete. They started therefore on a tour through the mountain ranges in the south, in order to inure themselves to the toils of the field, while rapidly surveying a district hitherto but imperfectly explored. These mountains, about fifty miles distant from the coast in their central and more elevated portion, and forming three groups, from W. to E., Yefren, Ghurian and Tarhona, represent, on a small scale, the physical aspect and character of all Barbary. Desolate and barren in general, they are nevertheless fringed and decorated at their feet in glens and valleys, along occasional streams and springs, with spots of most luxuriant fertility. Olives and saffron are here the chief objects of cultivation, but most of the fruits of Southern Europe are also to be found, mingled with those peculiar to the soil. It is here worthy of remark that when Strabo compares Northern Africa to a panther's skin, its cultivation lying in spots on a desert ground, he does not mean to speak, as his interpreters generally suppose, of the great desert or Sahara, respecting which he knew nothing, but of the maritime country within the Roman dominion. His information was derived, as he informs us, from Cneius Piso, who lived many years in the country thus described. Ruins of Roman edifices lie thickly strewed over this once populous country, but much more remarkable than these are the simple monuments closely resembling cromlechs and other Druidical structures, and now first discovered by Dr. Barth.

This mountainous or hilly country, of sand and limestone, was the Troglodytica or cave-country of ancient writers, and still at the present day a large portion of the indigenous or Berber population cling to their old habits and dwell in caves. It is surprising how it has escaped notice that the name of the mountains Yefren, being the plural of 'ifri,' a cave, is the Berber equivalent of Troglodytica. When it is considered that this very tract was *Africa* properly so called (the Ifrikiah of the Arabs), and the country of the Afri, it can hardly be doubted that in *ifri*, a cave, we have the origin of the name *Afer* and the general appellation of that quarter of the globe.

All being ready on the 2nd April, 1850, the expedition at length started from Tripoli, entering the hills southwards near the volcanic cone of Tekút. The streams from these hills are generally spent in irrigating the low grounds, but at times, after heavy rains, the furious torrents reach the sea and even

discolour it to some distance. The chief of these streams have a general course to E.N.E. — first, the Káam, the Cynips or Cyniphus of the ancients, which reaches the sea near Mesurata. Further south are the Wadies, Sofeyin and Zemzem, running parallel to the former, with basins much more extensive, but perhaps less frequently filled.

So far may be traced, though with constantly increasing rarity, a varied and often luxuriant vegetation. But just beyond the Wadi Zemzem, begins the Hammáda, an elevated tract, dreary and waterless, nearly 100 miles in breadth from north to south. Of the living things seen on this dismal waste, the most remarkable was a small green bird, that seemed to live by picking insects off the feet of the camels. On the 18th the caravan reached the southern edge of the Hammáda and commenced descending through rugged masses of blackened sandstone resembling basalt. Three days' march under the broken cliffs brought them down into the Wadi Shiyati, in which numerous villages with date-groves presented a grateful and even charming landscape to eyes long used to desolation. Crossing over to the deeper Wadi Gharbi, Dr. Barth visited the ruins of old Jerma, examined a Roman sepulchral monument in good preservation, and saw a cliff 300 feet high covered with the writing or characters called Tefinagh. The name Jerma is but an Arabic form of Garama, and the habitable country south of the Hammáda is unquestionably the Garamantic Pharanx of the ancients, or the country of the Garamantes.

On the 6th May the caravan entered Murzuk by the Eastern gate, which was alone wide enough to admit a loaded camel. The oasis to which this town owes its existence is remarkable even among those singularities of nature for which the African continent has been always famed. It is an irregularly shaped table-land, with an absolute elevation of about 1500 feet, sinking in the middle so as to form a hofra or basin, and raised perceptibly above the surrounding country. To this terrace, in the midst of arid, sandy deserts, date-groves of great extent give a semblance of fertility. Here men, horses, cattle, all subsist on dates. The palm-tree supplies timber, fuel, cordage, and exciting beverage. But as darkness may be visible, so sunburnt desolation is here traceable in the vegetation, for it is only under the shade of the palm-groves that a few fruit-trees, figs, pomegranates, &c. can be reared. Some corn also is grown by means of irrigation and with much labour. So precious is it, that every separate spike of maize or ear of wheat is protected from the birds by a small cover of basket-work.

It is a question of some interest, whence does the table-land

of Murzuk, surrounded as it is by sandy wastes, derive its comparative fertility? We can only ascribe it to an underlying rock of impermeable kind, probably granite, depressed in the centre, so as to collect the water draining to it from the surrounding region. It is evident that the ground above such a deep-seated reservoir, deriving moisture from it, would retain the sand thrown upon it and also gradually form a soil of decayed vegetation; and thus, in the midst of dry sands, effectually swept by the winds, it would in the course of ages come to figure as an elevated tract. The desert wears its most formidable aspect N.W. of Murzuk, beyond the Wadi Sherki, where Dr. Vogel, in his visit to the Trona lakes, crossed loose drifting sands in which the camel sank to the knee and forming impassable labyrinths of hills often attaining a height of 500 feet. In this wilderness lies also the Bahr el Dúd or Worm lake, so named from a small *Artemia* or Brine Shrimp, which, taken in fine cotton nets, together with innumerable flies and other insects, and pounded with a peculiar kind of date, forms a paste having the flavour of salt herring, and deemed a luxury.

From Murzuk the road to Ghât going generally westwards, first descends to the Wadi Berjush, a watercourse bearing traces of occasional torrents. It then ascends along this valley about 100 miles to a rugged plain terminating at the Akakus chain of mountains, which runs from N. to S. The Wadi Tanessoft, on the western side of these mountains, leads in about fifty miles southward to Ghât. The day preceding the arrival of the expedition at this place, was marked by a very alarming adventure. Some sandstone cliffs, looking like castellated buildings, were seen in the distance, and being regarded with superstitious dread by the inhabitants of the desert, who call them the Kasr Jenún (the Demons' Castle), they particularly excited the curiosity of Drs. Barth and Overweg, who started off to examine them. Having separated, they tried to ascend the cliffs at different points, but were defeated in their endeavours. Exhaustion ensued, Dr. Barth lost his way; daylight faded from the sky, and the despairing traveller spent his night in the wilderness alone. At length the sun rose and with it the most imminent danger. There was no shade; not a drop of water; the burning heat of the sun grew every instant more intense, and the sufferer's agony had no alleviation except from the languor and faintness attending it. In this painful state he remained for some hours, till a Tarki sent from the caravan in search of him, fortunately came upon his tracks and rescued him from his perilous situation.

Ghât resembles Murzuk in being an advanced post on the

border of the great desert. It is on the road to Asben and Es-Sudan, or Negroland, properly so called, and distant about a month's journey from Tripoli, by way of Ghadâmes. Unlike Murzuk, however, it can boast of but a small extent of productive land, the whole oasis lying within a compass of four or five miles, and being watered from springs, some of them tepid, which rise within the town. Here begins the territory of the Azgar, a division of the remarkable people called Tawârek (an Arabicised form — Leo calls them Terga), in reference to whom Dr. Barth enters into disquisitions on the origin of the Berbers and the early history of the Sahara, involving many statements and conclusions which appear to us totally inadmissible.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Libyans, Moors (Mauri or Maurusii), Numidians, Libyphœnicians, &c., were so many distinct nations. They were rather groups formed for convenience. The name Mauri has given way to its Arabic equivalent Maghrebî (western); the Numidæ have been, in like manner, changed into Shawíyah (shepherds or herdsmen). Of the Libyan names given by ancient writers, few can be identified with those of surviving clans; but all authorities, ancient and modern, combine to show that Libya, in its widest sense, was peopled by one race speaking one language, and who still retain possession of its mountains. Whence then came this race? This question compels us to consider the geographical circumstances of Libya. At the earliest period of history the Delta of Egypt was densely peopled, and therefore closed against wandering tribes who are ordinarily poor and weak. For some fifty centuries back the only practicable access to Libya from the east was across the Upper Nile, near the parallel of Meroe. In this quarter, therefore, we should be disposed to seek traces of their passage. The Berber name for water, *Aman*, is in use on the Nile in Nubia,—a proof of the communication here suggested.

The volumes before us give no satisfactory explanation of the very circuitous route taken to Ghât by way of Murzuk. The expedition spent three months and a half in reaching that town, which is, by the direct road, but a month's journey from Tripoli. In the meantime, frequent delays occurred, and many exorbitant demands were complied with. The travellers seem to have hung in helpless dependence on their servants, guides, and interpreters. It is probable that Mr. Richardson, having previously visited Ghât, thought that he would be there among friends; but African friendship is not averse from treachery, and it would seem that the Tawârek chiefs, having deliberately taken measure of their man, resolved to pillage him. On the 26th July, the caravan started from Ghât for the south, but, instead of a desert

in that direction, they found the extensive date groves and gardens of Barakat, a settlement of Imghad or prædial serfs; further on there was still pasturage with numerous flocks of goats and sheep. As vegetation disappeared, the country grew more irregular; the road led through deep defiles and immense piles of rocks. The scenery was grand and wild, though arid and desolate, and nowhere was there descried that interminable, monotonous, sandy waste, which is generally supposed to characterise the great desert. Pools of water were met with at convenient distances, and even trees occurred near the beds of occasional torrents. At Asiu (more probably Ahsiún, the wells) the roads from Ghât and Tawût unite. At length, in the valley of Taghajet, under the twentieth parallel, only five degrees from Ghât, our traveller again found himself, to his surprise, in the midst of luxuriant vegetation. He wondered also at the licentious manners of this little village, in a lonely and sequestered situation, so favourable, as it seemed to him, to purity. But this is a mistake; debauchery is the chief business of all the advanced posts along the desert; they resemble seaports where rude men, in riot and excess, take leave of pleasure for a time, or celebrate their return to it and their escape from dangers.

The northerly atmospheric current — the Etesian winds of the Greeks — to which Egypt owes the peculiar dryness of its climate, seems to lose its strength and steadiness rapidly towards the west. In Upper Egypt, rain is rare, snow unknown; but at Sokna, about sixteen degrees further west, and above one degree more to the south than Cairo, snow has fallen so heavily at times as to endanger the flat roofs of the houses. Heavy rain is not unknown in Fezzan, where it damages the palm-trees, by dissolving the salt that encrusts the ground, and washing it to their roots. Between Murzuk and Ghât, and thence southwards, our traveller met with frequent ponds, and fresh traces of suddenly formed torrents. The limit of tropical rains he places in Asben, much to the north of its normal latitude. This difference between the climates of Asben and of the country on the Nile, five-and-twenty degrees further east, may be ascribed with probability, first, to the decreased influence of the northern winds, which are yet very sensibly felt in the elevated country north of Fezzan; and secondly, to a southern current from the Bight of Benin, loaded with humidity, and in the absence of high mountains to intercept it, exercising a wide influence.

The mountains were now reached which, in three separate groups, Timge, Eghellal, and Baghzen, stretch southwards to

the frontiers of Negroland. The highest points of Timge have an estimated absolute height of 6000 feet, and, in the Baghzen group, the peak of Dogem attains a nearly equal elevation. It was here, in the defiles at the western foot of Timge, that the storm of calamity, which had been long gathering over the expedition, at length burst upon it. Tarki robbers had been seen for some days hovering round it; they looked down on it from the cliffs, watched all its motions, and even ventured to visit the tents. They evidently took care to calculate the chances of resistance; and as soon as they perceived these to be extremely low, they pounced upon the caravan, demanding the blood of the Christians, who had dared to enter the country of true believers, but whom they allowed, nevertheless, after a little parley, to ransom their lives by the surrender of property to the value of thirty-five pounds sterling, according to Mr. Richardson, for Dr. Barth slurs over the issue of the affair.

This alarm was soon followed by another, less hurtful, but of a more unexpected and extraordinary character. Heavy rain appeared to be falling in the south, when the tents were pitched in the valley of Tintaghode; but hardly had the travellers lain down to rest, when they heard the cry, 'the river is coming;' and, in truth, an immense torrent, filling the whole valley, and capable of sweeping off sheep and cattle, rushed down upon them; and, but for the circumstance that their encampment stood on somewhat elevated ground, would probably have been productive of serious disasters. These dangers by field and flood being escaped, the expedition proceeded through rapidly improving scenery, the country starting into life under frequent showers of rain, and on the 3rd September it reached the village of Tintellust, consisting of about 150 huts, among which was the residence of En-Nur, the sultan or chief of the Kelowi. En-Nur's protection had been already sought and promised, and the old chief, though cold in manners and inhospitable, proved true to his engagements. Dr. Barth's portrait of him is more favourable than that drawn by Mr. Richardson; but we venture to surmise that had the travellers reached him without being robbed, they would have received from him more hospitality and less protection.

After a month's rest in Tintellust, Dr. Barth left his companions to follow the Kelowí chief in his proposed journey southwards to the frontier of Bornu, while he himself started off south by west, on the 4th October, to visit Agades, the most important border town of eastern Negroland, or Beled-es-Sudan, properly so called. Heavy rains had changed the look of the country. The wilderness now appeared everywhere picturesque.

Rich valleys stocked with fine cattle lay at the feet of Eghellal. Baghzen, further on, with its huge rounded masses of trachyte, was deficient in varied and romantic outline, but not in rich soil and profuse vegetation. South of these mountains, nature assumed a tropical appearance. Trees of great size occasionally threw their shade over the path, and the thickets were filled with Guinea fowl. The town of Agades stands on a stony plain or Hammáda, of some extent, but not wholly devoid of vegetation. Here the traveller was accosted by two horsemen, who had come out to meet him. They were well dressed and mounted, with stirrups and bridle ornaments of copper, and with them he entered the town at sunset.

Agades had once a population, our author assures us, of 50,000 souls. It now contains but 7000 inhabitants, the walls and three-fourths of the town being in ruins. The great tower of the chief mosque, a rude clay building, which rises in the form of an obelisk to a height of ninety feet, with the cross beams which strengthen it projecting from its sides, is the only remarkable edifice in the place. The prosperity of Agades has evidently declined with the trade across the desert, but of the commerce that remains it still has a considerable share. The town and surrounding territory interests the European inquirer chiefly by the mixed character of its population. This subject soon attracted Dr. Barth's attention, and is treated by him in some of those ethnographical sketches, which, owing to their novelty and many curious details, form the most attractive portions of his work. He was surprised to find that the people of Asben or Aïr, chiefly Kelowi, are bilingual, the men ordinarily preferring the Berber; the women, the Hausa language. But this mixture does not warrant our inferring the original occupation of the country by either race. He also found that the language of Agades was not either of those spoken in the surrounding country, but the Songhay — the language of Timbuktú; not that we can suppose any direct intercourse to have existed between those two places, but because at the time when the trade northwards flourished, both those advanced posts were peopled by the same nation, whose centre was then Gogo on the great river or Isa.

From Agades Dr. Barth returned to Tintellust by the road already travelled, and wondered at the change of scene produced by the rainy season just concluded. Following the tracks of En-Nur, he enjoyed the sight of a pastoral nation on the move, 'the men on camels or on foot, the women on bullocks or asses, with all the necessities of the little household as well as the houses themselves.' He also witnessed the

preparations of the great salt caravan of the Kelowi from Bilma to Negroland, which sometimes employs more than 3000 camels.

To the hills of Asben, on the south-east, succeeds a desert tract strewn over with basalt, the rounded masses of Baghzen rising on the right to a height of 2000 feet. A few valleys occur of tempting aspect, overgrown with date-palms and wild melons. Here, also, frequent ruins of stone houses, erected by the Kelgeres, prove, not an advanced state of art, but merely that stones are more plentiful than wood. On this plain, enlivened only by ostriches running in single file, the cold at sunrise in December was intense. Beyond the black stony waste rises a ridge of sand, separating the desert, in its widest sense, from the green plains of Negroland, and which is the haunt of the giraffe and leucoryx. Here stood the skin tents of the Tagama, a poor and much reduced equestrian tribe, handsome and comparatively fair, dissolute and sanctimonious. To prove their antiquity Dr. Barth refers to Ibn Batuta, whose sketch of them in the fourteenth century represents them exactly as they now are; but he might have stated that Tagama is one of the surviving Berber names of Ptolemy's map.

A descent through diversified scenery led to the fertile plains of Damergu, where nature as well as man seems to undergo a total change. The houses were here built with the stems of Indian corn, which serve also for fuel. The reed baskets raised on posts, and serving as corn magazines, surprised both by their size and number. Herds of handsome cattle and horses in good condition attested the general plenty. The people, too, widely different from the stern and saturnine inhabitants of the desert, were all life and gaiety. The markets of their villages were most crowded, and the voices of the busy throng were loudest, in the hottest hours of the day. Bits of meat, broiling on hot embers, roasted locusts, and other dainties, with drinks of different kinds, tempted the loiterer at every turn. In Tessawa, particularly, our author seems to have been startled with the discovery that the life of the negro is one of ease and pleasure. 'The men,' he remarks, with much naïveté, 'are cheerful, though they seldom have more than two wives.' In truth, happiness and misery, prosperity and desolation, meet together, and lie intermingled as abruptly in Negroland as the palm grove and the arid waste on the skirts of the adjoining desert. The towns, so gay within, are continually menaced from without, and manifest their apprehensions by narrow gates, stockades, and ditches. There is little security in time of peace in the open country. Our author met caravans convoyed by troops of naked archers. Ruined sites, still bearing traces

of wanton havoc and devastation, alternate in all directions, with cheerful villages, and easily procured abundance. Society in Africa is a plant of herbaceous character, without any solid or enduring stem; rank in growth, rapid in decay, and admitting of being burned down annually without any diminution of its general productiveness.

A ditch drawn for defence through thick underwood, and checking advance, warned our traveller that he was near Katsena, and he soon after entered that once flourishing town through a narrow gateway in walls thirty feet thick at their base, and in some places forty feet high. These walls are said to have an extent of fourteen miles; the irregular quadrangular area enclosed within them comprises corn fields and gardens, as well as houses, and probably did so even when the town was far more populous than it is at present. Dr. Barth, mistrustful of the governor, Mohammed Bello, made profession of poverty; the latter, however, would admit of no evasion, but applying the gentle pressure of a little detention, succeeded in extorting a suitable present. Meanwhile the traveller witnessed a review of the troops, and admired the well-dressed and well-mounted cavalry, with swords and bucklers covered with the skin of the leucoryx and antelope.

Having stayed nine days in this remarkable place, Dr. Barth started southwards for Kano. Immediately round the walls of Katsena, he passed over an uninhabited waste. But at a little distance cultivation made its appearance, and the scenery improved. In this quarter tracts with towns and villages are owned by the tribes of the desert, and occupied by their serfs. Of the numerous trees adorning the landscape, the Sheabutter tree (Park's Bentang) is perhaps the most valued; the bombax, or cotton tree, by far the most conspicuous. This gigantic tree may be distinguished at an immense distance, and, being ordinarily planted near the chief gate of a town, it often serves to guide the traveller. Beautiful cattle, mostly white, assembled near all the wells; well cultivated fields, with tobacco, cotton, and sesamum, as well as corn, and numerous cheerful villages, gave evidence of general industry and contentment. At last the hill of Dala, situate within the walls of Kano, was descried, and, after three days' march, this celebrated town was entered by the stranger, in compliance with the custom of the country, after sunset.

Kano is at present, and has long been, one of the most important towns in Negroland. In extent it exceeds even Katsena, fields, gardens, and much agreeable scenery being included within its walls; but in population it far surpasses the latter

place, for it contains probably 30,000 inhabitants, of whom a majority are Bornuese (Bornubu), speaking the Kanuri or Kanori language, that is to say, the language of Kano. It is surprising that Dr. Barth, who in his German narrative writes Kanóri, should never have adverted, in his historical remarks on Bornu, to the apparently obvious sense of that word. In the busy time of the year, the numbers dwelling in Kano are perhaps doubled by the influx of strangers.

This great town consists of straw huts clustered together without any order, but frequently shaded by umbrageous trees, and of clay-built houses, with an irregular upper storey, opening to an interior courtyard, and showing only blind walls without. The animation and domestic industry of the place is to a great extent concealed from the pedestrian by the fences round the huts. The palace of the governor is an extensive labyrinth of huts and houses. Notwithstanding the advantages of its position, neglect of drainage and accumulated filth render the town extremely insalubrious. Our space will not allow us to enumerate the quarters into which it is divided; suffice it to remark that the ruling body, the Felláta, Fulbe or Fullani (about 4000 in number) occupy chiefly the quarter called Yola, which has given its name to the capital of Adamawa.

We see no ground for Dr. Barth's inference, that the Hausa nation, of which Gober was the most eminent portion, had its origin or grew up in the north, that is to say, in the desert, or upon its borders. The affinity supposed to be traced in some particulars between the Hausa and Berber languages, affords proof only of an intermixture of races, such as must naturally arise from that constant pressure on Negroland by Berber tribes seen in active operation at the present day, and which history tells us has always existed. It is not in the desert, or in nomadic life, that different races become mingled, but in the populous towns and social intercourse of the Negroes. Asben, we have seen, has a bilingual population, the men speaking chiefly Berber, the women Hausa; but doubtless the time will arrive when the progeny of these people will speak one language, combining more or less both ancestral tongues, with as much corruption at least as will serve to reduce them to one grammatical system. This process of forming languages and races has been going on probably on the northern frontier of Negroland for thousands of years.

In towns created or flourishing by commerce, the language spoken by the merchants and rulers naturally gains predominance; but the local names found within the walls of Katsena and Kano seem to indicate an originally very mixed popu-

lation. The Felláta, or, as our author names them, the Fulbe, are now masters of these towns, which still, however, retain their Hausa character. And is it not probable that these conquerors, in dispossessing the Habé or Hausa nation of the dominion of Kano, only did as the latter had done before them? The majority of the population in Kano at present is formed of Bornubu; and since the language of Bornu is called Kanó-rí (of or belonging to Kano), it seems impossible to avoid the inference that Kano was once a town of the Bornubu, in which a large population and brisk social intercourse had, as usual, the effect of refining the language, till at length the improved dialect was generally accepted as the standard. This conjecture rests on plain and palpable ground, and is therefore more to be relied on for historic guidance than the most specious speculations of a vague and arbitrary nature.

The industry and commerce of Kano, at the present day, are by no means despicable, and Dr. Barth's minute account of the resources and occupations of the place cannot fail to gratify the philanthropic reader. Cotton cloth, manufactured and dyed in the place, constitutes a principal article of export; it goes to all quarters of Negroland, 300 camel loads to Timbuktú alone. Here also centres the trade in the Goora or Kola nut, deemed an indispensable luxury by the better class of negroes. Caravans of salt and natron deposit here their loads. Nor are the people diverted by commerce and manufacture from the cultivation of the soil: Kano, says our author, is better supplied with provisions than any other town in Negroland.

It was here, in the concourse of traders and travellers from all quarters, that our author received the tempting account of Adamawa, of its capital Yola, and of the great river (the Bénuwé), crossed in approaching the latter place, which first drew his attention to that quarter. He also learned the particulars of the route through Gurma to Timbuktú, by which he subsequently succeeded in reaching the last-named place. The information thus obtained seems to have decided his plans. But how was he to find means for their execution? His pecuniary difficulties are the burden of his continual complaints. The goods or merchandise which he carried with him, had all fallen in price, and realised a sum much below their estimated value. He was in debt to his followers, and thus reduced to the necessity of borrowing money from the governor of Kano, to enable him to return to Kúkawa, abandoning, for the present, the thought of going southwards to Adamawa by way of Jacoba.

The difficulty being thus removed, the traveller set forward undeterred by the dangers of the road, the general insecurity of

the country, the want of trusty servants, or the necessity of proceeding without a caravan, and accompanied only by his own followers. On the 9th March he left Kano, and on his way eastwards learned the death of Mr. Richardson, who had sunk, a month previously, under the influences of climate and fatigue, eleven months after leaving Tripoli, while still on his way to the capital of Bornu. Having visited the grave of his companion at Ngurútuwa (Hippopotami), Dr. Barth pushed on to Kúkawa, where he arrived on the 2nd April.

In the capital of Bornu, Dr. Barth found the affairs of the mission in an embarrassed state; the servants demanding their wages, and no funds to pay them. But these details must be dispatched briefly, and it will be sufficient here to state that the traveller was well received by the vizier and the sheikh; that with them he 'carried all his points,' and obtained advances which enabled him to satisfy the claims of his followers. And now, relieved of these mean cares, he turns to survey the history of the splendid empire of Bornu, deprecating at the outset the incredulity of critics, who, he says, are always adverse to attempts to find history in the records of rude nations. But such admonitions are in vain in the absence of evidence. There is no historical written document extant in Bornu older than the sixteenth century, and we are surprised that anything even of that date should exist, if it be true that the reigning dynasty of Bornu have destroyed all the records of preceding ones. Who will admit that the royal family of Bornu, in the sixteenth century, may be presumed to have preserved the account of their lineage for fifteen or twenty generations? Or that the well educated classes were at that time intimately acquainted with the history of their country? Or who will think that he can find the foundations of history in the fancied connexion of the names Bornu, Borgu, Berdoa, Berdama, Berauni, and Berber? A splendid and powerful empire in Negroland, extending its sway even northwards over the desert, would be remarkable enough, were there any proof of its existence. But no ingenuity of conjecture, no nice adaptation of dry and scanty traditions, can convert these hypothetical glories into history. With all their imperfections, however, our author's speculations bear witness to the commendable diligence with which he collected the chronicles of the country.

Dr. Barth's first excursion from Kúkawa was to Ngornu, a province on the south-western shores of the lake, a large portion of which, three years later (1854), sank in the inundation and disappeared totally, either by subsidence, or, as appears to us more probable, by a slip. The ground was

perfectly level, the grassy plains usually extending to the horizon, till at length they terminated eastwards in thickets of reeds and papyrus, fourteen feet high, through which numerous creeks opened tortuous channels to the lake. In one of these creeks were seen some of the boats of the Yedina—the islanders of the Tsad—about twenty feet long and built of a few rude planks, bound together with palm-leaf cords. In these watercourses hippopotami are extremely numerous, while the marshes and forests of reeds are inhabited by the kelaré, and perhaps by other similar species of corpulent antelopes. We must refer to our author's pages for a somewhat scanty but not uninteresting account of the Yedina, founded on his own observations and those of Mr. Overweg, who visited the islands.

On his return from the shores of the Tsad, Dr. Barth immediately began to prepare for a journey southwards to Adamawa, an enterprise fondly meditated ever since he had heard descriptions of that country in Kano, and the result of which is beyond comparison the most important fruits of the expedition. While he was thus engaged, envoys arrived from Yola, the capital of Adamawa, bearing complaints of certain violations of frontier committed by slaving parties from Bornu. To these envoys our author at once resolved to attach himself and to accompany them on their return to Yola. The arrangements being completed, he started on the 29th of May for Adamawa, together with the Felláta envoys and an officer appointed on the part of Bornu, to answer complaints and discuss the matters in dispute.

The country immediately to the south of Kúkawa, is a dismally monotonous plain, with a scanty covering of weeds and bushes, and crossed in all directions by innumerable pathways. Among the characteristics of this level region must be mentioned the Firki or Ghadir—circular hollows, often a mile or even a league in diameter, very productive after the rains, but at other seasons, naked and unsightly. At a little distance southward in these plains, begin the encampments or the winter villages of the Arabs, called by our author Shúwa (the Shouwa of preceding travellers), who are said to speak a language less corrupt than the Arabic of Northern Africa. They are chiefly cattle breeders, possessing great pastoral wealth and able to bring 20,000 cavalry into the field. They appear to be widely diffused between Bornu and Baghírmi, but their central domains lie along the lower course of the river Shary and the southern shores of lake Tsad.

■ The change of climate on advancing southwards is first

plainly discernible in the improved foliage of the gigantic Baobab, and in the greater variety and profusion of the vegetable kingdom. The roofs of the huts too, spherical among the Shúwa, then further south, conical, bear witness, by their greater elevation and careful construction, to the violence of the tropical rains. Ujé, one degree south of Kúkawa, is one of the finest districts of Bornu. It may be described as a continuous corn field, embracing populous towns and villages, the inhabitants of which have all within their reach plenty and physical comfort. Mabina, with 10,000 souls, is the seat of much industry; the chief business being the dyeing of shirts, which are made, we believe, in the country adjoining on the east. The people hereabouts are all well dressed as Mahommedans, though apparently not zealous followers of the Prophet; the houses are comparatively large, the courtyards spacious, and the markets well supplied with provisions, including fish and some delicious fruits. The rivers of this country flow, with little inclination, eastward, to the Shary.

A few miles beyond Ujé, in the district of Shamo, begins a region given up entirely to the growth of ngaberi, that is, durrah or Sorghum vulgare. This region therefore exactly resembles the plains of Sennar, where durrah is, and probably has been for more than two thousand years, almost the only grain cultivated; or rather we should say, grown, for the little care bestowed on the ground or crop does not deserve to be called cultivation. Man sows the seed and gathers the harvest; nature does all the rest. Here the bee-hives (hollow logs, we presume,) are underground; in the hills round Kano they are suspended from the trees. About 100 miles south of Kúkawa, begins the country of the Margi, a branch of the Batta nation, who extend over the country southwards to Adamawa. Our author repeatedly asserts that these people are related by language to the South African Tribes (he means of the Zingian family), and as he also says that the Yédinà or islanders of the Tsad are of the Batta race, it would follow that the same family of language may be traced from the frontiers of the Cape Colony and the villages of the Bachuana, to the southern borders of the great desert. But he offers no proof of this assumed affinity of language, and the names reported by him in connexion with the Batta race, give no support to his theory. The Batta are not negroes, and many of them have a light copper complexion. Though nearly naked they are not without some industry, and live in the midst of abundance, apparently with much comfort. Here our author left to the east the mountains of Wandala (Denham's Mandara)—hills 500

or 600 feet above the plain ; and in an isolated peak about 4000 feet high, he recognised the same traveller's Mindifi, the reputed termination of a great chain of mountains.

As far as Uba about two-and-a-half degrees south of Kúkawa, the rivers met with flowed sluggishly eastwards and descended by the Shary into the lake ; but beyond that point the streams turned southwards and took their course to the Bénuwé. The elevation of the ridge dividing the waters is estimated by our author at 2000 feet, but though marked by chains of small hills, its rise above the adjacent plains is hardly perceptible. The Zani occupying this rich and beautiful district are of the bronze-coloured Batta race. Their houses are large and strong, with shelter for cattle. All their wants are supplied in profusion by bounteous nature. Among their peculiar usages it may be mentioned that though they mourn over the graves of the young, they make merry at the funeral of the aged. In their ordeals they spare human life, and avoiding the chicanery of the forum, they decide their issues by cock-fighting.

At length, on the 18th of June, Dr. Barth arrived at the object of his ardent pursuit and curiosity, and beheld a scene far surpassing his expectations. By a fortunate accident he had missed the road to the ordinary ford of the Bénuwé, and taken a path which led him higher up to the Tepe or junction of the Bénuwé and Faro, which though not the most convenient place for crossing the river, had the advantage of revealing it in its utmost magnitude to the eyes of the delighted explorer. At his feet rolled the Bénuwé, 800 yards wide, while the Faro on the opposite side coming from the south, with a rapid current and a width of 600 yards, mixed its waters with those of the deeper and broader stream. The plains round the Tepe were low and everywhere liable to inundation, while on the southern horizon rose Mount Alantika to an estimated height of 8000 feet. But we must here allow Dr. Barth to relate his grand discovery in his own words: —

‘It happens but rarely that a traveller does not feel disappointed when he first actually beholds the principal features of a new country, of which his imagination has composed a picture from the description of the natives ; but although I must admit that the shape and size of the Alantika, as it rose in rounded lines from the flat level, did not exactly correspond with the idea which I had formed of it, the appearance of the river far exceeded my most lively expectations. None of my informants had promised me that I should just come upon it at that most interesting locality—the Tépe—where the mightier river is joined by another of very considerable size, and that in this place I was to cross it. My arrival at this point, as I have stated before, was a most fortunate circumstance. As I looked

from the bank over the scene before me, I was quite enchanted, although the whole country bore the character of a desolate wilderness; but there could scarcely be any great traces of human industry near the river, as, during its floods, it inundates the whole country on both sides. This is the general character of all the great rivers in these regions, except where they are encompassed by very steep banks.

'The principal river, the Benuwé, flowed here from east to west, in a broad and majestic course, through an entirely open country, from which only here and there detached mountains started forth. The banks on our side rose to twenty-five, and in some places to thirty feet, while just opposite to my station, behind a pointed headland of sand, the Féro rushed forth, appearing from this point not much inferior to the principal river, and coming in a fine sweep from the south-east, where it disappeared in the plain, but was traced by me, in thought, upwards to the steep eastern foot of the Alantíka. The river, below the junction, keeping the direction of the principal branch, but making a slight bend to the north, ran along the northern foot of Mount Bágeléc, and was there lost to the eye, but was followed in thought through the mountainous region of the Báchama and Zína to Hamúrruwa, and thence along the industrious country of Korórofa, till it joined the great western river the Kwára or Niger, and, conjointly with it, ran towards the great ocean.

'On the northern side of the river another detached mountain, Mount Taife, rose, and behind it the Bengo, with which Mount Fúro seemed connected, stretching out in a long line towards the north-west. The bank upon which we stood was entirely bare of trees, with the exception of a solitary and poor acacia, about one hundred paces further up the river, while on the opposite shore, along the Féro and below the junction, some fine clusters of trees were faintly seen.

'I looked long and silently upon the stream; it was one of the happiest moments in my life. Born on the bank of a large navigable river, in a commercial place of great energy and life, I had from my childhood a great predilection for river-scenery; and although plunged for many years in the too exclusive study of antiquity, I never lost this native instinct. As soon as I left home, and became the independent master of my actions, I began to combine travel with study, and to study while travelling, it being my greatest delight to trace running waters from their sources, and to see them grow into brooks, to follow the brooks, and see them become rivers, till they at last disappeared in the all-devouring ocean. I had wandered all around the Mediterranean, with its many gulfs, its beautiful peninsulas, its fertile islands—not hurried along by steam, but slowly wandering from place to place, following the traces of the settlements of the Greeks and Romans around this beautiful basin, once their *terra incognita*. And thus, when entering upon the adventurous career in which I subsequently engaged, it had been the object of my most lively desire to throw light upon the natural arteries and hydrographical network of the unknown regions of Central Africa. The great

eastern branch of the Niger was the foremost to occupy my attention ; and, although for some time uncertain as to the identity of the river of A'damáwa with that laid down in its lower course by Messrs. W. Allen, Laird, and Oldfield, I had long made up my mind on this point, thanks to the clear information received from my friend Ahmed bel Mejúb. I had now with my own eyes clearly established the direction and nature of this mighty river ; and to an unprejudiced mind there could no longer be any doubt that this river joins the majestic watercourse explored by the gentlemen just mentioned. Hence I cherish the well-founded conviction, that along this natural highroad European influence and commerce will penetrate into the very heart of the continent, and abolish slavery, or rather those infamous slave-hunts and religious wars, destroying the natural germs of human happiness, which are spontaneously developed in the simple life of the pagans, and spreading devastation and desolation all around.' (Vol. ii. p. 465.)

On the banks of the river lay three rudely constructed canoes only sixteen inches wide ; by means of these, after some delays and with a few mishaps, which are pleasantly related in the following pages, the whole party, men and baggage, horses and camels, were conveyed or guided safely across the majestic stream. The Faro was then forded with little difficulty, and in two days more the travellers reached Yola, the capital of Adamawa.

The country called Fumbina is said to extend about 200 miles from south-west to north-east with a width of 70 or 80 miles, situate probably about the valley of the Faro. It may be presumed to be generally an open and grassy region, as this is the character of land coveted by the Felláta, a pastoral and equestrian nation. From Adama, the leader of this people, by whom it was conquered, it received the name of Adamawa, by which alone it has been hitherto known to Europeans. Yola, its chief town, so called from a district in Kano, is a straggling place, three miles long, situate in a low plain, which is reached by the inundation from the Benuwé. The town has a population of 12,000, but no industry. The Felláta, the ruling tribe, count their wealth by the number of their slaves, but as they are active, enterprising and intelligent, their settlement in so advanced a position, in a country of unbounded fertility, is rendered highly interesting and important by the discovery that Yola is but a few miles from a navigable river and may possibly be reached from the sea.

From the governor of Adamawa, Mohammed Lowel, Dr. Barth's party experienced a very formal and cold reception. The Bornuese envoy charged to arrange political differences, not only refused the redress demanded by Adamawa, but added

threats to refusal. The governor was incensed and ordered the strangers to depart immediately. No exception was made in favour of our author, who had arrived from, and apparently under the protection of Bornu, and unprovided with any passport or permission from the Emir of Sókátu, the sovereign of the Felláta nation. A private message to him, however, from the governor, seemed intended to palliate the harshness of this repulse. The peremptory dismissal dictated by policy was sought to be tempered, in his case, by the subsequent addition of gentle words.

In returning to Bornu our author suffered dreadfully from fever, and was rarely able to sit erect on horseback, yet he was not insensible to the wonderful change made in the aspect of the country by the advancing season, and by the strongly marked succession of climates observable in going northward from Adamawa less than four degrees, to a country where the rains are four or five months later. He was astonished at the exuberant vegetation of the country possessed by the comely and well-housed Batta tribes, and at the fields of corn so high as completely to conceal the villages. He wondered to see the ground in some districts completely alive with ants, and to find others overgrown with wild rice, of which man only consumes what is left by the wasteful elephant. Then on approaching the Beri Shuwabé or cattle folds of the Arabs, he met one of these nomadic tribes in motion, their tent furniture being packed on oxen and the women seated on the top. At length, hastening over the monotonous plains near Kúkawa, he re-entered that town on the 21st July, pleased with the discovery achieved and with the prospect of repose. He justly concluded that the river Bénuwé is the same which is lower down called in our maps, (by an error traceable probably to the theories of the native informants of Laird and Oldfield, which connected this stream with the Shari and Tsad of Bornu,) the Chadda, and that it offers to the most fertile and populous countries of Negroland a highway for commerce more generally accessible, convenient, cheap, and secure than the routes across the desert, and that his discovery held out to Africa the prospect of intercourse and civilisation.

The next enterprise of our travellers, now united, was not, we regret to say, of an equally unexceptionable character. An eager desire to penetrate far and to see, however superficially, what has not been seen before, misleads many a traveller, and produces many a trivial volume. It was the desire of scouring the country eastwards, to Kanem, that induced Dr. Barth, with his companion Dr. Overweg, to join a marauding expedition of

the Welad Slimán, and for doubtful geographical gains to incur certain loss of moral dignity. Our author calls them 'lawless robbers,' and affects to deplore the necessity of joining them in order to explore the eastern side of the lake. But neither the necessity nor the purpose urged in his defence really existed. The Arabs had notoriously other objects in view than the survey of the marshy shores of the lake which ought to have been accomplished in the boat sent for that purpose. The position of the two Europeans among their new associates was most humiliating. They looked on in silence while the poor Tebu were robbed of their dates, and then had to listen to the rebukes of an Arab traveller whose courageous uprightness effected a restitution of the pillage.

In the villages near the Komádugu (river—the Yeou or Denham), fish is almost the only article of trade and of subsistence. The atmosphere about them is tainted by the smell of fish, laid in the sun to dry. The level country north of the lake affords most abundant pasturage, and here on the borders of the swamps were seen numerous droves of elephants. As the marauders advanced, they issued orders to give no quarter, and they soon furnished an interesting subject for our author's pencil—a village in flames. These sanguinary robbers, when attacked on a sudden by the outraged natives, fled precipitately: Dr. Barth too 'snatched up his gun and pistol,' and—ran away with the rest, lamenting that 'he left the most interesting part of Kanem unvisited.' 'Our cherished object,' he adds, 'the Bahr el Ghazel' (and not the shores of lake Tsad) 'were still before us to the east. We thus convinced ourselves that the character of the mission did not allow us to risk our fate any longer by accompanying these freebooters.'

Yet with this experience and with scruples awakened respecting the character of the mission, the travellers did not hesitate, immediately on returning to Kúkawa, to join a slave-hunting expedition to Musgow and Mandara, not incidental but deliberately undertaken by the government to fill the treasury, or perhaps to exercise and keep alive an important branch of the national industry. So successful was the diplomacy of Dr. Barth, that the Sheikh of Bornu and his Vizier declared themselves willing to subscribe any conditions for 1000 muskets and four pieces of cannon. Yet our negotiators, who seem to have fully understood that their especial office was to express the European abhorrence of slave-hunting, consented to join in a slave-hunt, to witness one of those atrocious predatory expeditions which are the curse of Africa, and in which man himself is the booty.

The course of the expedition lay east of our author's route to Adamawa, at first through level plains, occasionally flooded and presenting in the dry season a dreary and barren aspect; further south the country improved, and the town of Dikowa was found to have 25,000 inhabitants, engaged chiefly in the cotton manufacture. Plantations of cotton surround the town. The army was composed, we are told, of 20,000 infantry, with 10,000 horses, and as many head of cattle. It was subsequently increased by the Shúwa cavalry, estimated at 10,000. The people of Bornu are not ignorant of the pomp and circumstance of glorious war; they are fond of military parade; and their cavalry, well mounted and with wadded coverings for man and horse, look like trained troops. But we are told that the army in the field has no commissariat and must live by pillage, which is nevertheless forbidden. The organisation, civil and military, which raised and held together for two or three months such a number of men, appears to us to have been well worth study; but Dr. Barth's acquaintance with the history of this expedition as connected with the mechanism of social and political life, is somewhat superficial.

This army of 30,000 men then, carrying no provisions, must have marched through an exceedingly plentiful country, for our author tells us that till its arrival in Musgow (150 miles from Kúkawa,) it resembled a party of pleasure. In this country began the warfare, the ambuscades and burning of villages, — feats to which, as they are related, 300 men would seem more adequate than 30,000. The following passage describes scenes very strange, and we must add very painful, to European eyes.

‘During our halt here I contemplated, with the most lively and intense interest, the rich and animated scene which presented itself before my eyes, — a mass of some thousand horsemen, dressed in the most varied manner and in the most glowing colours, with their spirited chargers of every size, description, and colour, crowded together along the green margin of a narrow sheet of water, skirted by a dense border of large trees of the finest foliage.

‘After a halt of about a quarter of an hour we were again in the saddle and pursued our march, but now in an entirely different direction, keeping almost due east, and crossing the shallow watercourse, which stretched from north to south a little below our halting-place, the place where we crossed it being quite dry and full of holes caused by the footsteps of the elephant. The wilderness for a while was clearer; but after a march of about two miles we reached a very thick covert, where it was found necessary to send out scouts, in order to see if the enemy was lying in ambush. It is a great pity that these poor natives do not know how to avail themselves, against their cruel and cowardly enemies, of the fastnesses with which nature

has endowed these regions. Of course, these immense forests, which separate one principality, and I might say one village, from another, are themselves a consequence of the want of intelligence and of the barbarous blindness of these pagan tribes, who, destitute of any common bond of national unity, live entirely separated from, and even carry on war against, each other.

‘Scarcely had we made ourselves a path through the thicket, when we reached another meadow-water, which at present, however, looked rather like a bog, and offered some difficulties to the passage of the horses. Having then for some time kept upon dry ground, about noon we had to cross another swamp; but beyond this the country became open.

‘Having now reached the place of our destination, the banners were unfolded, the drums beaten, and the greater part of the cavalry hurried on in advance ready for fighting, or rather for pillage, for no enemy was to be seen. Immediately afterwards we reached the village of Dénimo, and marched slowly along, looking out for the best place for encamping. Numerous deléb-palms became visible behind the shady acacias, when suddenly we obtained sight of a broad shallow watercourse, larger than any we had yet seen in this country—more than two miles in width, with a considerable sheet of open water, where two pagan canoes were seen moving about.

‘Greatly interested in the scene, we closely approached the edge of the water, which seemed to be of considerable depth, although a number of hungry Kánembú had passed the first open sheet, and were fishing in its more shallow part, which divided the open water into two branches. From beyond the opposite shore a whole forest of deléb-palms were towering over the other vegetation of lower growth, as if enticing us to come and enjoy their picturesque shade.

‘Here we stood awhile, and looked with longing eyes towards the opposite shore; it was a most interesting and peculiar scenery, highly characteristic of these level equatorial regions of Africa. What an erroneous idea had been entertained of these regions in former times! Instead of the massive Mountain-range of the Moon, we had discovered only a few isolated mounts; instead of a dry plateau, we had found wide and extremely fertile plains, less than one thousand feet above the level of the sea, and intersected by innumerable broad watercourses with scarcely any inclination. Only towards the south-east, at the distance of about sixteen miles, the low rocky mount of the Túburi was seen.

‘But not less interesting than the scenery of the landscape was the aspect of the host of our companions, who were here crowded together at the border of the water. Only very few of them had penetrated as far before; and they looked with curiosity and astonishment upon this landscape, while most of them were rather disappointed that the water prevented them from pursuing the poor pagans, the full-grown amongst whom, with few exceptions, had just had time to escape. But a considerable number of female slaves and young children were captured; for the men did not take to flight till they became aware, from the thick clouds of dust which were raised by the army, that it

was not one of the small expeditions which they were accustomed to resist, that was coming to attack them. Besides the spoil in human beings, a considerable number of colts and cattle were brought in.

‘Having indulged in the aspect of this rich scene, which formed such a contrast to the monotonous neighbourhood of Kúkawa, we retraced our steps, in order to encamp at some distance from the water, which of course gives life to millions of mosquitoes, and encamped amongst the smouldering ruins of the huts. The whole village, which only a few moments before had been the abode of comfort and happiness, was destroyed by fire and made desolate. Slaughtered men, with their limbs severed from their bodies, were lying about in all directions, and made the passer-by shudder with horror. Such is the course of human affairs in these regions! Small troops of light cavalry tried to pursue the enemy; and there was some fighting in the course of the afternoon, when a few men of the Bórnu army were killed.’ (Vol. iii. p. 200.)

His sketch of the naked savage chiefs riding barebacked on rough ponies into camp, to offer their submission to Bornu, reproduces exactly the accounts of the Irish kings visiting and doing homage to Richard II. The expedition advanced southwards till it came to the banks of the Serbēwel, a fine stream 800 yards wide, the upper part of the river of Lóggone and western arm of the Shari. Thence it began to retreat with a booty of 3000 slaves, mostly aged, and 10,000 head of cattle;—a poor return for two months’ service of 30,000 men. Nor do we think that the results of this portion of Dr. Barth’s travels are at all commensurate with the loss of consideration which unavoidably attended his participation in scenes so inconsistent with the object of the British Government.

Not yet subdued, however, by the ‘misery of accompanying such expeditions,’ our author now determined to join, if possible, an expedition which he had learnt the king of Baghírmi was about to lead in person towards the south. He therefore started east-south-east on the 4th March, and in a few days found himself in a country apparently much superior to Bornu in industry and cultivation; cotton seemed to be its staple produce; the houses were large and commodious, not round but rectangular. In Ngala the governor’s palace, though dilapidated, is still a comparatively grand edifice. Karnak-Loggone, the capital of a small principality, is less remarkable for its well built palaces of two storeys than for its position on the western branch of the Shari, a stream 350 yards wide and navigable at all seasons. Forty or fifty boats, rudely constructed of planks, lay before the town. For many interesting particulars regarding this state and its rivers, we must refer to our author’s pages. We quite concur in his

remark, 'A wide field for improvement is here open to the energy of man, when this region shall have been brought under the notice and influence of Europe.

Crossing the river of Loggone, he arrived, on the second day, at the main or eastern branch of the Shari, 600 yards wide, which he crossed at Mélé. Here fear and jealousy opposed his advance; he had no sufficient passport, and could not satisfactorily explain his objects. Ordered to await in Bugoman the Sultan's commands, he was there refused admission. He then lingered for some time in embarrassment, enduring not a little indignity, till relieved by the arrival of permission to enter Masciã. This town, the capital of Baghirmi, has a circumference of seven miles, and boasts of a palace built of brick. Here our author resided a month, till the Sultan's return from his expedition. The latter proved friendly, if not cordial, and dismissed Dr. Barth with promises of favour for the future. Baghirmi seems to be one of the most productive and best cultivated countries of Negroland, and very likely to exhibit, by its industrial development, the benefits derivable from a commercial intercourse opened through the Bénuwé, with Central Negroland.

Our author concludes, from the slow descent of the floods, that the highlands in which the Shari has its sources must be very distant. But it may be added, that the sources of the river are possibly situate at a moderate elevation, and that the mysterious high mountains of Central Africa, to which the great rivers of that continent are theoretically assigned, may in reality have no existence.

Approaching Kúkawa, on the 20th August, our author was met by his colleague, Dr. Overweg, who survived this meeting but a month. The latter had visited Maradi, south-west of Agades, and subsequently penetrated to Yacoba, south of Kanó; but he had made few or no observations, kept no journal, and nothing remains of his labours but a very brief account of the islands in Lake Tsad. To him, as the scientific member of the expedition, was entrusted the survey of the lake, for which purpose a boat had been carried across the desert, in four pieces; then joined and launched by the artisans that accompanied the expedition. But all in vain; Dr. Overweg made a two days' easy excursion on the lake, and we hear no more of the boat.

In the meantime, the traveller's poverty and destitution happily came to an end; funds had arrived, and Dr. Barth was authorised, as the surviving chief of the mission, to continue the prosecution of its plans; and as the letter from the Foreign Office, which empowered him to continue his explorations, seemed to

him to prompt him to go westwards, he resolved to visit Timbuktú, and this enterprise now occupied all his thoughts.

To this last journey of Dr. Barth, the narrative of which occupies his fourth and fifth volumes, we can afford but little space. The minute fidelity with which he recounts incidents and scenes as they occurred, day by day, has the effect of often lengthening immeasurably a narrative, which, by the rejection of all that is not new or interesting, might be reduced within a narrow compass. He started from Kúkawa, on the 25th November, 1852, and on the 31st March, 1853, was kindly received by Alíyu, the Emír-el-Múmenín, titular sovereign of the Felláta, in his camp, not far from Wurno, the new seat of the empire formerly designated from Sokatu. This amiable and intelligent man is described by our author, who seems to recognise in princes hardly any virtue but energy, as 'unenergetic and peacefully disposed.' He rarely enjoys, however, the blessing of peace, his lot being cast in a land where the energies of the rulers are perpetually crushing those of the people. Proceeding south-westward, our traveller reached Gando, in Kebbi, the seat of another independent Felláta dominion, under Khalílu, a chief who at present exercises a paramount influence in the countries along the Kwara.

On the 20th June, the traveller reached the left bank of this river, opposite to Say, where the somewhat contracted stream had still a width of 700 yards, and crossed it with his camels, in a stout boat or barge, 40 feet long, formed of two large canoes bound together. He was now in Gurma or Aribinda, that is, 'the country beyond (south of) the river'—a country which, in the direction of our author's route, north-westward to Timbuktú, is occupied by a very motley population, under Felláta rulers. Two considerable rivers, the Serbi and Yali, were passed on this route, flowing to the right. Of the towns visited, the most important was Doré, the chief place of the Felláta state of Libtako. On the south or left hand of the traveller, lay the Mosi or More, a nation long known only by name, and apparently of little political weight. On the right hand, a little further on, rose the mountains, or perhaps rather the hilly country, of Hombori, with more of Alpine form than height. Then followed the level plains, reached by the floods of the great river (the Joliba or Isa). Having passed the site of San-kaira, or Same-kanda, a place mentioned by the most ancient historians of Negroland, Dr. Barth arrived, on the 27th August, at Sarayamo, situate on one of the many branches of the river which, in this level country, spread far and wide through the plains. Embarking at Sarayamo, he descended the stream,

and in seven days reached Kabra, on a northern creek of the river, whence, in a couple of hours, he entered Timbuktú.

The splendour and importance of Timbuktú, though long since nearly extinguished by revolutions in the channels of African commerce, consequent on the growth of the maritime trade of Guinea, still survive in the writings of geographers and travellers. So long as all the produce of Guinea, — gold, pepper, and ivory, — was brought to Europe across the desert, Timbuktú flourished as a chief emporium of the trade. But as the trade of the coasts developed, that of the desert necessarily declined, and doubtless is destined to sink still further, if the traffic of the great rivers, the Kowára and Bénuwé be only perseveringly cherished, till the Africans become habituated to the new markets, and resort to them without fear of disappointment. But though much sunk and impoverished, Timbuktú still retains traces of its early grandeur. Its chief mosque, 278 feet in length and 206 in breadth, with nine naves, is a very remarkable edifice to be met with on the frontiers of Negroland and the great desert.

Here Dr. Barth placed himself under the protection of a liberal chief, named El Bakay. During the latter part of his journey, and while near the headquarters of Felláta fanaticism, he had, under the guidance and tutelage of a trader, named Weled Ammer el Walátí, feigned himself a Mohammedan; but in the commercial capital of Negroland, his true character was soon discovered, and a party arose, demanding vehemently the death or expulsion of the infidel. It is probable that these religious pretences had no other object than extortion; but being persisted in for the pleasure of excitement, they kept the traveller in constant alarm during his seven months' residence, and fill his pages with tedious and disagreeable details. At length, escorted by El Bakay, he was enabled to leave the town at the end of March, 1854, and slowly marched along the left bank of the river, till, at a place now called Gawo, he reached the site of the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, Kagho or Gogo, where a tower, seventy feet high, like a truncated obelisk, still marks the place of the principal mosque. Soon after crossing the river, he travelled along its right bank to Say, where he came again on his former route.

The journey from Say, directly across to Timbuktú and thence back again along the banks of the river, was a very remarkable and bold undertaking, though not so productive of information as might have been expected. Of the interior of Guinea in the course of our author's route, and of the ramifications of the great river where it turns northwards, we still know little more than may be derived from the itineraries which he and

others have collected. His historical inquiries, during his protracted residence in Tímbuktú, fortunately led him to the discovery of Ahmed Baba's History of the Songhay Empire; but African history learned from African sources must ever remain dark and uncertain. It can hardly be doubted that the rise and early prosperity of Tímbuktú were due to its position near the great navigable river, where advancing far northwards it abridged the march across the desert; and it is natural to suppose that the great emporium of Negroland, which politically preceded and was replaced by Tímbuktú, had similar advantages of situation. Indeed it is expressly stated that Ghanah (the capital of Negroland in the eleventh century) stood near a great river which was thence called the river of Ghanah, and we know that this capital was but five days from Samakanda on the opposite or eastern side of the river.

It would be impossible within our limits to convey an adequate idea of the great amount of interesting and novel information scattered in details throughout these volumes. It is true that the reader who would find this treasure must seek it patiently, but his pains will ultimately be rewarded with the fruits of unexampled exertions in the heart of the African continent. Dr. Barth's journeys, taken together, amount perhaps to 6000 miles. From Tripoli in the north to Yola in the south he travelled over above twenty-three degrees of latitude. From Baghírmi in the east to Tímbuktú in the west, about nineteen degrees of longitude. To him indisputably belongs the discovery of the Bénuwé, a navigable river, easily accessible from all the more fertile and cultivated parts of Negroland, and likely to become, at no distant day, a principal channel of intercourse with the African continent. To say nothing of the rare good fortune of the traveller who, after five years of toil in the heart of Africa, returns home with health and spirits which enable him to write a copious narrative of his labours, Dr. Barth's discovery of the Bénuwé, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated; his indomitable perseverance exhibited in the extent of his travels; his learning and great industry, fully entitle him to rank among the first, if not as the very first, of African travellers.

ART. III. — 1. *On some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries : being the Substance of two Papers read before the Philological Society.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London : 1857.

2. *Proposal for the Publication of a new English Dictionary by the Philological Society.* London : 1859.

TO a man who reflects upon the common operations of human life, which are some of the most wonderful phenomena of our existence, nothing is more astonishing than the origin, the structure, the history, and the effect of Words. Those lifeless signs, which carry to the ear or to the eye the infinite varieties of thought, seem to have acquired a vitality of their own. A mechanism so complicated that it adapts itself to every conceivable motion of the mind, and conveys the same impression to the minds of others — a mechanism so various that every nation and almost every province of the globe employs it in a different manner, seems, nevertheless, to acknowledge no author and to have grown up like the productions of nature. The powers of the human intellect have in fact given birth to the signs and forms of expression they require to convey and perpetuate their meanings. The subtle inflections of grammar which frame the organisation of words, the combinations of syntax which array them in language, the indescribable nicety of use which discriminates every shade of intention, all pass in the habitual and almost unconscious exercise of the faculty of speech, though they embrace a science of extreme depth and completeness. The rude tongue of a savage awakens the curiosity and sometimes instructs the mind of a philosopher ; but as we rise in the scale of nations and of beings, from the uncouth sounds which express the desires of a Patagonian to the lofty periods of cultivated oratory, the power of words expands, until it attains regions above the present range of our capacity. It designates, as Novalis has finely said, God with three letters and the Infinite with as many syllables — though the ideas conveyed by those words are immeasurably beyond the utmost grasp of man. In every relation of life, at every moment of our active being, in everything we think or do, it is on the meaning and inflection of a Word that the direction of our thoughts and the expression of our will turns. The soundness of our judgments, the clearness of our faith and of our reason, the influence we

exert over others, depend mainly on a true knowledge of the value of words. Education begins with it; the experience of life promotes it; but no life is long enough to complete it; and there is not a day of life on which he who carefully observes the processes of language may not add something to his store. Hence all that concerns the culture of language is of infinite importance. The care bestowed on it is bestowed on the most perfect instrument of the mind, without which all other gifts are valueless; and though grammars and dictionaries are not to be classed amongst the most attractive collections of knowledge, they do in fact comprise everything else from the inspired diction of religion or poetry to the records of history and the phraseology of daily life.

Take for example that profession which may be said to sustain the fabric of society by the exposition of the Law. In the ordinary relations of society and in the pages of literature, words represent impressions and ideas, but in legal instruments they are *things*; they dispose of property, liberty, and life; they convey and determine the paramount will of the legislature; and they become the masters of our social being. Accordingly the main duty of those who are concerned in the administration of justice between man and man is the precise definition and correct application of terms; sometimes indeed in the more contracted and technical sense which the Courts have assigned to them, but often on the broader principles of philology or vernacular use. The Court of Chancery more especially, or any other court of construction, is perpetually engaged in the arduous and irksome task of finding syntax and signification in documents not unfrequently devoid of either; and, to say the truth, the statutes at large are not altogether excluded from this unintelligible category. Then it is that the lexicographer exercises, through his work, one of his highest functions; it is his authority which traces the path Justice herself must tread, and by the barrier of a word arrests the arm of the law. How often in moments of legal perplexity have we seen judges of the most scholarlike attainments and the most subtle faculties, anxious to assist the memory and the judgment by a reference to Johnson, Todd, Forcellini, or even the great dictionaries of the continental languages! How much ingenious argument may hang on a shade of meaning, to be determined objectively, without reference to the fancied intentions of the legislator or the writer! And how valueless would a dictionary of the English language be which should fail to decide these questions with some degree of authority, based on sound philological principles and the usage of the

best authors ! The greatest controversies, the hardest problems, the keenest negotiations, the most momentous decisions turn at last upon the meaning of a Word ; and not unfrequently a clear knowledge of language would resolve or avoid difficulties which the passions of men inflame with all the violence of strife. For if language is the mechanism by which our social relations are governed and maintained, that science and that authority which governs and maintains language itself has a paramount influence over thought and action in the world. Yet, it must be confessed, an accurate knowledge and use of the language we ourselves employ is not a common acquirement ; and the books of reference to which we have recourse to determine a doubtful point in the history or value of a word are by no means perfect or infallible. No living tongue can boast of a complete dictionary, and the most cursory observation will satisfy any man versed in English literature of the numerous imperfections of all the dictionaries we possess. Languages no longer spoken have this advantage, that their literature is determined and their structure finished ; but every language in actual use among men is subject to such mutations of fashion, and to so many causes insensibly affecting it, that the enumeration of its words is a task continually to be renewed. A dictionary a century old is necessarily a work out of date, not only from the changes the language has actually undergone in that interval, but from the increasing means of criticism applied to its origin, its cognate branches, and its history.

In the little essay which is now before us, the deficiencies of the present dictionaries of our language are pointed out *seriatim*, and discussed by one to whom English philology is more deeply indebted than to any other critic of the age, and from whom all such observations must come with peculiar force. Dr. Trench has accomplished the arduous work of rendering a dry subject popular by his various publications, and Englishmen in general are under no small obligation to him for making them better aware of the wealth of their language. He has done this both by teaching and by example. Although, like the late Professor Blunt of Cambridge, fully master of all the copiousness and elegance of the languages of classical antiquity, he nevertheless delights, as the Professor did, in the homely vigour of our own Saxon. In his examination of the defects of our present dictionaries he has doubtless from the first had an eye to the construction of a new one. If not solely, yet in great measure by his exertions, considerable preparation has already been made for a new dictionary, by a division of labour upon a scale corresponding in grandeur to the importance of such a work. A list of books

has been drawn up, in which the age, authority, and meaning of words may be traced, and these books are entrusted, one by one, to volunteer philologists, competent to extract the marrow from them. The results are to be handed over to the Philological Society, who have abandoned their original idea of producing a mere supplement to the old dictionaries, and now issue the prospectus of an entirely new dictionary, which promises, if it be but carried out with energy and harmony, to give us such a dictionary as the world has never yet seen. It is said truly that England does not possess a dictionary worthy of her language; but so long as the whole labour, as well of collecting the materials as of constructing the work, is confined to the isolated efforts of a single mind, it is in vain to look for such a dictionary. Those of the French Academy and the Academy della Crusca are the product of the continuous labour of generations. The Philological Society, then, are quite right in calling upon Englishmen to come forward and write their own dictionary for themselves, by bringing the scattered learning and energy which so plentifully exists among us,—if it can only be reached and addressed effectually,—to bear upon a common and national object. •

But whilst we do full justice to the laudable spirit which has set on foot this undertaking, and to the high qualifications of those who have engaged in it, we are not satisfied that we entirely agree with Dr. Trench and the members of the Philological Society as to what a dictionary of the English language really ought to be; and we propose to devote some pages on the present occasion to the consideration of this question.

A dictionary ought, in our judgment, to give as far as possible, in a brief compass, the history of a word,—its derivation, its definition, its introduction into the language, its primal meaning, its secondary meaning, its technical or idiomatic meanings, illustrated by examples taken from writers of different periods of English literature. Without this analysis, a dictionary sinks into a mere vocabulary, and we can discover little of importance or interest in a collection of strange or obsolete terms, which cannot honestly be said to belong to the English language, any more than the cant terms of this or that sect, or the slang of the streets. We have no desire to see a greater laxity prevail in this matter, but the reverse. The current always runs fast enough, or too fast, in the direction of vulgar, corrupt, or pedantic forms of expression. Word-coiners are as pestilent a race as any other forgers, who cannot carry on their transactions in the lawful coin of the realm; and having nothing new or original to say in old words, they attempt to

dress up their platitudes and plagiarisms in new ones. For the language is common property; it has come down to us from our forefathers sufficient for all our wants, except, perhaps, those of scientific discovery and nomenclature; and one of the most laudable objects an educated man can pursue is to defend it from contamination. Holding this opinion, we have considerable difficulty in acceding to the doctrine of Dr. Trench and the Philological Society, that 'the first requirement of every lexicon is, that it should contain every word occurring in the literature of the language it professes to illustrate.' (*Prospectus*, p. 3.) What is this but to throw down all barriers and rules, and to declare that every form of expression which may have been devised by the humour, the ignorance, or the affectation of any writer, is at once to take rank in the national vocabulary? To effect this object, a list of the most obscure and obsolete authors is published, who are to be ransacked for words, many of which are probably found nowhere else in the whole range of English literature. Many of them are quoted with approving interest by Dr. Trench in his essay, having been used perhaps once by Henry More or Fuller. We really do not know on what grounds Sir Thomas Urquhart's translation of Rabelais is omitted from this list, inasmuch as the worthy knight may fairly claim to be ranked with the boldest neologists in the language. Coleridge says in a juvenile letter to Sir Humphry Davy, recently published, 'I was a well-meaning sutor, who had ultra-crepidated with more zeal than wisdom,' and boasts that this felicitous expression had just flashed on his mind. Strange expressions and far-fetched derivations are constantly flashing on the minds of some writers; and for their own purposes authors who have got the good will of their readers may practise whatever tricks and distortions they please; but we demur to the conclusion that every one of these fancies ought to be registered for ever in the pages of a dictionary. No one would hesitate to place Isaac Barrow* among the greatest masters of the English tongue; but when Tillotson published Barrow's immortal sermons, he substituted 'divert' for 'avoce,' 'flattering' for 'adulatorous,' 'gain' for 'acquist,' 'such-like' for 'semblable,' 'invent' for 'extund,' &c.,

* In the new edition of the theological works of Barrow, edited for the Syndics of the University Press at Cambridge, by the Rev. Alexander Napier, the readings of the original manuscripts of the author have been carefully restored, whenever they could be found and deciphered. This circumstance gives an additional philological value to an edition of this great English classic which does the highest honour to the University and to Mr. Napier in many other respects.

and although it may be curious to trace the tentative use of these uncouth expressions, not even the example of Barrow can be said to have engrafted them on the English language. A bill must not be only drawn, but accepted. The real test of the value and signification of a word lies in the sense it conveys to every man who is acquainted with the language; but far beyond the legitimate confines of the English tongue lies a dim region of barbarous and imperfect terms, uttered and employed perhaps at certain periods or by a certain person, but which no more belong to our language than obsolete and repealed laws belong to the statute book. In the earlier ages of our literature, when the resources of the language were less known, and its character less accurately defined, writers dealt with the meaning of words almost as freely as they did with their orthography, and if the correct term did not occur to their minds, they supplied its place by analogy and invention. •The best period of a language is to be found neither in the archaisms of its infancy nor in the loose abundance of its old age; but when the instrument has reached a point at which it has acquired all it wants for accurate and perspicuous diction without redundancy or excess; and when we speak of that purity of language which is precious to every man of real cultivation and refinement, we mean a language undebased by uncouth innovations, or by unauthorised uses.

For historical purposes, such a collection of words as the Philological Society proposes to furnish us with will, of course, have a certain degree of interest, and so comprehensive a vocabulary of terms would become a species of concordance to English literature. But there is obviously a very wide distinction between the ancient modes of diction, which have less certainty of expression in them, and those living words which belong to the structure, and comprise the whole power, of the language itself. When these vast materials are gathered in, the true function of the lexicographer will begin, for somewhere or other a line must be drawn between what is curious and what is corrupt, between the vernacular and the provincial, and between the significations which use has given to language. Whilst, therefore, we applaud the spirit of the undertaking, we fear it will remain incomplete, or of secondary utility, unless the vocabulary of the English writers be digested into a dictionary of the English language in its true and proper sense.

Among the curiosities of literature some of our readers may possess the 'Edinburgh Review' of 1755, a critical journal founded in this city, which anticipated by half a century the commencement of our own series of volumes. In this review

Adam Smith wrote the first critique on Johnson's Dictionary; and though we cannot concur in the opinion of the great economist that a dictionary ought to define words in the form of a grammatical essay, we are struck with the following remark applied to Johnson, which is singularly at variance with Dr. Trench's notion on the same subject. 'Most words,' says Adam Smith, 'are, we believe, to be found in the dictionary 'that ever were almost suspected to be English; but we cannot 'help wishing that the author had trusted less to the judgment 'of those who may consult him, and had oftener passed his 'own censure upon those words which are not of approved use, 'though sometimes to be met with in authors of no mean 'name.'

One of the first branches of this most important study, and that in which most progress has been made since the days of Johnson, is unquestionably the origin of the language, and the Northern or Indo-Germanic roots to which a large portion of it may be traced. A vast number of the words in daily use flowed into Britain from the forests of Northern Germany and the shores of the North Sea. The language of the Teutonic conquerors of this island belonged to the family called Indo-European. This Teutonic conquest seems to have been effected primarily by two great branches of the Saxon race, who took possession of the chief part of the island, driving the native Celts and their language before them: the two branches being the Frisians, who went westward, and the Angles, whose district lay to the east. A composite language was formed in Britain, having for its basis the dialects of these two tribes, and thence called Anglo-Saxon. This language forms the staple of our modern English. Out of the thirty-five thousand words which constitute our present stock, five eighths are Anglo-Saxon. This language grew, and was strengthened in its growth, at a period when the classical language of Rome was melting away. A small number of words and names of Scandinavian extraction were added by Danish settlers, and a greater number of Norman French words, derived in a great measure from the Latin, were added by Norman invaders. This composite language took its place among the languages of Europe. After the Norman invasion, the language lost its inflexions and terminations, together with much of that plastic character which, in common with the Teutonic dialects, it possessed previously, and which the German language possesses at this time. It retained, however, a vast number of those energetic and practical words which are in daily use. The names of the elements and their changes,—of the seasons,—the heavenly bodies,—the divisions of time,—

the features of natural scenery,—the organs of the body,—the modes of bodily action and posture,—the commonest animals,—the words used in earliest childhood,—the ordinary terms of traffic,—the constituent words in proverbs,—the designations of kindred,—the simpler emotions of the mind,—terms of pleasantry, satire, contempt, indignation, invective, and anger,—are for the most part Anglo-Saxon. In a series of passages taken at random from the writings of Shakspeare, Swift, Gibbon, Johnson, and our translation of the Bible, we find that out of an average of eighty-seven words, the number of Saxon words stands thus:—the Bible, eighty-four; Swift, seventy-eight; Shakspeare, seventy-three; Johnson, sixty-six; and Gibbon, fifty-four.

Several philologists have employed themselves of late very profitably in collecting the archaic words which still linger in our provinces, and arranging them in classes according to their derivation, whether Celtic, Scandinavian, or Anglo-Saxon; throwing additional light thereby upon certain interesting points in our early history. From the number of Celtic words still existing in Lancashire, we may infer that a considerable population of that race must have remained in the county after it fell under the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons: and from the kind of words that the Celts left behind them it is clear that they were not barbarians, but moderately well skilled in the arts of life. Mr. Davies, to whom we are indebted for these investigations*, thinks that he can discover an amount of Celtic blood in the veins of the good people of Lancashire correspondent to the Celtic element in their language; arguing, from certain points in their character and temperament, that to the stubborn perseverance and self-reliance of the Teutonic stock certain other qualities have been added, which must have come from a more excitable and mercurial race.†

The Englishman is rather apt to pride himself upon a sort of eclecticism in his character; he boasts that in his physical

* Transactions of the Philological Society, No. xiii. p. 243.

† It is always satisfactory to find that the study of philology is encouraged in our seats of learning, and we have more than once taken an opportunity of expressing that satisfaction. The Philological Society of Cambridge is now merged in that of London, among whose treasures the Cambridge 'exuviae' have been deposited with due solemnity. A noble library, collected expressly for the study of comparative philology, is deposited in King's College, London, having been presented in 1835 by the late William Marsden, a philologist who, among English scholars at least, was considerably in advance of his age.

constitution of mind and body, in the form of government under which he lives, and also in the language which he speaks, he has selected and secured the good elements and rejected the bad ones. It was said of our language by old Camden, that in the composition of it we have 'gathered the honey and left 'the dregs.' He added that our language possesses as much grandeur as the Spanish, as much sweetness as the Italian, as much delicacy as the French, and as much energy as the German, without certain defects and blemishes which exist in those languages as concomitants with their respective excellences. 'They may talk as they will of the dead languages. 'Our auxiliary verbs give us a power which the ancients, with 'all their varieties of mood and inflection of tense, never could 'attain.' To the same effect with this remark of Southey is the more studied dictum of Humboldt, that 'the practical convenience of expressing the sense supersedes the fanciful pleasure originally felt in combining elementary sounds with their 'full-toned syllables, each pregnant with meaning.' The English use of the auxiliaries 'shall' and 'will' for the expression of the future tense has given us a precision which cannot otherwise be attained without much difficulty; we have worked it out to a degree of nicety in itself remarkable, and extremely puzzling to foreigners. Even among those to whom the English tongue is vernacular, both within these islands and across the Atlantic, there are some to whom the strict idiom seems altogether beyond the power of attainment. An interesting little volume on this subject has been written by Sir Edmund Head, which well repays the trouble of a perusal. Sir Edmund examines closely the future auxiliaries in other languages; and after explaining the rules of our own idiom, he shows that the principle upon which those rules are founded is no novelty, by tracing it upwards to the time of Chaucer.*

It cannot be denied that our language possesses an unparalleled richness and copiousness of diction; a choice of terms expressive of every shade of difference in the idea, in comparison with which the vocabulary of several other modern languages is poverty itself. Many words which were originally synonymous, being simply the terms by which the Anglo-Saxon and the Roman designated the same thing, in process of time acquired a separate and distinct meaning from conventional usage, and thereby the language was enriched instead of being encumbered. The 'florid' complexion of the Latin derivative

* *Shall and Will: or Two Chapters on Future Auxiliary Verbs.* By Sir Edmund W. Head, Bart. 1856.

differed in no respect originally from the 'blooming' complexion of the vernacular Saxon: but now there is a difference. The 'blooming' complexion carries your thoughts to the young damsel who trips over the heather of her own breezy mountains; while the 'florid' belongs to him who sits till midnight over his cups. And in like manner the Roman may have used his word 'aptus' in the same sense in which the Saxon used his correspondent word 'fit.' But here, again, modern usage has introduced a refinement. In these days it would be said of an evil companion that he is 'apt' to teach certain things which it is not 'fit' to learn. Shakspeare speaks of 'hands apt' and 'drugs fit' for the work of poisoning. There is a delicate shade of meaning—an active and a passive sense—in these two words which were once synonymous. In the bewilderment occasioned by excessive variety some people have complained that three or four ways of saying a thing rush into the head at once; but it is only needful carefully to exercise the taste and judgment in selecting the best, and by degrees such facility in composition will be the result that the best will generally be the first to offer itself. An exact appreciation of the meaning of words tends more than anything to heighten our enjoyment of those writers who use words with accuracy, and it is astonishing how often the meaning may escape altogether for want of this power of discrimination. Thus for example in the well-known lines of the 'Allegro' where Milton says, amongst the cheerful sights of rural morn,

'And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the vale'—

the word 'tale' does not mean that he is romancing to the milkmaid, but that he is *counting his sheep* as they pass the hawthorn—a natural and familiar occupation of shepherds on a summer's morning. The primary meaning of the word 'tale' is in fact to count or number, in German 'zahlen,' though both in the English *tale* and the French *conte*, the secondary meaning has got the upper hand of the first.

The time seems fast approaching when the English language will exercise over the other languages of the world a predominance which our forefathers little dreamt of. When Lord Bacon aimed at futurity in his writings, he set himself to write in Latin: 'I do conceive,' he says, 'that the Latin volumes, being the universal language, may last as long as books last.' Milton, — 'being content with these islands as my world,' — confined himself in his great works to the language of these islands: he 'cared not to be once named abroad,' though per-

haps he 'might have attained to that,' had he desired it. So little was English literature known in France two hundred years ago, that in certain directions given for the arrangement of a library all English books are passed over with the curt observation,—'vix mare transmittunt.' According to Waller, it was a crowning achievement of Cromwell's vast mind, that our language is spoken even 'under the tropic.' The language of Britain crossed the sea long before its literature, for in Swift's time the literature is spoken of as being still confined 'to these two islands.' Dr. Johnson about a century ago, when applying to Britain a passage in the 'Somnium Scipionis' of Cicero, — 'omnis enim terra quæ colitur a vobis, angusta verticibus, lateribus latior, parva quædam insula est,' — proceeded to apply to our island the continuation of the same passage, forbidding us to hope that its renown will ever pass the stream of Ganges or the cliffs of Caucasus.

But one of our Elizabethan poets, the gentle Daniel, who has been spoken of as the Atticus of his age, surmised that better things were in store for us. After lamenting that the speech of our 'scarce-discovered isle' is so little known to the rest of the world, he expresses a wish as follows:—

'Oh that the ocean did not bound our style
Within these strict and narrow limits so;
But that the melody of our sweet isle
Might now be heard to Tiber, Arno, and Po;
That they might know how far Thames does outgo
The music of declined Italy!'

Despairing of its gaining ground in Italy, he foresees its triumph in America:—

'Who knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory may be sent,
To enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in the yet unformed Occident
May come refined with accents that are ours?'

The poet's aspirations are now fulfilled. Soon after he wrote this passage, the English language was planted on a narrow slip of land on the Western continent; it grew apace, and its prospects are now the most splendid that the world has ever seen. The entire number of persons who speak certain of the languages of Northern Europe,—languages of considerable literary repute,—is not equal to the number simply added every year, by the increase of population, to those who speak the English language in England and America alone. There are persons now living who will in all probability see it the ver-

naacular language of one hundred and fifty millions of the earth's civilised population. Although French is spoken by a considerable proportion of the population in Canada, and although in the United States there is a large and tolerably compact body of German-speaking Germans, these languages must gradually melt away, as the Welsh and the Gaelic have melted away before the English in our own island. The time will speedily be here when a gigantic community in America,—besides rising and important colonies in Africa and Australia,—will speak the same language, and that the language of a nation holding a high position among the empires of Europe. When this time shall have arrived, the other languages of Europe will be reduced to the same relative position with regard to the predominant language, as that in which the Basque stands to the Spanish, or the Finnish to the Russian. For such predominance the English language possesses admirable qualifications; standing, as it does, midway between the Germanic and Scandinavian branches of the ancient Teutonic, and also uniting the Teutonic with the Romanic in a manner to which no other language has any pretension. A prize was given in 1796 by the Academy at Berlin for an essay on the comparison of fourteen ancient and modern languages of Europe, and in that essay the author, Jenisch, assigns the palm of general excellence to the English; it has also been allowed by other German critics that in regard to the qualifications which it possesses for becoming a general interpreter of the literature of Europe, not even their own language can compete with it.

But whilst we trace, with natural and harmless exultation, the part which the English tongue is manifestly called upon to fill in the social and individual life of man throughout the American and Australian continents, and on the coasts of Asia,—whilst we believe that the nations born to this inheritance of our language will take with it many of the noblest productions of the human intellect,—it is impossible to overlook the fact, that in the extremities of this wide empire the purity and precision of the language itself are likely to be corrupted and lost. Already, in the United States, in Australia, and in the Western colonies, the vernacular tongue of the people differs widely from the standard of the mother country; and the current literature of the day, being chiefly in the form of newspapers, tends rather to debase than to raise the style of diction. The more important is it, that here, in the seat and cradle of our race, under the tutelary sanction of our public schools and universities, with a highly educated class of men engaged in the liberal professions and in public life, and in the

very centre of the literary activity of the nation, we should endeavour, as far as possible, to fix and determine the correct meaning and value of those words which are destined to pass current throughout the world, and to express the manifold inflections and varieties of thought, feeling, and perception in so many myriads of men. The greater the extension of the language, the more important does it become to throw around it all the lustre of literary authority, and to preserve it as far as possible from the innovations which tend to vulgarise and degrade it. We think these attempts have not been vain, and that the English of our best writers at the present day is purer and more idiomatic than the English of fifty years ago. That improvement, if it exists, is mainly due to the increased study of the great masters of the language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in preference to the less masculine and idiomatic writers of the eighteenth. It is also due in some degree to the increased familiarity of English men of letters with the cognate tongues of Germany and Northern Europe. But no attempt has yet been made thoroughly to combine these two elements of early English literature and Teutonic criticism in a national dictionary.

It has already been observed that words are the representatives of something absent, a thing or a thought, just as a coin is the representative of wealth; and that as such words are universally current. A stamp is impressed upon pieces of metal, and the man who possesses a sufficient number of such pieces of metal is as rich as he who possesses sheep and oxen, man-servants and woman-servants, houses and land. That stamp is affixed by the king, or by the supreme power of the state. But who affixes the stamp upon a word? No prince or potentate was ever strong enough to make or to unmake a single word. It is said that Cæsar, in the plenitude of his power, acknowledged that it was beyond that power to do it. Cicero attempted to make words, and his trial-pieces were very neat in their way, struck of good metal and according to rule, and well calculated to supply an acknowledged and a real want; yet they did not pass into circulation; his friends and admirers took them from him at first, but after a while they were thrown back upon his hands, and there they remained. Language is made by the multitude, nobody knows when, or where, or how. It is 'nullius filius.' The multitude,—sometimes the multitude of practical and working men, and sometimes the multitude of writing and thinking men, but more frequently the former,—supply the metal and the die, and strike off the coin. Ingenious word-builders may expend much learning in proving

to our British 'Demus' that his favourite 'Telegram' is a questionable sort of person, both in regard to character and extraction, and that one 'Telegrapheme,' on the contrary, is the offspring of creditable Greck parents, born in honest wedlock;—yet Demus chooses to adopt the outcast. We hope that having carried his point against the Hellenists by the adoption of the word 'telegram,' he will be no less resolute in his opposition to another party, who are striving to debase the language by introducing the verb 'to wire,' instead of the word hitherto used, 'to telegraph.'

A man's language is part of his character, and this, not only in regard to the usage of certain shibboleths of a party, whether in religion or politics, but also in regard to a general vocabulary. There is a school vocabulary and a college vocabulary; certain phrases brought home to astound and perplex the uninitiated, and passing now and then into general currency. In this age of examinations,—army, navy, civil service, and middle class,—the verb 'to pluck' is well nigh incorporated with the vernacular, and must take its place in dictionaries. The sportsman Nimrod has his esoteric vocabulary, and so has likewise the angler Walton. The man of the world has his own set of phrases, understood and recognised by the fraternity: and so has the gourmand: and so also has the fancier of wines, who, in opposition to one of the laws of nature, speaks to you of wine, a fluid, as being 'dry.' The connoisseur in painting tells you also of 'dryness' in a picture, and he uses other terms which seem as if they had been invented to puzzle the uninitiated. Your favourite landscape may have 'tones' in it, as well as your violin. With shoulders that are 'broad,' and with cloth that is 'broad' covering those broad shoulders, you stand and observe that a painting is 'broad.' You sit at dinner with a 'delicious bit' of venison before you on the table, and looking up you see a 'delicious bit' of Watteau or Wouvermans before you on the wall. The swell mob have a copious vocabulary, but as it is contrived solely with a view to escape detection, there is as little traceable connexion as possible between the word and the thing signified.

There is a sort of vocabulary, also, adopted by persons, otherwise respectable enough, in their daily conversation. With such a person everything that pleases is 'charming,' 'delightful,' or 'nice'; every thing handsome is 'splendid'; every thing that they do not like is 'dreadful' and 'terrible,' 'fearful' and 'horrible'; and when they mean to agree with you they agree 'decidedly.' Such is their enthusiasm that they cannot talk about the most ordinary subject in any but the most exaggerated and enraptured terms. And others, who have no great share of

enthusiasm, but withal a very limited vocabulary, being of that class of persons who are said never to master more than three hundred or three hundred and fifty words, fall into the habit of using the same exaggerated terms through sheer poverty of expression. Yet the truth is, hardly one of these conventional ejaculations is used with any regard to its true meaning.

It has been calculated that our language contains thirty-five thousand words, and out of these thirty-five thousand words it is surprising to find how small is the number which are ordinarily put to actual use. A child, from the time when he begins to articulate, picks up words and uses them by an imitative process, which waxes less active as he becomes an adult. The number acquired in childhood is said to be about one hundred. If he does not belong to the educated classes of society, he will at no period acquire more than three hundred or three hundred and fifty. Upon a stock of twice that amount he may mix with learned men, and even write a book. Then how vast is the number of words that lie hid in the 'kamus,' or 'ocean' — according to the Arabic title — of dictionaries. Words that even the educated speaker or writer administers only in homœopathic doses; words once in repute but now forgotten; words invented for the use of science; words confined in their usage to certain districts and dialects. In dealing with their own language, the French Académie assumed the exercise of a critical and discretionary power, admitting such words only as were deemed to be agreeable to the genius of the language and to good taste. No such power has ever been assumed in English literature; and, as we have seen, Dr. Adam Smith complained that Johnson did not assume it enough. The truth is, that no such power exists within the grasp of any man or set of men. The only authority which can, as it were, legalise and determine the use and meaning of a word is the consent of good authors; and to elicit from their writings the true character a word is entitled to bear is the peculiar duty of the lexicographer. We think that, in the discharge of this duty, he ought to be governed by rules and literary judgment sufficiently strict to avoid encumbering his work with barbarous neologisms; and on this point we differ from Dr. Trench.

Ought an English dictionary, for example, to admit any words that are *not* English? Dr. Trench would answer in the affirmative. In the seventeenth century an attempt was made to Latinise the language, and the result was an influx of such words as 'subsannation,' 'ludibundness,' and 'septemfluous,' many of which were used only by one author, and by that one

author perhaps in only one passage. Words occur even in the writings of Bacon and Milton, which we must interpret rather by classical association than by genuine English use. When Milton, at the very beginning of the 'Paradise Lost,' speaks of

'the *secret* top

Of Oreb or of Sinai ;'

the meaning of the word 'secret' is to be sought, not in the well-known English adjective, but in the Latin participle used by Virgil, 'secretosque pios.' The obvious absurdity of taking the word as our ordinary adjective, induced Bentley to adopt the extreme measure of altering it to 'sacred.' This affectation of Latinism gave birth to a multitude of extremely awkward words, which the better taste of the nation would not allow to take root. Yet Dr. Trench would admit them into the English dictionary. If the author is admitted, he is allowed to bring with him the whole of his offspring. Words that would more appropriately find a place in some philological 'hortus siccus,' as a specimen of exotics that could not be prevailed upon to grow in our soil and climate, are to be introduced into a catalogue of veritable English words. They are to be admitted, not for the enlightenment of those chance readers who may, once in a century perhaps, light upon the word in the writings of Henry More, or some other quaint divine of the period, but for the benefit of any philological inquirer who studies that phase in our language which produced them. We think that they might find their place more appropriately in a history of the language than in a dictionary.

Another class of un-English words are those which have been added of late years, in vast numbers, to the nomenclature of science, and by an indiscriminate admission of which our modern dictionaries are increased enormously in bulk. There is scarcely a page in Johnson which does not contain some word that has no business there; and yet Todd not only admits all these words, but adds to them; while Webster brings them in by hundreds and thousands at a time; each doing his best to crowd and deform his pages with them, and all the while triumphantly calling upon the world to observe how vast an advantage he has gained over his predecessors. We do not advocate an absolute exclusion of scientific terms. There are certain scientific words which have passed out of their peculiar province into more or less general use; words that are sanctioned by something more than merely professional usage; words that a writer or a speaker on ordinary topics may use without the imputation of pedantry. These we would admit, with clear yet concise definitions. But we would refer all per-

sons who desire information in detail upon these terms, and all, indeed, who are uninformed as to the terms and phraseology of science in general, to their hand-book of science, or their encyclopædia. We can well spare Johnson's thirteen closely printed lines on an opal, his nineteen on a rose, twenty-one on the almug-tree, as many on the air-pump, the same number on the natural history of the armadillo, and rather more than sixty on the pear. Under the word 'cedar,' besides the length of detail, there is positive error, arising from a confusion between the cedar of Lebanon, the wood of which is white and inodorous, and the red or scented cedar, mentioned by Virgil as the 'odô-rata cedrus,' and by Horace, in the passage,

'Linenda cedro, et levi servanda cupresso.'

Dr. Trench complains that in our present dictionaries the exclusion or admission of obsolete words is carried out upon arbitrary principles. He would have them all admitted, without exception. When an author is accredited by the insertion of his name in a certain list, every word that may be found in the writings of that author is to have a place found for it in the dictionary of the English language.

We come next to the case of provincial words. Provincial words, as such, are not to have a place. If a provincial word can bring with it a certificate of its former standing, that is, if it can exhibit itself in print, and show thereby that it was once current through the land, it is to be admitted, but not otherwise. In the case of a merely popular dictionary, we think that there is scarcely need to introduce provincial words at all. Most people are already acquainted with the provincialisms of their own locality, and an acquaintance with those of other localities is not required. But, if we are to have a complete inventory of the English language, we would not only admit provincial words in part, but *in toto*. Whether they bring with them Dr. Trench's voucher for respectability or not, we would admit them. We cannot quite agree with the axiom that paper and print have the power of converting a local word into an universal one; and, for the history of the language, provincial words are the very roots and sources of its distinctive characteristics. If in the lists of provincial words we find some of unquestionably Danish or Teutonic origin, we have a right to presume that they have been once in more general use than they now are, and on that presumption we would open the door and allow them entrance. A word may have been in uninterrupted use down from the time of King Alfred, and yet, unless that word has been introduced into some literary composition, and unless

that composition is now extant, and unless, moreover, its author is one of the accredited authors, the word is excluded. Such would be the case with the Danish word 'spalt,' that is 'brittle,' which is still current, to our knowledge, in some districts of the land, though we cannot find it used in any literary composition. In spite of the authority of usage by Bishop Hacket, and Henry More, and even Fuller, we think the word 'spalt' quite as worthy of admission into a dictionary of the language as 'dozzled,' or 'hoppied,' or 'spong,'—provincial words admitted by Dr. Trench.

The second complaint brought against our dictionaries is that families or groups of words are often incomplete; some members being inserted, while others are left out. Dr. Trench gives a vast number of instances. Thus, we have 'fellow-feeling,' but not to 'fellow-feel;'—we have 'dwarf,' but not 'dwarfling;' 'tin,' but not 'tinnen.' Among these instances there is one in which we think that Dr. Trench's affiliation is at fault: we do not think that Fuller's word 'fitchy,' which he applies to certain silver sockets so constructed as to be fixed in the earth, has any connexion with a 'fitch' or 'vetch:' we believe that it is a term borrowed from the nomenclature of heraldry. We should question also the legitimacy of the word 'extirper;' as also that of 'captainness,' and other similar words which are not derived from the Latin. Among the instances of words which appear in our dictionaries as subsisting only in one part or modification of speech, when, in reality they are in more, may we not include the verb 'to walk,' which is usually given in only a neuter sense, whereas we find it legitimately active in the phrase 'to walk a horse'? On the whole, while we agree with Dr. Trench most fully in his proposition to admit all derivatives which are actually existent, we think that they have all been already admitted by him on the inventory principle, and that the family claim is superfluous.

Dr. Trench's next complaint is that our present dictionaries do not mark with sufficient accuracy the first rise of words, and, when they have disappeared, their final extinction. He would register the moment of a word's first appearance, and, if it be gone, the precise time of its vanishing. As we saw it in the cradle, so must we follow it to the grave. The only lexicographer who has aimed at this is Richardson, and he certainly has not done all that might have been done. According to Richardson we had no 'scoundrels' amongst us until the eighteenth century, when they were introduced by Swift; whereas it is shown by Dr. Trench that the word 'scoundrel' occurred a full century before that. We may add, also, that

Richardson gives no earlier usage of the word 'coffined' than from the reign of James the First, forgetting that noble passage in Shakspeare's *Coriolanus*, —

'Would'st thou have laugh'd, had I come coffin'd home,
That weep'st to see me triumph?'

Again, the latest usage of the word 'make-bate' as given by Richardson is in Holinshed, whereas it may be found a full century later in a tract by Andrew Marvell. Dr. Trench has some amusing observations upon the *negative* evidences with regard to a word's first appearance; arguing that if we can show that a writer did not employ a certain word, when his subject must have presented to him every inducement to employ it, we may infer that it was not then in existence. For the most part this inference may be a fair one, yet it is not so in every case. A certain modern author has thought proper to make use of the phrase 'thoroughfaresomeness of stuff,' meaning thereby what we generally term the 'penetrability of matter.' On the principle of negative evidence it may be argued at some future period, that inasmuch as the subject must have presented every inducement to use the phrase 'penetrability of matter,' and yet the phrase was not used, — *ergo*, it did not exist.

With Dr. Trench's remarks upon the successive modifications of meaning we entirely concur. The inventory of words must comprise also an inventory of meanings, and those meanings must be arranged in their natural succession. The simple cause of omissions in a dictionary we take to arise for the most part not so much from a doubt as to the principles of philology, as from an inability to meet the vast amount of labour required in searching out the details. We should like to see a lexicographer who will steer his bark midway between the Scylla of omission and the Charybdis of redundancy; a course apparently more difficult to find than it might at first be supposed. We should like to have a dictionary the bulk of which is not increased to unwieldiness by the introduction of such words as 'acater,' 'adaw,' 'afterundertaker,' 'alcoranish,' and 'unvulgar.' We could also dispense with to 'primp,' to 'dill,' to 'dit,' to 'sipe,' to 'dadder;' we do not care much for the meaning of the words 'dodd,' 'fouty,' 'fram' 'frim'; and as for such as 'belswagger,' 'mizmaze,' 'pigheaded,' 'pricklouse,' 'wraprascal,' and 'fustilug,' we shall not think the liberty of speech much endangered by the exercise of dictatorship which turns them out. We should like a better dictionary than those which tell us that 'brimstone' is 'sulphur,' and then reward us for the trouble we have had in turning to 'sulphur,' by telling us it is

‘brimstone.’ We think that the time of a lexicographer may be more profitably employed than in enumerating to us in detail the names of eighty-four different kinds of pears. We smile in amazement on seeing it actually in print that ‘net-work’ means ‘anything reticulated, decussated at equal distances.’ We would admit the words ‘honied’ and ‘daisied’ into our dictionary because we find them in Chaucer, Milton, and Shakspeare; and although the practice of giving to adjectives derived from substantives the form of participles is irregular, we would let the irregularity pass as a laudable effort on the part of the language to supply the place of an adjective which, if regularly formed, as from ‘flower’ ‘flowery,’ would be unpronounceable. We do not feel at all obliged to an English lexicographer for telling us the meaning of the Latin word ‘pabulum’; especially if he takes credit for it as a new word not given by his predecessors. We think that the word ‘coax-ation,’ invented by Henry More as expressive of the act of croaking on the part of frogs (κούξ), is an unfortunate word to admit at all, especially when we find it explained as the act of ‘coaxing.’ We admire the industry with which Richardson has collected and arranged his quotations: but we should have liked it better if he had followed, not the order of writers, but the order of meanings. His definitions, too, seem to us rather scanty; and we would give as an instance the definition of ‘wit,’ which surely means something more explicit than ‘the power or faculty which kens, knows, perceives, understands.’ By diving into his three columns of quotations we bring up something more to the point; but we should like to have found it without taking the trouble to dive. We should like to meet with a lexicographer equally brief, terse, and lucid in his definitions with the indefatigable Dr. Noah Webster: but we should prefer one who would give us fewer words and a greater number of illustrative quotations. Though he has discarded a considerable number of Todd’s redundancies, there are still too many left; for instance, ‘anti-monarchicalness,’ and ‘anti-pathe-ticalness,’ and ‘connaturalness,’ to say nothing of to ‘dizz,’ to ‘flawter,’ and the abbreviation ‘em’ for ‘them.’ What occasion is there under the word ‘alkali’ to run through a series of derivative words to the number of fourteen, including such as ‘alkalifiable,’ and ‘alkilinity?’ There are at least a hundred and twenty words of which the intensitive ‘all’ is a component part, and of which a large proportion, including such words as ‘all-murdering,’ ‘all-piercing,’ ‘all-blasting,’ and ‘all-dimming,’ might easily have been spared. Without stopping to argue the point as to whether, in his attempt to bring certain words back

to the purity of the Latin, he was justified in spelling the words 'favor,' 'honor,' 'labor,' 'valor;' we must protest against the extension of the rule to such words as 'neighbor,' 'harbor,' 'endeavor,' and 'behavior.' With regard to Dr. Noah Webster's etymologies, we think that many of them, although the fruit of much learned research, are at least doubtful; and that those from the Semitic languages are mere freaks of fancy, realising in a singular manner the description written by Cowper a quarter of a century before, of

'those learn'd philologists, who chase
A panting syllable through time and space,
Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark
To Gaul—to Greece—and into Noah's ark.'

We agree with Dr. Trench that much remains to be done with regard to Synonyms; in fact there is no doubt that a due precision in marking the various shades of meaning will bring down the number of actual synonyms to a small proportion of what it appears to be at present.

Dr. Trench estimates very highly, but not more highly than is their due, the value of quotations, illustrative of the first introduction of words and their etymology and their meaning. When a writer in the seventeenth century, for instance, protests against the introduction of the word 'suicide' in the place of 'self-homicide,'—'because it might seem as well to participate of *sus*, a sow, as of the pronoun *sui*,'—we cannot have a more satisfactory record of the word's first appearance. The value of illustrative and suggestive quotations was well known to Johnson. Although in his selection of them we may trace a predilection for the books which composed his own library, some of which were more estimable for their religious tendency or more acceptable to him for their political sentiments, than intrinsically valuable for literary excellence; and although his acquaintance even with these favoured volumes was imperfect, being the result of 'fortuitous and unguided excursions,'—as he himself describes the process,—in which all that he did was 'to glean as industry should find or chance should direct,'—still, it must be acknowledged that it is by the felicitous use of quotations, no less than by his wonderful faculty of discrimination, and of giving preciseness and force to definition, that his great work came to be regarded as one of unsurpassed authority in the world of letters.

Our friends of the Philological Society can frame no better wish than that their projected dictionary may stand forth in its generation, as noble a monument of learning, acuteness, and

industry, as that of the sturdy lexicographer, who pushed on his work, year after year, through difficulties of which he deemed it useless to complain, and brought it to the verge of completion, as he proudly states, 'without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour.' Their design is a magnificent one, but they will have difficulties of corresponding magnitude to contend with in carrying it out. That a vast amount of materials will be collected there can be no doubt; and these materials, when carefully arranged, will be an invaluable acquisition to the philological literature of England. But beyond the collecting and arranging of materials their prospect is at present, it must be confessed, rather hazy. Assume that all is ready, and that a general plan is laid down for the edifice, — where is the wise master-builder? The hewers of wood and the drawers of water have done their work well, and an abundance of excellent material lies upon the ground — blocks of stone from the various quarries specified in the programme, every block, in the judgment of those who brought it, right in quality and right in dimension. But what if there be others who think differently upon that point? There must somewhere lie a power of arbitration. From the moment that the building begins, the republic must give place to a dictator. Let the dictator have, if it be needful, a board of assessors, three or five in number, with whom he may take counsel in cases of peculiar difficulty; but his power must be paramount, and his decision final. Cases will be constantly occurring in which it will be requisite to draw a line; as, for instance, to mark the precise limits of the several eras of the language, as well as of the class of books to be included in those several eras; and the hand that draws this line must be a firm one. In the whole department of the explanation of words, it is not industrious research alone that will be required, but a commanding intellect. The Philological Society may succeed in extracting an immense mass of materials; but the task of constructing the work is then to begin, if it is to have that authority which we require, and that mark of unity in design and execution which a perfect dictionary must possess.

ART. IV. — *Correspondence of Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis.* Edited, with Notes, by CHARLES ROSS, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1859.

As soon as nations emerge from that childlike state, in which every narrative of past events is accepted as historical, as soon as they begin to doubt and to inquire after the evidence of occurrences related to have happened in former ages, the distinction between contemporary and traditionary history is speedily apprehended. The modern critical historian draws this distinction with still greater precision. He points out, for instance, how history, founded on a consecutive narrative of well-informed contemporaries, begins, for Greece, with the Persian war, and for Rome, with the landing of Pyrrhus in Italy; and how the accounts of Greece and Rome for the earlier periods, are derived from oral traditions, assisted by fragmentary records in writing, and popular poems. Even in some periods of later history, where barbarous communities are concerned, the traditionary element occupies a large space. Mr. Muir, in his recent *Life of Mahomet*, has shown how much of the accepted history of the Arab prophet rests upon the uncertain basis of oral tradition*; and M. Amédée Thierry, in his *History of Attila*, has given a copious analysis of the legendary materials which have been accumulated around the exploits of the conqueror of the fifth century.†

The modern history of civilised nations is founded exclusively upon contemporary materials. It is derived from the written accounts of persons who lived at the time of the events which they narrate. But the contemporary materials of history are not all of the same character; they differ in value and authenticity, according as they emanate from mere spectators, or from actors in the events. The annals and chronicles from which the history of England and of other European states, for the period prior to the sixteenth century, is derived, were chiefly composed by monks or priests, who, living in retirement, knew no more of contemporary history than could be learnt by a spectator of passing events. A similar remark applies to such historians as Stowe and Holinshed, and even to Smollett. A contemporary writer cannot be mistaken about patent occurrences, such as a

* See vol. i. introd. c. 1. (2 vols. 1858.)

† *Histoire d'Attila et de ses Successeurs* (Paris, 1856), vol. ii. pp. 229-443.

battle, a pestilence, a famine, a change of government. His accounts will be free from the obscurity and fluctuations of tradition; but they may be erroneous as to the springs of action and the causes of events; they may mistake the motives and characters of public men; they may adopt current popular prejudices and ignorant misrepresentations. Hence the superiority of history composed by the actors in the events narrated. Contemporary memoirs by persons who make as well as write history, may sometimes be apologies for the conduct of the author; sometimes they may be warped by the bias of the party to which he belonged; yet they have this great merit, that where they err, it is not through ignorance of the facts; and that the author was able, if he was willing, to state the events as they really happened.

The actors in events, however, who have lived in this age of writing, may be converted into historians without having intended it. Their private letters and public despatches, or other documents prepared for official purposes, may be collected and published; and thus, having been originally designed for the information of friends or the transaction of business, may become materials for history. A historical memoir may be compared with a medal, which is intended as a reminiscence; while an official despatch is like a coin, which is intended for currency in mercantile dealings. Nevertheless, a coin not less than a medal may be used as a historical testimony. Several authentic collections of this kind, as the correspondence of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Nelson, and others, have been of late years published in this country; the correspondence of Joseph Bonaparte is of a similar character, and a collection of the despatches of Napoleon has been commenced. The most ancient example is the collection of Cicero's epistles. Letters and despatches, like journals entered day by day, have this advantage over memoirs, that they exhibit faithfully the impressions of the moment, and are written without knowledge of the ultimate result. They are, therefore, more trustworthy than any narrative composed after the whole series of events has been worked out, at a time when the narrator is tempted to suppress, or has learnt to forget, the proofs of his own want of foresight. In confidential correspondence, written without any expectation of publicity, weaknesses and minor defects of the writer will be disclosed; many transient feelings or thoughts will appear which his deliberate judgment would have rejected; but where there is genuine ability and true integrity, these qualities will be more apparent from their evidence being undesigned.

It is to the latter class that the work before us belongs. The correspondence of Lord Cornwallis has been brought together from a variety of depositories, both private and public: the Family Papers, the India House, the State Paper Office, Dublin Castle, and other sources, have contributed to the collection. The editor, Mr. Charles Ross, who is married to Lord Cornwallis's granddaughter, and whose father, General Ross, was his intimate friend and constant correspondent, has shown extraordinary diligence both in the formation and illustration of this collection; his work is a model to future editors of similar collections, and offers a remarkable contrast to the ignorance and carelessness with which the family papers published under the auspices of the Duke of Buckingham have been edited. Mr. Ross, indeed, is sometimes excessive in annotation, but where the main work has been done in so efficient and satisfactory a manner, we are not disposed to be captious about trifles; and the fault, if it be one, is on the right side.

Lord Cornwallis was neither a brilliant nor a profound man; he never took part in debate, and his public despatches are composed in a simple and unpretending style. But he seems to have possessed, in an eminent degree, those qualities which inspire confidence for the management of public affairs and for the transaction of public business. During the chief part of his life, he was in the service of the State; and he was employed at critical periods in positions of the highest importance. He commanded a division in America during the American war; he was the first Governor-general of India appointed by the Crown after the recall of Hastings; he was Lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the time of the Rebellion and the Union; and he negotiated the Definitive Treaty of Amiens. The confidential correspondence of a general and statesman who has filled such posts cannot fail to possess great interest for the reader, and to furnish invaluable materials for the history of the periods in question.

Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis, was born in London, December 31st, 1738, and was sent at an early age to Eton. He did not go to the university, but, at the age of eighteen, he entered the army, having obtained a commission of ensign in the First or Grenadier Guards in 1756. Shortly afterwards he received permission to study at a military academy at Turin, to which he was accompanied by a Prussian officer. In 1758 he was appointed on Lord Granby's staff, who commanded the English troops in Germany during the Seven Years' War, and he was present at the battle of Minden. After a short absence in England, Lord Cornwallis (then Lord Brome) returned to

the army in Germany; he became lieutenant-colonel of the 12th regiment, and was engaged with the enemy in 1761 and 1762. In 1760 he had been elected member for Eye, but in 1762 he succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father, and took his seat in the House of Lords. After the peace, he accompanied his regiment to its various quarters in the United Kingdom, and once to Gibraltar. In 1768 he married Jemima, the daughter of Colonel Jones, who died in 1779.

Lord Cornwallis, when a young man, took no prominent part in politics; he acted with the party which opposed the policy of the Government prior to the American war, but was nevertheless permitted to retain some sinecure offices. In 1776, he was sent to America in command of a division of the British army. There, with the exception of two short intervals*, he remained until the surrender at York Town, in October, 1781, when he, and the troops under his command, became prisoners of war. This reverse of fortune, which was attributed to the arrangements of his superior officer, Sir Henry Clinton, does not seem to have diminished the confidence felt in his character and efficiency; and, in 1782, Lord Shelburne offered him the office of Governor-general of Bengal, which he at first declined, but ultimately accepted, though the change of administration prevented the appointment from taking place. He seems, however, to have been willing to accept the office from the Coalition Government if they had renewed the offer. He expresses the following qualified opinion of Fox's India Bill, in a letter to General Ross, of November 21. 1783:—

‘Fox’s Bill will be strongly opposed, perhaps more so than it deserves; for, although I think there are several objectionable parts, I cannot say that the *daring attack* of the *chartered rights*† has much weight with me. I think Jenkinson hit one principal blot which can hardly be got over. He supposed the Commissioners to be appointed for three or five years, as proposed by Fox, and that a change of administration ensued,—what would then be the consequence? The directors of East Indian affairs would probably be acting in direct opposition to the government at home. After all, it appears to me to be adopting a system almost as exceptionable as the present, and as likely to be perverted to the most corrupt purposes.’

In a subsequent letter to the same correspondent (December 21st, 1784), he says, ‘You know I was partial to a great part of Fox’s Bill.’

* During one of these visits to England he was examined as a witness, by a Committee of the House of Commons, on the conduct of the American war (May, 1779).

† This ground of objection to Fox’s India Bill was taken by Pitt.

In 1784, Lord Cornwallis was much displeased at being passed over in the appointments to the offices of Governor of Plymouth and Constable of the Tower. After an angry interview with Lord Sydney, the Secretary of State, he wrote a strong letter of remonstrance to Mr. Pitt, who lost no time in giving him satisfaction. The great Minister declared upon his honour that he intended no slight; that if he had inadvertently offended, he could only ask pardon, and offer any reparation in his power; and tendered the constablenesship of the Tower as the price of reconciliation. Lord Cornwallis took a few hours to consider, for the sake of appearances; and he then notified his acceptance, with an assurance of total oblivion of what had passed. The pacification was accomplished by the following letter to Mr. Pitt: —

‘Mansfield Street, Nov. 10. 1784.

‘DEAR SIR,

‘The fairness and candour of your behaviour to me, and your obliging expressions of friendship, have determined me never to turn my eyes back to whatever fatality occasioned the disagreeable subject of our conversation. I shall most thankfully accept the Tower from you, and I shall erase from my mind every idea that I could have been slighted by Mr. Pitt. I have, &c.

‘CORNWALLIS.’

In 1785, he served as member of a board of land and sea officers appointed to report upon the expediency of fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth. The plan recommended by the majority of the Board was subsequently brought forward by Mr. Pitt, but was negatived by the casting vote of the Speaker. Early in the same year, he refused the office of Governor-General of India, which was pressed upon him by Mr. Pitt; but in the summer he was sent on a special mission to Frederic the Great, for the purpose of reestablishing more intimate relations between him and the Government of England. He sent to Lord Carmarthen, the Foreign Secretary, an interesting report of his conversation with Frederic at Sans Souci, in Sept. 1785. Prussia was at this time the only continental power friendly to England. He returned in the autumn, and early in 1786, he consented to accept the office of Governor-general, which he had declined in the previous year. He embarked for India in May, and arrived at Calcutta in September.

Hastings had left India in February, 1785, and was succeeded, in the office of Governor-general, by Sir John Macpherson, as senior member of the Supreme Council. This functionary held the office for the eighteen months which elapsed until Lord Cornwallis's arrival, and made some treaties with native powers, which were censured by the Court of Directors, and annulled

by Lord Cornwallis. All that we hear in these papers respecting him is discreditable. He is described as having been intriguing and corrupt, and as having connived at the peculations of his subordinates. Lord Cornwallis had received an unfavourable account of him from Hastings, who probably was not a very severe judge of the delinquencies of another servant of the Company. On his return to England, he was admitted for a time into the intimacy of the Prince of Wales.

Lord Cornwallis was the first Governor-general appointed after the creation of the Board of Control; after the transfer of the real government of India from the Company to the ministers and nominees of the Crown. He was the first English statesman appointed to that office, who carried to India the morality of the public life of England. Before his time, whatever might be the policy or instructions of the Directors in London, the local government of India in the hands of the Company's servants had been characterised, with rare intervals, by extortion, rapine, corruption, and perfidy. Lord Cornwallis went to India with a firm determination to put a stop to this system, which had been already condemned by all parties in Parliament, and he succeeded in the attempt. Before Lord Cornwallis accepted his office, he stipulated with the Government that the Governor-general should be rendered independent of his council, and that he should be armed with powers sufficient for overcoming any opposition of the local servants of the Company. This object was effected by a supplementary Act passed in 1786.

‘If (says Mr. Ross) a retrospective view be taken of the conduct of the Company's servants in India, — of their rapacity, their corruption, the oppression they exercised, their utter ignorance in many instances of the country, — no powers conferred upon the Governor-general could be considered too great. Nor had the Court of Directors been exempt from blame. Few had any personal knowledge of India; most were only anxious to promote their personal objects; all, it may be said, revelled in jobs. The investigation (he adds) of the gross jobs and corrupt practices which had disgraced former governments occupied much time, and the inquiries were not completed till the following year.’ •

Lord Cornwallis sends the following confidential account to Mr. Dundas, the president of the India Board, in November, 1786: —

‘You recollect that I am writing confidentially to you and Mr. Pitt, and to nobody else. I depend on your secrecy, and will not conceal from you that the late government had no authority, and the grossest frauds were daily committed before their faces; their whole conduct, and all their pretensions to economy, except in the reduction

of salaries, was a scene of delusion. I suspect even that the opium and other contracts, the terms of which appear so advantageous, are not calculated to promote the real interests of the Company; and I am sure that the contractor for Oude cloths and Oude indigo was saddled with friends not very distant from the Government House.' (Vol. i. p. 227.)

In 1787, the attention of Lord Cornwallis was again directed to the peculation and corruption of the Company's servants, particularly at Lucknow and Benares. Frauds had been committed in the purchase of silk, and a collusion existed between the contractors and some members of the Board of Revenue. Prosecutions were ordered against seven of the most culpable of the Company's servants.

'It was not (says Mr. Ross) till Lord Cornwallis had himself visited the Upper Provinces, that he became thoroughly cognisant of the extent of these delinquencies, and of the excessive corruption prevalent among the Europeans when removed from the immediate supervision of Government.'

Lord Cornwallis introduced and established the principle, for the Indian Civil Service, of allowing liberal salaries to the heads of responsible offices, and of abolishing all perquisites and emoluments, whether undefined or defined. Writing to Mr. Dundas, in August, 1787, he says: —

'I have saved, since I came, upon the salt, upon the various contracts, upon remittances, balances, and jobs of different kinds, ten times, I may say fifty times, the amount of the salaries that are retrenched. I am doing everything I can to reform the Company's servants, to teach them to be more economical in their mode of living, and to look forward to a moderate competency; and I flatter myself I have not hitherto laboured in vain. But if all chance of saving any money and returning to England, without acting dishonestly, is removed, there will be an end of my reformation.'

Lord Cornwallis likewise entertained an unfavourable opinion of the Directors as a body; he complained of the badness of their appointments; and in writing to Mr. Dundas in March 1792, respecting some flagrant jobs, which they had recently perpetrated, he says: — 'If the Court of Directors cannot be controlled, I retract my opinion in favour of their continuance upon the expiration of the charter.'

But notwithstanding Lord Cornwallis's opposition to many of the acts of the Directors, and notwithstanding the uncompromising integrity with which he cleansed the Augean stable of corruption in India, he conducted himself so as to avoid unpopularity both in India and England. 'I have the satisfaction 'to think' (he writes to Lord Sydney in August, 1787), 'that, in

‘ spite of our reforms, this government is not unpopular. It has, to be sure, the advantage of succeeding to one that was universally hated and despised.’ On the other hand, Mr. Dundas, in a letter to Lord Cornwallis, of July,*1787, assures him that ‘ the Court of Directors are very much disposed to show every mark of attention to his suggestions, for he is a great favourite with them.’ That the King’s Ministers should put confidence in the government of Lord Cornwallis, and should rejoice in knowing that the Company’s servants in India were for the first time placed under the control of a firm and honest hand, was natural.

‘ We never before (Mr. Dundas writes to him, March, 1787) had a government of India, both at home and abroad, acting in perfect unison together on principles of perfect purity and integrity; these ingredients cannot fail to produce their consequent effects.’

The cause of the satisfaction felt by the Directors in the administration of Lord Cornwallis is to be sought partly in the economy and order which he introduced into Indian finance, and partly in his desire to act upon the pacific policy which Parliament had recently embodied in the Act of 1784. The Directors, looking only to their dividend, had consistently instructed their local agents to abstain from wars with the native powers, but they had not been obeyed. Lord Cornwallis intended to act on a different system; but in 1790 he was drawn into a war with Tippoo, which in 1792, when Seringapatam was on the point of being captured, was terminated by a treaty. Tippoo agreed to cede half his dominions, to pay 3,600,000*l.*, to release all prisoners, and to deliver two of his sons as hostages. In consequence of this success Lord Cornwallis was created a marquis.

One of the most important of his measures as Governor-general was the settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. It was desirable to protect the interest of the occupiers of the land by withdrawing this essential question from the dominion of uncertainty and caprice. The measure recommended by Lord Cornwallis was, as is well known, a settlement with the Zemindars, and in perpetuity. The policy of this settlement has been much disputed, and other principles of determining the land revenue have been tried in the other presidencies: it is sufficient for us to say that they agree in adopting some principle of permanence, and that the system introduced by Lord Cornwallis was undoubtedly a great improvement upon the state of things which he found in existence. Lord Cornwallis’s plan was sent home for consideration, with the remarks of Mr. Shore, who differed from him on the question of perpetuity.

On the receipt of it, Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt passed ten days together at Wimbledon in examining and discussing the subject: during a part of the time Mr. Charles Grant stayed with them. The result was that they adopted the views of Lord Cornwallis, and that Mr. Dundas prepared a despatch, sanctioning his proposals, to which the Directors agreed. It appears that at this time the official members of the India Board took part in the business, and that they did not, as at a later period, leave everything to the president. In a letter to Lord Cornwallis of July, 1787, Mr. Dundas says: 'Mr. Pitt is a real active member of the Board, and makes himself thoroughly master of the business.' In a previous letter of the same year (March 21. 1787), Mr. Dundas gives the following account of the motives for the celebrated change in the course taken by Pitt and himself with respect to the impeachment of Hastings:—

'The only unpleasant circumstance is the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Pitt and I have got great credit from the undeviating fairness and candour with which we have proceeded in it, but the proceeding is not pleasant to many of our friends, and, of course, from that and many other circumstances, not pleasing to us; but the truth is, when we examined the various articles of charges against him with his defences, they were so strong and the defences so perfectly unsupported, it was impossible not to concur; and some of the charges will unquestionably go to the House of Lords.'

Whatever collateral motives may have contributed to the formation of this decision, we cannot but think that the preceding simple explanation affords the true key to Mr. Pitt's conduct.

Lord Cornwallis, at an early period of his administration, recommended the amalgamation of the King's troops and the Company's European troops into one service. The King's final approbation of this plan was given in July, 1787; but its execution was successfully resisted by the Directors and the Company's troops. A long memorandum, upon this question, the practical interest of which has been revived by the recent mutiny, was transmitted to Mr. Dundas by Lord Cornwallis upon his return to England.

The following opinions on the attempts to convert the natives to Christianity are expressed by him in a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury of December, 1788:—

'The pride and bigotry of the Mussulmen, and the dreadful consequences to themselves and their families for ever attending the loss of caste to the Hindoos, must, in my opinion, prove insuperable bars to any material progress in the propagation of the Christian religion. The success of the Portuguese missionaries on the Malabar coast

does not hold out any very encouraging prospect to us, as their converts are the poorest and most contemptible wretches in India. It is likewise a matter for serious consideration how far the imprudence or intemperate zeal of one teacher might endanger a government which owes its principal support to a native army composed of men of high caste, *whose fidelity and affections we have hitherto secured, by an unremitted attention not to offend their religious scruples and superstitions.*

Lord Cornwallis's manners as Governor-general were simple and unostentatious; he discouraged all parade and pomp; and in the campaign against Tippoo his life was endangered by his practice of not allowing more than one or two sentries to mount guard at his tent. He rather resembled Lord W. Bentinck, of whom Jacquemont said that he was a Quaker on the throne of India, than Lord Wellesley, who was described by Sir J. Mackintosh as having 'sultanized his office.' In writing to his son Lord Brome, in January 1789, he thus describes his daily life, which offers a remarkable contrast to that of an oriental Prince.

'I can send you no news from hence that can either amuse or interest you. My life at Calcutta is perfect clockwork. I get on horseback just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon after my return from riding in doing business, and almost exactly the same portion of time every day at table, drive out in a phaeton a little before sunset, then write, or read over papers of business for two hours, sit down at nine with two or three officers of my family to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes ten. I don't think the greatest *sap* at Eton can lead a duller life than this.'

The confidential despatch of 4th April, 1790, in which he conveys to Mr. Dundas his opinion respecting the terms on which the Company's charter ought to be renewed, is a highly interesting document. The plan originally contemplated by the English Cabinet for the renewal of 1793 seems to have been to leave the commercial monopoly to the Company, without control, and to transfer the government and territorial revenues to the Crown. To this plan Lord Cornwallis objects that if the Company were left to manage their trade without government control, the jobbing would be so great that they would speedily become bankrupt: he thinks that the export trade from Britain to India might be safely thrown open, but that to abolish the monopoly of the trade from India to Britain and other countries would be ruinous: and he recommends the course which was subsequently adopted,—the renewal of the monopoly and the government for another term, both

being subject to the control of the King's Ministers. The mistake which was made in 1793, as well as in 1783 and 1784, was that the reform started on the assumption that the Company was to retain its monopoly of trade. The proper course would have been to wind up the Company; to throw open its entire trade, and to transfer its governing powers to the Crown. But although Lord Cornwallis was too timid, and too little versed in the theory of commerce, to recommend this course, he betrays a deep-rooted distrust of the Directors. He went to India at a time when the misdeeds of the Company and of their servants were fresh and well understood; and neither in this nor in his other papers is there any trace of the sentimental admiration of the Company's government which has grown up since their period of independent action has been forgotten, and they have mended their behaviour under the ferule of ministerial control.

Lord Cornwallis left India in October, 1793, after a residence of seven years and one month; and reached England in February, 1794. In 1792 he had refused the office of Secretary of State, offered to him by Mr. Pitt: he grounds his refusal upon his deficiency in the powers and habits of parliamentary debate. He was succeeded in the Governor-generalship by his friend Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), who, though originally a servant of the Company under the old system, was a man of integrity, and had acted cordially with Lord Cornwallis.

These volumes contain much curious information respecting the Regency proceedings in 1788, and other public events, which Lord Cornwallis received from his correspondents in England during his absence. Our space does not permit us to notice these collateral matters: we can only make room for an extract from a letter addressed, soon after the King's recovery, to Lord Cornwallis, by the Prince of Wales, which exhibits plainly the state of his feelings towards the King and Mr. Pitt. It is dated Carlton House, May 30. 1789. The King's restoration to health was announced to Parliament on the 24th of February preceding.

'How things have changed, and what a checkered scene of life I have been obliged to go through for the last six months! Ere this I suppose you will have heard of the King's indisposition, and how the Ministers attempted [not only], to destroy my rights, but to deprive every other individual of our family of the common liberties and rights of Englishmen. Supported I have been by some real and true friends, at the head of whom your friend my brother [the Duke of York] stood foremost, which has gained [him] immortal honour.

Had you been here, my dear Lord, I doubt not that we should have had the happiness of meeting with a similar support from you, though I am sorry to say that your members * consulted the interests of the cause of Pitt, instead of the rights and independence of the constitution of this country, as well as of the House of Brunswick. Everything has fallen into very different hands. The King is convalescent; that is to say, he certainly is better. Everything is thrown into the hands of the Queen. Every friend that supported me and the common cause of succession in the family, if they had any place, have been dismissed; such as the Duke of Queensberry and our little friend Lothian. Queensberry has been dismissed by order of the Queen and Mr. Pitt from the Bedchamber. Lothian has left his regiment of Horseguards.† They have had the insolence to threaten the Duke of York with taking his regiment of Footguards; and when they at last did not dare do that, they have brought officers into his regiment, and committed towards him every species of indignity to force him to resign, which he has had prudence and coolness sufficient, as well as firmness enough, to resist. Not only these great officers, but numberless of a lower class, whose sole dependence in life and sustenance depended upon their places, have been disgracefully dismissed from their offices for their disinterested support of me and our family. You will forgive me, my dear Lord, for thus expatiating upon a subject which I would not have done but to such a friend as I consider you. I cannot but confess that I feel for the dangerous situation in which the rights and liberties of this nation are at present, as well as the very critical position in which every individual of our family stands at present. However, the very precarious state of the King's health renders some people a little upon their guard, who are not driven to a state of despair, such as not only pervades the Minister himself but his adherents in general. I will not bore you any further at present, as I suppose you will have heard by many letters of our critical situation in this country at the present period, but trust you will attribute my prolixity to the intimacy of an old friend.'

To this letter Lord Cornwallis answers as follows from Calcutta, in August, 1790:—

'I can with the utmost sincerity declare that you will only do me justice in believing that no man can love and admire more than I do, your Royal Highness's amiable qualities and virtues; that I feel the warmest gratitude for your personal kindness to me; that I am a determined friend to the liberties of my country, the just prerogatives

* The Prince alludes to the members for the borough of Eye, who were returned through the interest of Lord Cornwallis.

† The Marquis of Lothian, in consequence of the active part which he took on the Prince's side during the King's illness, was deprived of the Gold Stick and the command of a regiment of Life Guards; but the King offered him the command of the Irish Dragoon Guards, which he refused.

of the Crown, and the rights of the House of Brunswick ; and that I should feel the highest gratification in being able to coincide on all occasions in political sentiments with the Duke of York : but, after having said this, I must honestly confess that if I had been in England in the winter of 1788-9, I should have thought it my duty, however painful it might have been to me, to have taken a different line from His Royal Highness in Parliament.'

Lord Cornwallis, as we have stated, reached England, on his return from India, in the early part of 1794. In that year the Austrian, Prussian, and English armies were carrying on a joint campaign in Flanders against the French. Lord Cornwallis was sent in June to the seat of war, for the purpose of removing the jealousies and misunderstandings which prevailed between the three armies, and of importing some concert into their operations. His attempts were unsuccessful ; but his mission suggested a plan for placing the Austrian and British armies under his joint command. As this plan involved the removal of the Duke of York from the command of the British army, Mr. Pitt obtained with difficulty the assent of the king ; but it was given, and Mr. Windham went to Flanders to communicate the decision to the Duke. Shortly afterwards, however, Valenciennes was surrendered to the French, and the plan of appointing Lord Cornwallis to the chief command was abandoned. Near the end of the year, Mr. Pitt represented to the King the necessity of putting an end to the Duke of York's command on the continent. The King acquiesced, and he was recalled by a letter from Mr. Dundas.

At the beginning of 1795, Lord Cornwallis succeeded the Duke of Richmond as Master-general of the Ordnance, and entered the cabinet. In the meantime the plan which he had proposed for consolidating the European troops of the Company with the king's troops had caused much discontent in India, and the officers of the Bengal army carried their remonstrances so far as to intimidate Sir John Shore, and almost to create a mutiny. The English Government took alarm, and decided on sending Lord Cornwallis again to India ; he was accordingly sworn in a second time as Governor-general on the 1st of Feb. 1797. Concessions were, however, made by the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, which calmed the disturbance, and rendered his return to India unnecessary.

In the course of 1797, a question arose as to the appointment of Lord Cornwallis to the chief command in Ireland ; but in the following year, the outbreak of the rebellion rendered it necessary that the civil and military government of that country should be committed to the same hands. Lord Camden was

accordingly recalled at his own request, and Lord Cornwallis was, in June 1798, appointed Lord-lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief. The duties which Lord Cornwallis was called upon to perform, in this office, were in the highest degree arduous and responsible. The consequences of the long-continued misgovernment of Ireland were now, under the sympathetic influences of the French Revolution, visited on a generation which had begun to relax the ancient bigotry, and to adopt a more liberal and enlightened policy towards that country. In order to understand the position in which he found himself, on assuming the government of Ireland at this crisis, it is necessary to cast our eyes back for a few years.

Up to the year 1782, Ireland had been a dependency of England. The Irish parliament had stood to the English parliament in the same relation in which the legislature of a colony (such as Canada or Jamaica), stands to the same body. The English parliament could, if it thought fit, legislate for Ireland, and its acts were valid in that country without the assent of the Irish parliament. But the military feebleness of England at the end of the American war led to the formation of the Irish volunteer regiments, and inspired them with courage to assert their own power; and in 1782 the legislative sovereignty of Great Britain over Ireland was renounced. The Acts declaring the dependence of Ireland were repealed; and from that time Ireland became legally independent of England, the only tie between them being that the king of England was also king of Ireland. After 1782 the relation of Ireland to England was, in a constitutional and legal point of view, similar to that of Hanover to England, so long as the English succession remained in the male line.* Even this tie, weak as it was, might have been still further weakened by the divergent action of the two parliaments; thus, during the King's illness in 1788, the regency regulations adopted by the Irish Parliament differed from those adopted by the English Parliament. The substantial dependence of Ireland upon England was, however, to a great extent, secured by the intimate connexion of the great body of the Irish landowners with English interests, by the close character of nearly the entire borough representation, and by the wholesale system of corruption with which the Government managed the Irish Parliament. During this period, therefore, the Irish

* Lord North, in proposing in 1783 a measure relative to the postage of letters, acknowledged it 'to be very certain that Great Britain and Ireland had become to each other, in point of political power, as foreign nations.'

Government may be characterised as a system in which legal independence was neutralised by corruption and religious intolerance. The governing power was in the exclusive possession of the party identified with Protestant ascendancy; and hence there were two elements of disaffection which were called into active operation by the events of the French Revolution; the Presbyterians and the Catholics. The latter formed the great bulk of the population; but the former were the more energetic and enterprising politicians. The United Irishmen, consisting of Presbyterians and Protestants, and holding their head-quarters at Belfast and Dublin, wished to convert Ireland into a republic, wholly independent of England, and connected with that of France. For this purpose they entered into treasonable communications with the French Directory, and organised an insurrection in Ireland, which was to be supported by a French invading force. The French Government are reported to have assured the United Irishmen, a short time before Lord Cornwallis's arrival in Dublin, that 'invasion should follow invasion, though defeat succeeded defeat, until Ireland was completely 'free.'* The conspirators, however, were not faithful to each other; the Government received full information of the plans which were in preparation, and in May, 1798, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the Sheares were arrested. These arrests, instead of suppressing the insurrection, were the signal for its outbreak. The Irish rebellion now began; but although it spread to the Catholic population of the south, its duration was short. The defeat of the rebels at Vinegar Hill took place at the time of Lord Cornwallis's arrival in June; in July, the majority of the state prisoners offered to acknowledge their offences, on condition that their lives were spared and that they

* Vol. ii. p. 349. In the early part of the French Revolution Lord Cornwallis had shared the opinion, then general, that France would be so weakened by internal discord as to prevent her from being troublesome to her neighbours. In a letter written from Calcutta to the Duke of York, and dated April 1790, he says: 'It is impossible 'to look without compassion upon the wretched state of France; but 'when we consider that the unprovoked and unjustifiable part which 'that nation took against us in the late American war has, perhaps, 'greatly contributed to produce the present convulsions, we cannot 'say that they are totally unmerited; and although it may be natural 'for your Royal Highness to feel disappointed at not having the 'means of improving yourself in your profession, I must candidly 'confess that I reflect with no small degree of satisfaction, that our 'tranquillity in Europe is not likely to be soon disturbed by that late 'powerful and restless neighbour.'

left the country. In this state of things, the humane, prudent, and temperate disposition of Lord Cornwallis induced him to adopt a policy of clemency towards the defeated rebels.* In the adoption of moderate measures, he was supported by his chief secretary, Lord Castlereagh; but the subordinate agents of the Government, and the ascendancy party by which it had been hitherto guided, urged partly by fear and partly by resentment, strongly insisted upon the necessity of severe punishment. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, in the summer and autumn of 1798, found himself in a position similar to that of Lord Canning during the late Indian mutiny. The Irish Protestants, like the English of Calcutta, cried for blood. In both cases, the head of the government had the firmness to resist this cowardly and savage cry. The passages in the correspondence which relate to this subject are too numerous for us to reprint; we will, however, lay some extracts before our readers, which will serve to exhibit their general tenour. The first is from a despatch to the Duke of Portland, of July 8. 1798:—

‘The principal persons of this country and the members of both houses of parliament, are in general averse to all acts of clemency; and although they do not express, and perhaps are too much heated to see, the ultimate effects which their violence would produce, would pursue measures that could only terminate in the extirpation of the greater number of the inhabitants, and in the utter destruction of the country. The words Papists and Priests are for ever in their mouths, and by their unaccountable policy they would drive four-fifths of the community into irreconcilable rebellion†; and in their warmth they lose sight of the real cause of the present mischief, of that deep-laid conspiracy to revolutionise Ireland on the principles of France, which was originally formed, and by wonderful assiduity brought nearly to maturity, by men who had no thought of religion but to destroy it, and who knew how to turn the passions and prejudices of the different sects to the advancement of their horrible plot for the introduction of that most dreadful of all evils, a Jacobin revolution.’

In a private letter to General Ross, of July 24. 1798, Lord Cornwallis says:—

* The excellent effects produced by Lord Cornwallis's arrival are described, in strong terms, by Plowden, ‘Hist. Rev. of the State of Ireland,’ vol. ii. p. 765. 4to.

† Lord Cornwallis here assumes that the ratio of Roman Catholics to Protestants in Ireland was at that time as 4 to 1. The population of Ireland in 1791 is estimated by Dr. Beaufort at 4,088,000. Of this number the Roman Catholics were probably about 3,000,000, and the Protestants about 1,000,000.

‘Except in the instances of the six state trials that are going on here, there is no law either in town or country but martial law, and you know enough of that to see all the horrors of it, even in the best administration of it. Judge, then, how it must be conducted by Irishmen heated with passion and revenge. But all this is trifling compared to the numberless murders that are hourly committed by our people without any process or examination whatever. The yeomanry are in the style of the loyalists in America, only much more numerous and powerful, and a thousand times more ferocious. These men have saved the country, but they now take the lead in rapine and murder. The Irish militia, with few officers, and those chiefly of the worst kind, follow closely on the heels of the yeomanry in murder and every kind of atrocity, and the fencibles take a share, although much behindhand with the others. The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders, which are still committed by the rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side; and as long as they furnish a pretext for our parties going in quest of them, I see no prospect of amendment. The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood; and the conversation even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company. So much for Ireland and my wretched situation.’

A despatch to the Duke of Portland, of Sept. 16. 1798, contains the following remark:

‘The principal personages here who have been long in the habit of directing the councils of the Lords-lieutenants, are perfectly well-intentioned and entirely attached and devoted to the British connexion, but they are blinded by their passions and prejudices, talk of nothing but strong measures, and arrogate to themselves the exclusive knowledge of a country of which, from their mode of governing it, they have, in my opinion, proved themselves totally ignorant.’

In a letter to General Ross of Nov. 16. 1799, in the year subsequent to the rebellion, the Lord-lieutenant recurs to the same topic:—

‘The greatest difficulty which I experience, is to control the violence of our loyal friends, who would, if I did not keep the strictest hand upon them, convert the system of martial law (which, God knows, is of itself bad enough) into a more violent and intolerable tyranny than that of Robespierre. The vilest informers are hunted out from the prisons to attack, by the most barefaced perjury, the lives of all who are suspected of being, or of having been, disaffected; and, indeed, every Roman Catholic of influence is in great danger.’

The same humane and temperate policy which was adopted by Lord Cornwallis, had been acted upon by Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had held the office of Commander-in-Chief before.

his appointment. But as he did not, like Lord Cornwallis, unite the chief civil with the military command, the course which he took led him into serious differences with Lord Camden, the Lord-lieutenant, who, though disposed to support Abercromby, had not sufficient firmness to resist the advice of his Irish counsellors. Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to General Ross, of March 1798, speaks of Sir Ralph Abercromby as having been 'exceedingly wrong-headed.' This expression refers to his misunderstandings with the Irish Government; but it is clear from the papers of the Abercromby family, which we have had an opportunity of perusing, that the conduct of Abercromby was highly creditable to his moderation and humanity, and that the principles on which he had acted were in substance followed by Lord Cornwallis himself.

Considering the existence of patent rebellion and of martial law for a considerable time, the punishments actually authorised by the Government appear to have been moderate. Lord Castlereagh, in defending Lord Cornwallis's 'ruinous system 'of lenity,' in the Irish House of Commons, in Feb. 1799, stated that since the landing of the French in Killala Bay (Aug. 1798) 380 rebels had been tried by martial law, of whom 131 had been capitally convicted, and 90 had been executed (vol. iii. p. 13. 70. 90). Lord Castlereagh appears, unlike the Chancellor and other high Irish functionaries, to have acted cordially with Lord Cornwallis, and never to have been the advocate of a sanguinary policy, notwithstanding the charges of cruelty which have been made against him for his conduct during the rebellion. As the eminence to which Lord Castlereagh rose was not anticipated at this time, it is interesting to observe the judgment of him formed by his chief. In a private letter to General Ross of July 9. 1798, Lord Cornwallis says:—

'I have every reason to be highly satisfied with Lord Castlereagh, who is really a very uncommon young man, and possesses talents, temper, and judgment suited to the highest stations, without prejudices or any views that are not directed to the general benefit of the British empire.'*

In another letter to General Ross, written at the same time, he remarks: 'Lord Castlereagh is a very able and good young

* Lord Castlereagh was now twenty-nine years old. He sat in the English House of Commons from 1794 to 1797. In the latter year he became a member of the Irish House of Commons, and was appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord-lieutenant in the beginning of 1798.

‘*man*’, and is of great use to me.’ Later in the year, he strongly recommends Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland for appointment to the vacant office of Irish Secretary of State (a different office from that of Chief Secretary to the Lord-lieutenant); and in answer to the objection that this office had always been conferred on an Englishman, he remarks that ‘as Lord Castlereagh is so very unlike an Irishman, I think he has a just claim to an exception in his person.’ (vol. ii. p. 428. 439.) His reasons for making this recommendation are thus stated in a private letter to General Ross: —

‘The particular obligations which I felt to Lord Castlereagh, who had concealed nothing from me, had pointed out all the characters with which I had to deal, and shown me where my predecessor had failed, and had been obliged to sacrifice his own judgment in order to follow worse counsels, by suffering some dangerous persons to gain an ascendancy over him; and, in short, his lordship’s excellent character and truly faithful conduct towards me in every respect, rendered me very unwilling to part with him, especially when it was doubtful who would be the person to succeed him.’ (Vol. iii. p. 8.)

In a letter to General Ross, of May, 1800, he thus describes Lord Castlereagh’s parliamentary position:—

‘Lord Castlereagh has improved so much as a speaker as to become nearly master of the House of Commons; and the gratification of national pride which the Irish feel at the prospect of his making a figure in the great political world, has much diminished the unpopularity which his cold and distant manners in private society had produced.’

The complete legal independence of Ireland since 1782, and the entire separation of the Irish and English Parliaments; the violence of the ascendancy party in Ireland, and the impossibility of establishing religious equality between Protestants and Catholics, so long as the Irish Parliament remained separate; the existence of a large disaffected party in Ireland who were in treasonable correspondence with the French Directory; and the danger to England from a French invasion of Ireland, supported by a simultaneous rising of the population;—these, and other evils growing out of the existing state of Ireland and of its Government, which the rebellion displayed in their full force, appear to have convinced Mr. Pitt and his colleagues that the only effectual remedy was to be found in an incorporating union between Great Britain and Ireland, similar to that which had been formed nearly a century before, between England and Scotland.* We collect from a letter of Lord Grenville,

* The grounds for a union are stated with remarkable ability and
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published by the Duke of Buckingham, that the views of the Cabinet on this question were communicated to Lord Cornwallis, before he went to Ireland. In a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, of about July, 1798, Lord Grenville says, after expressing doubts whether Lord Cornwallis has not carried the system of lenity too far :—

‘The great point I wish to be assured of, if I could, is, that he has not suffered a nearer view of difficulties to discourage him from the pursuit of the only measure which can make it signify one farthing what he does in the present moment. Let him carry that, and I will willingly compromise for all the rest.’ (*Court and Cabinets of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 405.)

This passage evidently alludes to the plan of a union between the two countries, and it implies that the English Cabinet looked to Lord Cornwallis for carrying it. Lord Cornwallis alludes to the contemplated ‘great measure,’ in letters to General Ross, of August 1798, (vol. ii. p. 381. 384.); and in a confidential despatch to the Duke of Portland, of the 16th September following, he thus expresses himself :—

‘With regard to future plans, I can only say that some mode must be adopted to soften the hatred of the Catholics to our government. Whether this can be done by advantages held out to them from a union with Great Britain, by some provision for their clergy, or by some modification of tithe, which is the grievance of which they complain, I will not presume to determine. The first of these propositions is undoubtedly the most desirable, if the dangers with which we are surrounded will admit of our making the attempt; but the dispositions of the people at large, and especially of the north, must be previously felt.’

Lord Cornwallis, however, speedily made up his mind, in favour of the ‘great measure’; and he wished that the Union should be accompanied by other measures for the relief of the Catholics — by their admission to public offices and Parliament, — probably also by a public provision for their clergy, and by a settlement of tithes. The latter views he recommended to his principal advisers in Dublin, but without success. Lord Clare, the Irish Chancellor, and the able and vigorous leader of the Irish House of Lords, though favourable to the Union, rejected

sagacity in an anonymous letter, dated Cork, November 12. 1798, which is printed in the *Castlereagh Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 436. The writer of this paper, whoever he was, thoroughly understood the nature of the change which the revolution of 1782 had produced — ‘the plaything of independence’ (as he calls it), which England gave to Ireland, and the slippery supports on which the connexion between the two countries rested.

its proposed accompaniments; and in a visit to London in October 1798, he impressed these opinions upon Mr. Pitt, who gave his assent to them.* About the time of Lord Clare's interview, Mr. W. Elliott, the Irish Under-Secretary, went to London and carried to Mr. Pitt a letter to him from Lord Cornwallis, urging the combination of Catholic emancipation with the measure of Union (October 17th). Mr. Elliott strongly disapproved of the plan of Union upon 'the narrow basis'; and even doubted whether he could continue in the Government if it was proposed without emancipation. He enforced this view upon the English Ministers; but the convictions of Mr. Pitt, who had previously entertained the same opinion, had been shaken by Lord Clare's representations as to the danger of offending the leading Protestants in Ireland.† Lord Cornwallis was supported by Mr. Dundas; and he even thought that, if the latter Minister had been in London before Lord Clare went over, 'he might 'have been able to carry the point of establishing the Union 'on a broad and comprehensive line.' In the middle of November, Lord Cornwallis, in answer to his application for instructions, received from the Duke of Portland the heads of a treaty of Union settled by the English Cabinet, which he was authorised to communicate to the friends of the Government in Ireland. The fourth head of this scheme was as follows: 'All 'members of the United Houses to take the oaths now taken 'by British members: but such oaths to be subject to such

* See Cornwallis Cor., vol. ii. pp. 415-6., and the letter of Lord Clare to Lord Castlereagh, from London, dated Oct. 16. 1798, reporting his interview with Pitt, (Castlereagh Corresp., vol. i. p. 393.) It begins thus: 'I have seen Mr. Pitt, the Chancellor (Lord Loughborough), and the Duke of Portland, who seem to feel very sensibly 'the critical situation of our damnable country, and that the Union 'alone can save it.' It does not appear whether Lord Castlereagh supported Lord Cornwallis's views on this occasion. It may rather be presumed that, looking to his difficulties in the Irish House of Commons, he acquiesced in those of the Chancellor.

† See Mr. Elliott's letters to Lord Castlereagh of Oct. 24. Nov. 23. 28. 1798, Castl. Cor., vol. i. p. 403., vol. ii. pp. 9. 29. In the latter letter he says: 'I cannot be easily persuaded that, if more firmness 'had been displayed here at first, a Union might not have been accomplished, including the admission of the Catholic claims; but 'Mr. Pitt has, with a lamentable facility, yielded this point to prejudice, without, I suspect, acquiring a support in any degree equivalent to the sacrifice.' Lord Camden, writing to Lord Castlereagh on Oct. 27. 1798, says: 'Mr. Pitt is inclined most strongly to the 'Union on a Protestant basis. We have made little progress in our 'deliberations.' (Ibid. vol. i. p. 412.)

‘alterations as may be enacted by the United Parliament.’ It seems therefore that the English Cabinet at this time contemplated Catholic emancipation as a sequel to the Union, to be subsequently enacted by the Imperial Parliament, and not by the immediate concurrence of the British and Irish Parliaments. Mr. Pitt, writing shortly afterwards to Lord Cornwallis, refers him to this article, and adds : —

‘I own I think this leaves the Catholic Question on the only footing on which it can be safely placed. Mr. Elliott, when he brought me your letter, stated very strongly all the arguments which he thought might induce us to admit the Catholics to parliament and office ; but I confess he did not satisfy me of the practicability of such a measure at this time, or of the propriety of attempting it. With respect to a provision for the Catholic clergy and some arrangement respecting tithes, I am happy to find a uniform opinion in favour of the proposal among all the Irish I have seen ; and I am more and more convinced that those measures, with some effectual mode to enforce the residence of all ranks of the Protestant clergy, offer the best chance of gradually putting an end to the evils most felt in Ireland.’

Lord Grenville’s opinion upon this question concurred with Mr. Pitt’s. In a letter to his brother, the Marquis of Buckingham, of November 5th, 1798, he says, in reference to Lord Clare’s recent conversations with the Ministers in London : —

‘I am assured that he talks not only decisively of the necessity, but also very sanguinely of the success, of our measure ; provided always that no attempt is made to change, as a part of the Union, the existing laws about the Catholics. And in this last point I am very much disposed to agree with him now, though before the rebellion I should have thought differently.’ (*Court and Cabinets*, vol. ii. p. 411.)

Lord Cornwallis proceeded to act upon the instructions respecting a Union transmitted to him by the Duke of Portland ; though he entertained great apprehensions as to the efficacy of the measure in its limited form, and thought that it would not have been much more difficult to have included the Catholics. The intention of the Government was communicated to various persons, and speedily became known to the public : an official pamphlet, by Mr. Cooke, the Irish Under-Secretary of State, entitled ‘Arguments for and against the Union considered,’ was widely circulated, and discussion of the question was encouraged. A violent agitation against the projected Union instantly broke out in Dublin, the head-quarters of the classes interested in the continuance of the existing order of things ; and was at its height in the months of December 1798, and January 1799. The bar, in particular, whom a Union would render incapable

of combining a seat in Parliament with professional practice, were vehement and united in their opposition.* 'There certainly is' (Lord Cornwallis writes to the Duke of Portland, on the 11th of January) 'a very strong disinclination to the measure in many of the borough proprietors, and a not less marked repugnance in many of the official people, particularly in those who have been longest in the habits of the current system. The secondary interests of course look to it as the destruction of their authority, and the leading interests as exposing them to fresh contests.' The Catholics, on the other hand, held back, and, at first, took no part in the anti-Union agitation. The English Cabinet, conscious of the difficulties which obstructed the success of the measure in Ireland, authorised Lord Cornwallis to announce their intention of persisting in it, until it should be carried, and of not being deterred by defeat from prosecuting it to a successful termination. In this state of things, the project of Union was simultaneously recommended by the Crown, on the 22nd of January 1799, to both Parliaments: to the Irish Parliament by the speech of the Lord-lieutenant, to the British Parliament by a Royal message. The ground stated was 'the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of separating Ireland from Great Britain.'

The question being thus launched, an expression of opinion, as was natural, first proceeded from the Irish Parliament. In the debate upon the address, in the Irish House of Lords, the paragraph in favour of a Union was carried by a large majority. But in the House of Commons, Mr. George Ponsonby moved an amendment to the address, condemning the project of Union, which, after a violent debate, was negatived by 106 to 105 votes, being a majority of only one for the Government. Upon a second division, there appeared for the address 107, against it 105. After the announcement of these numbers, Lord Castlereagh stated that, although the Government were unalterably fixed in their intention with respect to a Union, he should not persist in the measure for the present. This failure in the Irish Parliament did not prevent Mr. Pitt from pursuing his course in the English Parliament. He proceeded without delay to propose eight articles of Union, in the shape of resolutions,

* The letter of Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh, in the *Castl. Cor.*, vol. i. p. 343., dated 'Dublin, Sept. 10. 1798,' giving an account of the bar meeting, is misplaced and misdated. The meeting of the bar took place on Sunday the 9th of December. See *Cornw. Cor.*, vol. iii. p. 18.

to the House of Commons; and a similar course was followed by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords. They were agreed to by large majorities; and were presented to the King as the joint address of both Houses.

The Government was checked, but not disheartened, by the result of the division in the Irish House of Commons.* They now saw exactly the place and the extent of their difficulty, and they set about devising the means necessary for overcoming it. 'The proposal of Union (says Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to the Duke of Portland, written a few days after the division in the Irish House of Commons) provoked the enmity principally of the boroughmongers, lawyers, and persons who from local circumstances thought they should be losers, but it certainly has not affected the nation at large, nor was it disagreeable either to the Catholics or to the Protestant Dissenters.' The country at large did not take up the question on patriotic grounds; but there was a compact interested opposition, chiefly connected with the House of Commons, which was able to defeat the measure.† An arbitrary government or a military despot would have resorted to a *coup d'état*, and would have used force for removing this impediment. Lord Castlereagh had recourse to a gentler, surer, more efficacious, but less rapid method. The plan which he proposed was to buy up the Irish Parliament, and to buy it up in due form of law. Lord Cornwallis, deeply impressed with the advantages of a Union, earnestly bent upon its accomplishment, and seeing no other means of success, assented to the proposal; but embarked most reluctantly in a policy which rendered it necessary that he should be the principal negotiator in a series of bargains for the purpose of purchasing votes and neutralising parliamentary

* The important despatch of Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, Jan. 28. 1799, reviewing the position of affairs after the vote of the Irish House of Commons (Cornw. Cor., vol. iii. p. 53.), is erroneously printed as the despatch of Lord Castlereagh in the 'Castlereagh Correspondence,' vol. ii. p. 139.

† The following description of the state of opinion respecting the Union is given by Mr. Cooke, in a letter of April 12. 1799 (Cornw. Cor., vol. iii. p. 86.): 'The public mind is, I think, much suspended on the subject. There is little passion, except among the bar and the few interested leaders in the Commons. The Protestants think, however, it will diminish their power, however it may secure their property. The Catholics think it will put an end to their ambitious hopes, however it may give them ease and equality. The rebels foresee in it their annihilation.' See likewise pp. 93. 110-11. 121. 138.

opposition. He made up his mind to enter upon a course of corruption in the interest of purity; but his disgust at this portion of his duties is expressed with great animation in his letters to General Ross, of May 20. and June 8. 1799, at which time the negotiations were in full progress. The Irish Government did not attempt to press the question of Union, or to bring forward any definite plan, in the session of 1799: while, on the other hand, they were strong enough to prevent the House of Commons from pledging themselves against its adoption. They occupied the remainder of the year in preparing their measures for the following session, and in weakening the opposite army before the day of battle should arrive. The measures which they employed for this purpose were of three kinds; and may be classed under the heads of—1. Compensatory and remuneratory; 2. Penal; and 3. Conciliatory.

In the month of February, Lord Castlereagh transmitted to the English Cabinet a memorandum in which all the personal interests hostile to the Union were enumerated and classified, and a detailed plan was suggested for granting a pecuniary indemnity to the persons interested in the boroughs to be suppressed. He assesses the pecuniary loss inflicted on each of the different classes affected by the measure, in as business-like a manner as a surveyor would value property to be taken under the compulsory clauses of a railway act. This plan became known in Ireland, and contributed powerfully to mitigate the opposition. Various changes of office were also made, in favour of supporters of the Union; peerages and pensions likewise were promised to several persons as rewards for their defection from the anti-Unionist cause, and their transition to the opposite camp. This process is described by Lord Castlereagh as ‘the buying out and securing for ever the fee-simple of Irish corruption, which had so long enfeebled the powers of Government and endangered the connexion.’ On the other hand, patrons of boroughs who persisted in their opposition, or their nominees, were deprived of their appointments; and the offices thus vacated were conferred upon Unionists. Measures of a more ordinary character for conciliating parliamentary support, were employed towards the Catholics. As soon as the vote of the Irish House of Commons had shown that there was not then a majority in favour of the Union, Lord Cornwallis renewed his instances to the English Government to make Catholic emancipation a part of the measure. He stated that the anti-Unionists were bidding for the support of the Catholics, and that it was desirable to give the latter such assurances as would prevent this junction from

taking place. The answers sent from England were, that emancipation by an Act of the Irish Parliament could not be conceded, and that it would only be possible in a united Parliament. Lord Cornwallis was satisfied with the explanations on this subject which he received at this time from the Duke of Portland. But in the months of September and October, Lord Castlereagh made a visit to London, and during his stay came to an understanding with the Cabinet on the question. He represented to Mr. Pitt the difficulty of carrying the Union, if, in the existing temper of the Protestants, the measure was opposed by the united strength of the Catholics; he stated the unwillingness of Lord Cornwallis to mislead the Catholics by promises which he might be unable to fulfil, and he requested the distinct announcement of the views of the Cabinet on the subject, for the guidance of the Irish Government. We extract, from Lord Castlereagh's narrative, his own account of the answer made to him by the Cabinet:—

‘In consequence of this representation, the Cabinet took the measure into their consideration, and having been directed to attend the meeting, I was charged to convey to Lord Cornwallis the result, and his Excellency was referred by the Duke of Portland to me for a statement of the opinions of His Majesty's Ministers on this important subject. I accordingly communicated to Lord Cornwallis that the opinion of the Cabinet was favourable to the principle of the measure; that some doubts were entertained as to the possibility of admitting Catholics into some of the higher offices, and that Ministers apprehended considerable repugnance to the measure in many quarters, and particularly in the highest; but that, as far as the sentiments of the Cabinet were concerned, his Excellency need not hesitate in calling forth the Catholic support, in whatever degree he found it practicable to obtain it. . . . I certainly did not then hear any direct objection stated against the principle of the measure by any one of the Ministers then present. . . . So far from any serious hesitation being entertained in respect to the principle, it was even discussed whether an immediate declaration on the subject to the Catholics would not be advisable, and whether an assurance should not be distinctly given them, in the event of the Union being accomplished, of their objects being submitted, with the countenance of Government, to the United Parliament upon a peace.’

The course taken by the Irish Government, in pursuance of this instruction, with respect to the Catholics, is thus described by Lord Castlereagh:—

‘In consequence of this communication, the Irish Government omitted no exertion to call forth the Catholics in favour of the Union. Their efforts were very generally successful, and the advantage derived from them was highly useful, particularly in de-

prising the Opposition of the means they otherwise would have had in the southern and western counties, of making an impression on the county members.* His Excellency was enabled to accomplish his purpose without giving the Catholics any direct assurance of being gratified, and, throughout the contest, earnestly avoided being driven to such an expedient, as he considered a gratuitous concession after the measure as infinitely more consistent with the character of Government.†

The result was, that no express promise was made by the Irish Government to the Catholics that emancipation would be proposed in the Imperial Parliament as a sequel to the Union; but that both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh believed, at the beginning of 1800, that the English Cabinet were unanimously in favour of emancipation, and that steps would be taken in pursuance of this policy, as soon as the Union should be carried.

The various preparations for the Union campaign, on the part of the Irish Government, had now been completed; and the Irish Parliament commenced its session on the 15th of January, 1800. The time had arrived when the Government would learn what success had attended their efforts to gain over a portion of their opponents to the measure of Union, and whether, consequently, this session of the Irish Parliament would be its last. The Lord-lieutenant's speech from the throne did not advert to the subject; but in the House of Commons, a motion was made for adding to the address a resolution condemnatory of Union. This motion was negatived by 138 to 96 votes, giving to the Government a majority of 42; which number, as compared with the equal division of the previous session, was the measure of the change of opinion which had been effected by the arrangements made by them during the past year. Assuming that the Government commenced their operations with an equality of votes, this majority implied a transfer of 21 votes from one side to the other. A message from the Lord-lieutenant, recommending a Union, was shortly afterwards presented to both Houses;

* The Catholics were at this time admitted to the electoral franchise, but the boroughs were all close and in the hands of the Protestants. Hence the allusion of Lord Castlereagh.

† Letter of Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt, Jan. 1. 1801. (Cornw. Cor., vol. iii. p. 326.; Castl. Cor., vol. iv. p. 8.) This letter was written for the purpose of recalling to Mr. Pitt's mind the course taken with respect to the Catholics during the pendency of the Union measure, and of urging him to propose emancipation, according to the previous intention of the Cabinet, immediately after the Union.

and Lord Castlereagh, after explaining the principle of the measure, proposed eight articles as its basis. On the 6th of February, the House of Commons divided on the question of taking the message into consideration; when the numbers were, 158 for the motion, and 115 against it. This, it seems, was the largest division ever known in the Irish House of Commons. In the corresponding division in the House of Lords, the numbers were 75 to 26. Before the end of March, the Union Resolutions passed the Commons, and were carried up to the Lords: this House speedily agreed to them, and they were presented to the Lord-lieutenant by an address of both Houses on the 28th of March. The address of the Irish Houses was communicated by the King to the British Parliament; and the Articles of Union having been agreed to by them, were remitted by the King to the Lord-lieutenant, for communication to the Irish Parliament. Lord Castlereagh thereupon introduced a Bill of Union, which was agreed to by the Irish Parliament, and which, together with the English Bill, received the Royal assent at the end of the respective sessions. On the 2nd of August, 1800, the Irish Parliament was prorogued, never to sit again.

As a part of the measure for the completion of the Union, Lord Castlereagh proposed and carried a bill for compensating the patrons of the disfranchised boroughs. The sum allowed for each borough was 15,000*l.*, which was to be apportioned among the patrons, if there was more than one, according to their several shares in the interest. Commissioners were appointed under the Act, for making this apportionment; and the total sum awarded by them was 1,260,000*l.* A list of the persons compensated, and of the amounts received by each, is published in this work (vol. iii. p. 321.). This sum, together with some official appointments, peerages, and pensions — all of which were as public as the Boroughs Compensation Act — constituted the real price paid by the Government for the parliamentary support which enabled them to carry the Union. It has been often supposed that some secret and unavowed means of corruption were used for overcoming the opposition to this measure; but the correspondence published in the ample collections of the Cornwallis and Castlereagh Papers refutes this supposition: there are several applications to the English Government for Secret Service Money; but the remittances made were insignificant in amount, and could only have been used for the payment of subordinate agents, who rendered literary or other assistance to the Government. On the other hand, it may be mentioned, that at the opening of the session of 1800,

the anti-Union party offered 5000*l.* in ready money for a vote in the Irish House of Commons.* There is no doubt that a majority in the Irish Parliament was obtained for the Union by purchase; by places, pensions, peerages, and compensation for suppressed seats; the transaction was a bargain, but it was a bargain in market overt. The means employed were not unobjectionable; but they were less objectionable than force, which was the only practicable alternative; and, such as they were, they all lie within the cognisance of history.

It should not be overlooked that the eighty-four Irish boroughs which were disfranchised by the Union were all nomination boroughs, and that their suppression increased the comparative weight of the popular voice in the Irish representation, by reducing the power of the great borough proprietors. Speaking of the projected Union, Lord Cornwallis says:—

‘There cannot be a stronger argument for the measure than the overgrown parliamentary power of five or six of our pampered boroughmongers, who are become most formidable to Government by their long possession of the entire patronage of the Crown in their respective districts.’ (*Letter to Mr. Dundas, July 1. 1799.*)

Hence Lord Castlereagh, in his paper on emancipation drawn for the Cabinet in 1801, designates the new arrangement of the Irish representation under the Act of Union, as ‘a mild reform.’ The Act of Union was at the same time a reform act, and included a schedule A of portentous dimensions.

The following account of Lord Cornwallis’s conduct with reference to the Union is given by Col. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Maitland, in a letter written from Dublin, in May, 1800, to Mr. Huskisson:—

‘It has been most fortunate indeed for the interests of Great Britain, that the government of Ireland was put into the hands of a person whose moderation led him to draw a middle line between the extremes of party violence, whose good sense has induced him to discriminate and to see through all the views of the men with whom he had to deal, and whose firmness has not only kept in check all their absurdity, but for a time has completely put down all their hopes of following and succeeding in their own plans, which must either have ended in the extirpation of the inhabitants or the ruin of

* Lord Cornwallis states this fact as being within his certain knowledge, in a letter of Feb. 8. 1800, to his brother the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Lord Castlereagh likewise states it as a fact of which the Irish Government have ‘undoubted proofs, though ‘not such as they can disclose,’ to the Duke of Portland, in a letter of Feb. 7. (Vol. iii. pp. 182, 183.)

the country. If his plans be hereafter steadily followed, Ireland will be a jewel—if changed, a thorn—in the British Empire. It requires a person to be here only a day or two to be convinced of this; for though the Lord-lieutenant's measures may some of them not be popular in themselves, still, from the general opinion entertained of the perfect rectitude of his intentions, it is impossible any measure of his can be unpopular, because such has been the fairness of his conduct to every one, that all are convinced whatever he proposes is meant for the public good. The success of the Union is greatly to be attributed to his conduct and not to management.'

The skill and firmness which Lord Castlereagh exhibited, as a parliamentary leader, contributed materially to the success of the measure. His Irish extraction rendered him familiar with the means of obtaining support, which he lost no time in indicating, and which he consistently employed, until a majority of members had been secured. The English Government likewise, having once announced their policy, pursued it with undeviating steadiness; and authorised the Irish Government to give every assurance which was calculated to confirm supporters and to discourage opponents.

Lord Cornwallis regarded the Union only as a preliminary measure: Ireland, he said, could not be saved without the Union; but there was no certainty that it would be saved by the Union. Much, in his opinion, remained to be done, in order to render Ireland a useful appendage to the British empire. His main object was to bring about Catholic emancipation, together with such other measures as should attach the Irish Catholics to the English connexion, and should extinguish that spirit of disaffection which had recently led to such disastrous consequences. In September, 1800, Mr. Pitt brought the measures respecting the Catholics, which he contemplated as forming the sequel to the Union, under the consideration of the Cabinet. A paper, by Lord Castlereagh, arguing that the Union, though it removed an impediment to a better system, would do little in itself, and recommending, as ulterior measures, the admission of Catholics to Parliament and to public offices, an arrangement of tithes, and a provision for the Catholic and Dissenting clergy, was circulated among the Ministers*: and Lord Castlereagh himself, who was in London

* The paper is printed in *Castl. Cor.*, vol. iv. p. 392. The editor refers it to 1801; but there can be no doubt, from internal evidence, that it was drawn up in the summer or autumn of 1800, when the question was under the consideration of Mr. Pitt's Cabinet. With respect to Lord Cornwallis's instructions to Lord Castlereagh to press the ques-

in the autumn of 1800, pressed the question upon the Cabinet with a view to an immediate practical decision. Lord Loughborough, however, who had recently convinced himself of the King's repugnance to Catholic Emancipation, on the ground of his Coronation Oath, and who saw an opening for intrigue, began to raise objections; the King, moreover, was at Weymouth; and Lord Castlereagh was unable to obtain any final decision from the Cabinet. At the beginning of 1801, Lord Castlereagh returned to London, in order to attend to his duties in the Imperial Parliament, and to press upon Mr. Pitt the measures which were to form the sequel of the Union. The anxiety of Lord Cornwallis and himself upon this point was now at its height: they had heard that difficulties were anticipated on the part of the King; and they earnestly hoped that no unforeseen impediment would prevent the fulfilment of the healing policy, for which they had laboured so hard, and on which, without making any express promise, they had undoubtedly excited the expectations of the Catholics. Even so late as the middle of January, Lord Spencer entertained hopes that the King would give way: but his conscientious scruples, fomented by artful advisers, were too strong for the influence of reason; and when Mr. Pitt made his definitive communication respecting his comprehensive plan of Catholic relief, the King was already engaged in a negotiation with Addington for the formation of a new Ministry. Why Mr. Pitt should have so long deferred an explanation with the King on this important subject, is not apparent; but it is certain that His Majesty had heard, through Lord Loughborough, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of Ireland, and probably other channels, of Mr. Pitt's intentions; and it is difficult to understand how he could, in writing to Mr. Dundas on February 7., have ventured to assert that 'he had learnt, to his greatest surprise, on Thursday, from Earl Spencer, that the question had been in agitation since Lord Castlereagh came over in August, but that he never had the smallest suspicion till within these very few weeks.' It appears from the testimony of Lord Loughborough himself that he showed the King at Weymouth, in September, Mr. Pitt's letter requesting him to come up to a Cabinet for the consideration of the Catholic question; and that he sent to the King in an official box the papers on the subject of the Irish measures which had been circulated among the members of the Cabinet. It further appears from a note

tion on the Cabinet at this time, see his Memorandum to Mr. Pitt, written after the resignation of the latter, *Cornw. Cor.*, vol. iii. p. 344.

in the King's own hand that Lord Loughborough's answer to Lord Castlereagh's paper on the Catholic question was given by him to the King in December.*

Immediately upon his resignation, Mr. Pitt authorised Lord Castlereagh to inform Lord Cornwallis of his wish that

'His Excellency, without bringing forward the King's name, should make the Catholics feel that an obstacle which the King's Ministers could not surmount, precluded them from bringing forward the question whilst in office; that their attachment to the question was such that they felt it impossible to continue in Administration under the impossibility of proposing it with the necessary concurrence, and that they retired from the King's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to the ultimate success of the measure.' (*Letter of Feb. 9. 1801, III. p. 335.*)

In consequence of this communication, and of a letter which he received from Mr. Dundas, Lord Cornwallis delivered to Lord Fingall and Dr. Troy, two papers to be circulated by them among the principal Catholics in different parts of Ireland. These papers contained positive assurances that Mr. Pitt and his friends would do their utmost to promote the success of the Catholic cause; and even went so far as to say that the Ministers who had retired would not resume office without the prospect of carrying the Catholic question: a principle which, probably, even at that time exceeded their intentions, and on which they never attempted to act.†

Mr. Pitt was strong enough, with the assistance of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh, to carry the Union, and to extinguish the Irish Parliament. But the success of the Union raised another question, which he was unable to settle; and at the moment of triumph, when the newly created Imperial Parliament was commencing its first session, his Ministry was brought down by the King's invincible objection founded on his Coronation Oath.

'The important question (says Lord Cornwallis) which has overthrown the long administration of Mr. Pitt, must now sleep; as

* Lord Campbell's '*Lives of the Chancellors*,' vol. vi. p. 308. 323. For a fuller statement of the transaction, see *Edin. Rev.*, vol. ciii. p. 348-56.

† See these papers in *Cornw. Cor.*, ib. p. 347. with the explanatory memorandum of Lord Cornwallis in p. 343. The statement as to the *pledge* was disavowed by Mr. Pitt at the time, ib. p. 346. 350. See likewise *Castl. Cor.* vol. iv. p. 72. 76., and the correspondence respecting them in 1805 with Mr. Plowden, p. 372., and Plowden's *Edin. Rev.* vol. i. p. 944.

any person who should attempt to bring it forward, would be accused of wishing either to kill or distract the King.' (Vol. iii. p. 349.)

In a previous letter to his brother of Feb. 17. Lord Cornwallis speaks of 'an unexpected blast from St. James's having 'overset him;' and in another letter to Gen. Ross of Feb. 26., he alludes to 'the fatal blow being struck from the quarter most 'interested to avert it.'

All doubt as to the true cause of Mr. Pitt's resignation in 1801,—if any reasonable doubt previously existed,—has been removed by the publication of the letters in the Cornwallis and Castlereagh collections. But his motives were distrusted and disbelieved at the time; his course was unintelligible to the public; they could not comprehend why he should resign on account of the Catholic question, but refuse to press it in opposition. 'Nothing is so difficult' (as Mr. Cooke wrote to Lord Castlereagh with reference to Pitt's course) 'as to play a refined 'game in politics. The person who plays it is never understood, and is soon deserted.'

The King's illness, produced by the agitation consequent on Mr. Pitt's resignation, retarded the ministerial arrangements; and Lord Cornwallis remained in Dublin till the end of May, when he was succeeded in his office by Lord Hardwicke. He then returned to England; and in July received the command of the eastern district, and took up his abode at Colchester. Preliminaries of peace with France were signed at London, on the 1st of October, and Lord Cornwallis accepted from Mr. Addington's government the post of ambassador for the negotiation of the definitive treaty. He sailed from Dover in November, and went to Paris, where he was honourably received, and had an interview with the First Consul. The negotiation was conducted at Amiens, with Joseph Bonaparte, and the definitive treaty was concluded in March, 1802. We shall not attempt to follow the negotiations of this unpropitious and short-lived treaty: the account which Lord Cornwallis gives of Joseph Bonaparte is, that 'he is a very sensible, 'modest, gentlemanlike man, totally free from diplomatic chicanery, and fair and open in all his dealings.' A picture, containing full-length portraits of the plenipotentiaries and their suites, is preserved in the Hotel-de-Ville at Amiens.

With respect to the movements of political leaders in the English Parliament, during the Addington administration, Lord Cornwallis expresses an opinion in August, 1801, that Mr. Pitt, in supporting Addington at that time, was 'influenced by 'the purest and most public-spirited motives,' but that 'he had

‘undertaken a very critical and difficult line of conduct, and
 ‘one that would expose his character to much misrepresenta-
 ‘tion.’ At the end of 1803, he thinks that Pitt was not
 justified in estranging himself from Addington, after the inti-
 mate friendship which had subsisted between them; and that
 the terms demanded by Pitt, in the negotiation with Addington
 of the previous March, were unreasonable. In February, 1804,
 he condemns the coalition between Fox and the Grenvilles as
 unprincipled; he likewise thinks that the line of opposition to
 the government which Pitt intends to take is ‘very injudicious,
 ‘and highly discreditable to himself. He knew the talents of
 ‘the Ministers, or their want of them, as well when he recom-
 ‘mended them to the public favour, as he does now; if they
 ‘fail from weakness of head, he is bound in honour to them,
 ‘to the King, and to the nation, to assist them, or at least to
 ‘support them; if their failings proceed from the heart, and
 ‘they have an intention to destroy the constitution of their
 ‘country, as an honest man he ought to oppose them.’

At this time, Lord Cornwallis wished for the chief command
 in Ireland, and complained that Lord Cathcart was preferred
 to him. His disappointment was destined to be of brief dura-
 tion; for at the end of 1804, Lord Castlereagh, who was
 then President of the Board of Control, again offered him
 the post of Governor-general. The ambitious and aggressive
 policy of Lord Wellesley had brought him into violent conflicts
 with the Directors, and was not approved by the Government;
 Lord Cornwallis, as the representative of a pacific Indian
 policy, was applied to in this emergency, and accepted the
 employment. Early in 1805 he sailed for India, at the age of
 sixty-six, and he arrived at Calcutta in July; but his bodily
 powers began shortly to fail, and he died on October 5., at
 Ghazipoor, on his way to the Upper Provinces. His memory
 was treated with unusual marks of respect. The Supreme
 Council ordered the army to wear mourning for three months;
 a mausoleum was erected to him by subscription at Ghazipoor,
 cenotaphs at Madras and Prince of Wales Island, and a statue
 at Bombay. The House of Commons, on the motion of Lord
 Castlereagh, voted a statue for him at St. Paul’s, and the East
 India Company granted a sum of 40,000*l.* to his family.

Our illustrations of the successive stages of Lord Cornwallis’s
 career have been so copious, that it is unnecessary for us to
 dwell on his character. His firmness, his integrity, his calm-
 ness and moderation, the rectitude of his judgment, his public
 spirit, and his superiority to petty jealousies and rivalries, com-

manded the confidence of his contemporaries, and enabled him, in the different spheres of administration to which he was called, to reconcile popularity with a consistent discharge of duty. His two great achievements were that in India he put down the corrupt system of the Company, and that in Ireland he put down the corrupt system of the native Parliament. If in the latter country his wise and beneficent intentions had not been frustrated by the unfortunate scruple of the King respecting his Coronation Oath, he would have been the instrument not only of carrying the Union, but also of removing the Catholic disabilities, and of connecting the Catholic clergy with the state; one of which measures was postponed for more than a quarter of a century, and the other has never been accomplished.

ART. V. -- 1. *Jamaica in 1850; or the Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom in a Slave Colony.* By JOHN BIGELOW. 8vo. New York: 1852.

2. *Copies or Extracts of Despatches relating to the Sugar-Growing Colonies.* Presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1854—1858.

3. *Returns of the Quantities of Sugar Exported from the British West India Islands, and Entered in the United Kingdom.* Parliamentary Papers. 1858.

A HUNDRED years ago, when black men were seldom seen north of the Tweed, an old Scotch gentlewoman meeting a negro in the street, cast up her eyes and hands, exclaiming, ‘Hech, sirs, what canna be made for the penny!’ And well might the British people do the same. At a cost, not of one penny, but of five thousand million pennies, we have produced that curious specimen of the human race, the free negro of the West Indies. Such was the outlay. Now, what is the result? What sort of thing have we got for our money? Was that a wise investment of capital?

The reply of some high authorities has been given, and is this — Our islands, they say, the richest and loveliest in the world, are fallen from wealth to ruin — crumbling, deserted, desolate towns — empty harbours — trade gone — agriculture at death’s door — the old staples vanished away — the owners of these once fertile lands languishing in poverty, or dead of broken hearts — the negroes, for whom all was done, ‘sunk up to the

‘ears in pumpkin,’ growing every day more savage, more idle, more beastly. Such, they tell us, is the work that our philanthropy has worked out under the sun. Is that so, or is it not so? The subject may be somewhat

‘Like a good thing, being often told,
Grown feared and tedious;’

but yet it deserves some thought. England’s giving freedom to her slaves was an act unique in the history of man. We know not where an example can be found of so noble a sacrifice, made by a whole people. As to its prudence, some may think this, and some that; but no man can lay it at the door of any selfish feeling. The people of the United Kingdom believed slavery to be cruel. It seemed to them a breach of the law of love which the Gospel had laid down. For these reasons, and for these alone, they made up their minds to be rid of it. But they were not hurried away by their zeal; they chose to pay the cost themselves; and 20,000,000*l.* was paid down by them, to get the slaves set free. To us, who saw this done, it may seem an everyday affair. But seen from afar, in the coming ages, it may strike men as sublime.

Was it, after all, an act of shining folly? Has it really wrought woe and not weal in the world? It is worth while to find out the true reply to these questions. For if all this were so, then that noble old maxim, that ‘Right never comes wrong,’ would be overthrow. Here we have a nation plainly setting itself to do right, ‘because right was right;’ because it thought more of what was due to God and man, than of itself. Has this been a failure, has this done harm and not good, then it may be unwise to do right. Wrong, perhaps, might as well be kept going. The laws of God and the rights of man may be well enough in their way, but should we obey the one, or observe the other, we may find ourselves made fools of.

We are far indeed from denying that the owners of West Indian property have gone through a time of deep distress. The cry of despair that rose from them in 1847, and the next years, was appalling. Many and many a family once blessed with opulence sank into poverty, while hundreds of others had their fortunes shattered, if not destroyed. No wonder such an overthrow should have been loudly noised, not only through England, but through the world, and that emancipation should be looked upon as having given the death-blow to our once thriving colonies. People were not likely to bear in mind that, however sad these events might be, still the great

outcry arose fourteen years after slavery (ten years after the apprenticeship) had been done away, and at once upon a change of a wholly different kind. Nor could they have been expected to remember that the cries of distress came, not from the whole population of those islands, but mainly from the proprietors living in England, whose voice therefore rang the louder, but might not be the voice of the mass of the people. It was natural for the world to think that the whole of our sugar colonies were sinking into ruin, though the outcry came from some of them, but not from others. It was natural for the world to think that when it no longer heard 'that 'most outrageous dreadful yelling cry' (to quote the Fairy Queen), it was hushed in death, though in truth it ceased because the pinch was over. No wonder the world fancies that our sugar colonies are as good as swept off the face of the earth, though in fact they are swiftly becoming a gem in the British crown, of higher value than they ever were before.

A long and thorough investigation of the case has borne us irresistibly to the conclusion, that in these assumptions the world has been wrong; and if the reader will go with us through the following pages, we think he will agree with us in believing that, even if we set aside all thoughts but thoughts of pounds, shillings, and pence -- as a dry question of economy -- emancipation has *paid*; that it was an act of prudence for which we, as a nation of shopkeepers, need not blush before that golden god, whom we are thought to worship so eagerly. We shall bring forward, what seem to us conclusive reasons for the persuasion, that had England not cared a jot for those noble principles that really nerved her to the work, had she only kept a shrewd look-out for the main chance, it was not weak but wise of her to free her slaves.

This, then, is the plain question to which we have sought out the reply. Taking no thought, for the nonce, of humanity, morality, Christianity---looking to the pocket alone---has emancipation answered, or been a blunder? Good and kindly meant as it undoubtedly was, is the world the worse off for it, or the better off for it? Did the philanthropists ruin the West Indies? or did they save the West Indies from imminent, irretrievable ruin, and set them on the road to a prosperity at once sound and splendid? Let that be the test of the great experiment of 1834. Has it plunged the former slave colonies into hopeless ruin, then never mind its nobleness, let it stand condemned. But if the distress which fell on the West Indies in 1847 can be clearly traced to other causes; if it was only a pass-

ing storm; if, those other causes, being spent, freedom is now working out a well-being that was unknown in the days of slavery — then, we say, let emancipation stand approved in the sight of all the world.

And this it is which the facts before us seem to prove. They show that slavery was bearing our colonies down to ruin with awful speed; that had it lasted but another half century, they must have sunk beyond recovery. On the other hand, that now, under freedom and free trade, they are growing day by day more rich and prosperous; with spreading trade, with improving agriculture, with a more educated, industrious, and virtuous people; while the comfort of the quondam slaves is increased beyond the power of words to portray.

Never was a more radical revolution made in the fortunes of a whole people, than when the 800,000 British negroes stepped from slavery into freedom. When the clock began to strike twelve on the night of July 31. 1834, they were, in the eye of the law, things, chattels, beasts of burden, the mere property of others. When it had ceased to sound, they were for the first time, not only free-men but *men*; standing on the same level as those who had formerly owned them. The whole form of things became so thoroughly new, that it is now no easy matter to paint oneself a living picture of a state of society which has been so utterly swept away; but of its more salient features hints enough remain. And we must say that in glancing through the piles of information on the state of the slave colonies accumulated during the anti-slavery struggle, we have been amazed at the breadth and depth of the cruelty which slavery was shown to beget. There are those who jog along in the easy and pleasant belief that the plantations had been under kindly government, and that the tales of barbarity that used to be rife years and years ago, were for the most part mere wind. We have had but too much reason to change our minds on this head. And yet, though the shadows of slavery were dark, and too often terrible, there seems to have been a good play of sunlight upon it as well; and, luckily, a charming picture of the bright side of slavery has been preserved for us by 'Monk' Lewis, who was not only a man of poetical feeling, but of a most kind nature, and who went to see his estates mainly from a sense of duty towards his slaves. He reached Jamaica on the 1st of January (1816), the severe work of crop time just over, and the negroes at their best and merriest. The air was delicious. The fragrance of the sweet wood and other scented trees put him in mind of 'the buxom air, embalmed with

‘odours’ of Paradise, while the scenery was highly picturesque, from the lively green of the vegetation, and the hermitage-like appearance of the negro buildings, all situated in little gardens, and embosomed in sweet-smelling shrubberies. The joy of the slaves at seeing massa, if not deep, was at least noisy. They sang, danced, shouted, and tumbled over each other, and rolled about on the ground, while every man, woman, and child chattered its loudest. The mothers held up their little shining black imps, grinning from ear to ear, with ‘Look, massa, look here; him nice lilly neger for ‘massa.’ Nor was female loveliness wanting to complete the picture; but was well represented by Mary Wiggins, whose complexion had no yellow in it; teeth admirable, eyes mild and bright, and a face merely broad enough to give it ‘all possible ‘softness and grandness of contour.’ Many old servants of the family (which at that time lived on the estate), came to see him, and showed such warmth and enthusiasm that after the cold manners of England the contrast was infinitely agreeable, and his heart expanded in the sunshine of the kind looks and words which met him at every turn, and seemed to wait for his smiles as anxiously as if they were so many diamonds. On three sides the landscape was bounded by purple mountains, and the variety of occupations going on all around gave an inconceivable air of life and animation to the whole scene, especially as all those occupations looked cleanly. The tradespeople were dressed in jackets and trowsers, either white, or of red and sky-blue stripe. Here a band of negroes carrying the ripe canes on their heads to the mill; another set conveying away the *trash*, after the juice had been extracted; flocks of turkeys sheltering from the heat under the trees; the river filled with ducks and geese; the coopers and carpenters hammering at the punchcons; carts drawn, some by six, some by eight oxen, bringing loads of Indian corn from the fields; the black children gathering it in to the granary, or quarrelling with pigs as black as themselves, who were equally busy in stealing the corn whenever the children were looking another way: such was the scene which met Mr. Lewis’s eyes as he stood in his verandah; and, ‘in short,’ he adds, ‘a plantation ‘possesses all the movement and interest of a farm, without its ‘dung, and its stench, and its dirty accompaniments.’

Such was the Arcadian felicity of a slave plantation under the eye of a kind and opulent owner. But it would seem that even such an Eden as this shared the lot of the rest of the earth, of which Goethe’s angel Gabriel tells us —

‘*Es wechselt Paradieses-Helle
Mit tiefer schauervoller Nacht.*’

For though under the mild sway of Mr. Lewis all flowed so sweetly, by degrees he found things out that did not please him. Nay, his own way of putting it is, that ‘nothing could ‘equal’ his ‘anger and surprise’ when he discovered what had been going on before his coming was looked for. His father had always filled his letters with the most positive orders for the good treatment of the slaves, and had chosen a first-rate agent. Yet this man, from mere sloth, had let an overseer treat them so savagely that at one time ‘they had been driven ‘absolutely into rebellion, and almost every slave of respect-ability had been compelled to become a runaway.’ . . . ‘If I had not come to Jamaica myself,’ he adds, ‘in all probability I should never have had the most distant idea *how abominably the poor creatures had been ill used.*’ And then his own agent said nothing plainly, but shook his head, and gave poor Lewis evidently to understand that the slaves could not be governed without the cart-whip. In fact, the need of that stimulus soon grew plain, for the production of sugar fell from thirty-three hogsheads a week (before his coming), down to thirteen! ‘The ‘negroes certainly are perverse beings,’ is the reflection he made. But he was not long in finding that whites are ‘per-verse beings’ too, for some alarmed planters actually wanted the grand jury at Montego Bay to prosecute him for over-indulgence to his own slaves! While to his great mortification, on visiting his other estate, which he ‘had expected to find ‘a perfect paradise,’ it proved to be ‘a hell upon earth.’

And what a hell upon earth a plantation was, under a sharp master, is so vividly set forth in a plain, unvarnished account written by Mr. Whitely, who was book-keeper (clerk) on the New Ground Plantation, near St. Ann’s Bay, in Jamaica, in 1832, that we shall venture to extract one of the many scenes that he describes.

Nor could these sickening severities have been at all unusual.

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‘12th instance.—The first of these two cases was that of a married woman, the mother of several children. She was brought up to the overseer’s door one morning, and one of the drivers who came with her accused her of having stolen a fowl. Some feathers, said to have been found in her hut, were exhibited as evidence of her guilt. The overseer asked her if she could pay for the fowl. She said something in reply which I did not clearly understand. The question was repeated, and a similar reply again given. The overseer then said, ‘Put her down.’ On this the woman set up a shriek, and rent the

air with her cries of terror. Her countenance grew quite ghastly, and her lips became pale and livid. I was close to her, and particularly noticed her remarkable aspect and expression of countenance. The overseer swore fearfully, and repeated his order, "Put her down!" The woman was then extended on the ground and held down by two negroes. Her gown and shift were literally torn from her back, and, thus brutally exposed, she was subjected to the cart-whip. The punishment inflicted on this poor creature was inhumanly severe. She was a woman somewhat plump in her person, and the whip being wielded with great vigour, every stroke cut deep into the flesh. She writhed and twisted her body violently under the infliction,—moaning loudly, but uttering no exclamation in words, except once, when she cried out entreating that her nakedness might not be indecently exposed,—appearing to suffer, from matronly modesty, even more acutely on account of her indecent exposure, than the cruel laceration of her body. But the overseer only noticed her appeal by a brutal reply, and the flogging continued. Disgusted as I was, I witnessed the whole to a close. I numbered the lashes, stroke by stroke, and counted *fifty*, thus exceeding by eleven the number allowed by the colonial law to be inflicted at the arbitrary will of the master or manager. This was the only occasion on which I saw the legal number of thirty-nine lashes exceeded; but I never knew the overseer or head book-keeper give less than thirty-nine. This poor victim was shockingly lacerated. When permitted to rise she again shrieked violently. The overseer swore roughly, and threatened, if she was not quiet, to put her down again. He then ordered her to be taken to the hot-house, or hospital, and put in the stocks. She was to be continued in the stocks for several nights, while she worked in the yard during the day at light work. She was too severely mangled to be able to go to the field for some days.'

For in the four 'crown colonies,'* the home government was able to do what it pleased, and accordingly it required every planter to give in sworn returns of the punishments inflicted on his estate. By these sworn returns there were registered, in the two years 1828-9, 68,921 punishments. The law allowed, in the crown colonies, twenty-five stripes to a punishment, which limit was incessantly passed. Taking the average, however, at but twenty stripes, this puts the total amount of stripes inflicted, in regular floggings, for these four colonies alone, in two years, at no less than one million three hundred and fifty thousand! Twenty-five thousand and ninety-four punishments, or, at that rate, half a million, of those stripes were sworn to as having been inflicted upon *females*.†

* Guiana (at that time divided), Trinidad, St. Lucia.

† Protector's Reports, Parl. Papers.

That the whip, and the dread of the whip, must have caused an unspeakable amount of physical and moral misery, is then plain enough. In this respect emancipation has beyond all question caused a vast accession to human happiness, in that it has substituted the attraction of rewards for the compulsion of terror. But by far the most portentous and striking of the features of West Indian society under slavery was this, that while the free negroes were steadily advancing in number, the slaves were dying off at a rate which was described at the time as 'appalling.'

It was not by stories of atrocious cruelty that the eyes of Parliament were opened to the wickedness and folly of slavery. If any of our readers would turn to the pages of Hansard, they would find that what gave the death-blow to slavery, in the minds of English statesmen, was the population returns, which showed the fact, 'the appalling' fact, that although only eleven out of the eighteen islands had sent them in, yet in those eleven islands the slaves had decreased in twelve years, by no less than 60,219: namely, from 558,194 to 497,975!* Had similar returns been procured from the other seven colonies (including Mauritius, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Grenada), the decrease must have been little, if at all, less than 100,000! Now it was plain to every one that if this were really so, the system could not last. The driest economist would allow that it would not pay, to let the working-classes be slaughtered. To work the labouring men of our West Indies to death might bring in a good return for a while, but could not be a profitable enterprise in the long run. Accordingly, this was the main, we had almost said the only, topic of the debates on slavery in 1831 and 1832. Is slavery causing a general massacre of the working classes in our sugar islands, or is it not, was a question worth debating, in the pounds, shillings, and pence view, as well as in the moral one. And debated it was, long and fiercely. The result was the full establishment of the dreadful fact. The slaves, as Mr. Marryatt said, were 'dying like rotten sheep.'

Whatever then may be said for West Indian slavery, this damning thing must be said against it, that *the slaves were dying of it*. Then came emancipation. The tide at once turned. In the next twelve years, there was an *increase* of 54,076 in the number of the negroes of but ten colonies (no return having been sent from the larger ones). This one fact is enough by itself to justify emancipation. Whatever evils might have sprung

* Parl. Papers, Population Returns for the West Indies. Of course the decrease by manumission is not included.

from that act, nothing could be so bad for both master and men as to have all the latter killed off. Yet such was the limit towards which things were actually tending, and that swiftly. Had the same rate of decrease gone on, one century would have seen the extinction of slavery, by the extinction of the slaves. We put it to the good sense of our readers, whether it would have answered to let this state of things proceed.

We have shown, then, how deep and how murderous was the wretchedness into which the working class of the West Indies was thrust by slavery. We have given some glimpses of the oppression they endured, and how they perished under it. So far, then, as the mass of the people went, it plainly was not only a good but a wise thing to cut their bonds. And, perhaps, now-a-days, it may seem odd that it should ever have been wished to keep such a state of things going, for the sake of a small body of gentlemen. But what made the matter wholly unbearable was, that it had not even the poor merit of enriching those for whose good the system was held to. Never did the truth come out with greater clearness than in the West Indies, that it is short-sighted folly to thrust aside natural arrangements, and set up artificial ones in their stead. Here was a body of men owning some of the richest land in the world. They had plenty of labourers, and might lash as much work out of them as they pleased. They had a tight monopoly, so tight that not even the sugar of England's other dominions of India or Singapore was allowed to compete. Yet, despite all this, even from the beginning of the century, the planters were continually laying before the Colonial Secretary and Parliament, memorials which might truly be said to have been 'written within and without, with lamentation and mourning and woe.' Even in 1805, before the abolition of the African Slave Trade, the planters described their condition to be one of increasing embarrassment and impending ruin, as indeed it was.

If we reproduced these now forgotten complaints of the planters, they would seem worse bores than Cowper's friend, who

'thought he should have died, he was so bad —
His peevish hearers almost wished he had.'

We will only therefore show what the pecuniary condition of the planters was in 1830, when slavery and monopoly were at their zenith. Nor let it be said that their deep distress was owing to the anti-slavery agitation. They do not so much as allude to it.

Lord Chandos, in 1830, presented a petition from the

West India merchants and planters setting forth 'the extreme 'distress under which they labour;' and he declared in his speech that it was 'not possible for them to bear up against 'such a pressure any longer.' . . . 'They are reduced to a 'state in which they are obliged earnestly to solicit relief from 'Parliament.' Mr. Bright said, 'The distress of the West 'India colonial body is unparalleled in the country. Many 'families who formerly lived in comparative affluence are reduced to absolute penury.' The 'West India Reporter' also quotes a report on the commercial state of the West Indies, which said, 'There are the strongest concurrent testimonies and proofs that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the 'planters must inevitably very soon take place.' Meanwhile, production was decreasing as well. Thus in the five years ending with 1820, the export of sugar from Jamaica had been 585,172 hogsheads; but had fallen to 493,784 in the five years ending with 1830, — a decrease of no less 91,388 hogsheads. Nay, in the ten years ending with 1830, the decrease was no less than 201,843 hogsheads from the amount in the ten years ending with 1820. (*Appendix. Bigelow's Jamaica.*)

Another fact plainly shows that these distresses would only have grown deeper and heavier had slavery been allowed to go on. In the Dutch colony of Surinam, the very same ruin has come on, which befell our own islands. The fact that slavery was left standing has made not the least difference. Here we have a large colony, with slavery preserved in all its force and beauty. And what is the result? The result is almost total ruin. 'Out of 917 plantations, 636 have been *totally 'abandoned!*' 'Of the remainder, 65 grow nothing but wood 'or provisions.' And the small balance are stated to be on the road to destruction.

The state of things then with which the statesmen of 1833 had to grapple was this:—A system kept going by the sheer force of the law, which allowed no rights whatever to some 800,000 serfs, which regarded them as beasts of burden, made for nothing but to enrich a few English families by their forced toil; which was slaughtering these workmen; which at the same time had brought down their owners to a state of 'unparalleled' distress; had reduced these noblemen and gentlemen of England to the degrading necessity of 'earnestly' begging Parliament for 'relief;' and was steadily diminishing the productive power of these fertile islands. Such was the result of the defiance that had been hurled at the laws of nature. Massacre of the working class; ruin of the

proprietors; such was the work that slavery and monopoly were doing under the sun. And this is the state of things to which many eyes still look back with tender regrets! Yet Mr. Carlyle himself, the chief hater of the philanthropists, with his wonted force, has told us, that —

‘To prosper in this world, to gain felicity, victory, and improvement, either for a man or a nation, there is but one thing requisite,—that the man or nation can discern what the true regulations of the universe are in regard to him and his pursuits, and can faithfully and steadily follow these. These will lead him to victory. Whoever it may be that sets him in the way of these . . . sets him in the sure way to please the Author of this Universe, and is his friend of friends. And, again, whoever does the contrary is, for a like reason, his enemy of enemies. This may be taken as fixed.’

Taken as fixed it certainly may be; and fixed it plainly was in the West Indies, where the artificial arbitrary interference of law with the natural freedom of man and freedom of trade, was bringing about the extinction of the working class, and was whirling their masters along to utter ruin.

It is not within our purpose to discuss why slavery and monopoly should have wrought such unlooked-for devastation in lieu of the wealth which they were meant to foster. But we may notice that elsewhere, too, the same folly has been no less fatal. The gradual decay of Italy under the emperors has been attributed by the best authorities in a great degree to the substitution of slave for free labour. Russia has kept her peasants in serfdom later than any other Christian country, and Russia is far behind the world in all wealth, of purse as well as mind. But most strikingly is this the case with the Slave States of North America. Every traveller of weight dwells on the poverty-stricken look of those States, rich as their soil, genial as their climate may be, when set beside the Free States of the Union. Their condition has been thoroughly investigated, and, we might almost say, photographed, by the accomplished American agriculturist, Mr. Olmsted; and he, applying to the matter the skilled mind of a practical farmer, gives overwhelming proofs of the destructive effect of slavery, and points out with great clearness how it must be that, in the long run, it costs less to hire a fit man for doing what has to be done, than to maintain a whole colony of people, and force labour out of them by the terrors of the lash. We fully perceive, in reading his painful accounts of the misery of the Slave States, how vast a loss must arise from the labourer’s intense and unremitting resistance to this mode of extracting his labour,—a mode by which, if we may say so, his laziness is stimulated to the most

energetic opposition. Not only does Quashee, under this system, give his heart and soul to spending the greatest possible time on the least possible work, but it is a universal complaint of all slaveholders that he grows so mindless, that agricultural and manufacturing improvements are impossible. No machinery can be entrusted to slaves. Wherever slave-labour prevails you must have the most primitive tools, you must eschew all the arts by which labour is made swifter. So heavily did this blight rest on the West Indies that even the plough (since become very common) was unknown under slavery.

The inevitable tendency of slavery to make the working class so idle and shiftless is, we believe, the true reason why, in the long run, it has always been the ruin of the nation that clings to it. But, whether this be or be not the true explanation, we have seen that, as a matter of fact, the West India planters and merchants were sinking swiftly and surely into the abyss. It was not then shortsighted of the British Parliament to put an end to this wretched state of things. In truth no one now thinks that it would have been wise to leave slavery standing. But those who thought themselves injured by emancipation are wont not to complain of the thing itself, but of the way in which it was done. They complain bitterly that the slaves were set free in hot haste; whereas had steps been taken to pave the way and soften the change, all would have been well. This view may have some truth in it. And if emancipation has been attended with evils that might have been escaped, the Anti-slavery party may fairly lay the blame on those who would not allow that gradual preparation for the change, which they earnestly sought for. We have no wish to cast blame on the planters. They had much to alarm them, and they have paid dearly for their lack of foresight; but we must notice the blunder they made in withstanding those mitigating measures which might perhaps have trained the slave to work as a hired labourer for his former owner. But the strangest part of the affair has been (and it is an amusing illustration of the old fable of the wolf and the lamb) that the Anti-slavery party*—the very men who strenuously fought for such mitigating measures—are now abused by the very men who withstood these measures to the death, for not having permitted them! Why, till the anti-slavery leaders found that it was utterly hopeless to get the

* It would be convenient if those who in 1807 abolished the British *trade* in slaves (Wilberforce, Stephen, Clarkson, and their coadjutors), were always called the Abolitionists: and those who did away with slavery in our colonies in 1834 were called the Anti-slavery party.

West Indian planters to do any one thing towards fitting their slaves for freedom, they were solely bent upon such preliminary measures. In 1823, Mr. Fowell Buxton, in making the first motion for the abolition of slavery, plainly declared that —

‘The object at which we aim is the extinction of slavery — nothing less than the extinction of slavery — in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions. Not, however, the rapid termination of that state; not the sudden emancipation of the negro. But such preparatory steps; such measures of precaution, as by slow degrees, and in a course of years, *first fitting and qualifying the slaves for the enjoyment of freedom*, shall gently conduct us to the annihilation of slavery.’

He especially urged that the young children of the slaves should be set free, and thus slavery would by degrees have died out.

Nothing could have been more temperate than these aims; and the circular letters issued to the islands by Mr. Canning, in consequence of this debate, merely ‘recommended’ the colonial authorities to adopt some mitigating measures that might help to train the negroes for freedom. The fury, the wild spirit of rebellion, which these salutary suggestions called forth, might have warned the Abolitionists how vain it was to hope that the planters would help to soften down slavery. In fact, the planters met the philanthropic advances of the British public much as the captain treated those of Parson Adams, when the latter ‘prayed God to bestow on him a little more humanity.’ The captain answered with a surly look and accent, ‘that he hoped he did not mean to reflect upon him; d— him, he had as much humanity as another, and if any man said he had not, he would convince him of his mistake by cutting his throat.’

One of the ‘mitigating measures’ so gently suggested by Mr. Canning would, it might have been thought, have been readily adopted by Englishmen in any part of the world. It was that the flogging of females should be discontinued. Clearly there was little hope of elevating the slaves when their women might be stripped and flogged at the mercy of any ruffian who had them under his charge. If the colonists would not give up this, where was improvement to begin? Yet this question was put to the vote after due discussion, in each colony, and in every one it was resolved to continue this wicked and disgusting practice.

At last the Anti-slavery leaders, or rather the British public, would stand this trifling no longer, but said clearly that since slavery could not be softened down, it should be swept away. Still the apprenticeship was a further attempt at a mitiga-

tion before freedom; but its only result was to irritate both the quasi masters and the quasi slaves; and as it admitted of neither the whip nor wages, instead of training the negroes to work hard for hire, it merely widened the breach between them and their former owners.

We have now done with the first great period in the history of the British West Indies, the period of monopoly and slave labour, and we have seen that under slavery and monopoly the labourers were dying, production lessening, agriculture barbarous, trade decaying, and the proprietors themselves—English noblemen and gentlemen—‘reduced to a state in which they were obliged earnestly to solicit relief from Parliament.’ We have further seen that not the Anti-slavery party, but those who stood against them, were to blame if due preparation was not made for the period of transition. And in turning now to that period, we may at once admit that upon the abolition of slavery there was a large falling off in the production of sugar. The negroes were little inclined to submit to any coercion; while the planters had not learnt to treat them as free labourers, who were to be enticed, not forced, to toil. We could fill hundreds of pages with descriptions of the painful and unavailing struggles of the employers to escape by hook or by crook from the dreadful necessity of treating with respect, and alluring by wages, those whom not long before they could order to be put down and flogged for the least indolence. The only effect of those struggles (but this effect they had to a very great extent), was to disgust the negroes, and drive them to seek a livelihood anywhere rather than on the sugar plantations. Very many of the planters also gave their negroes notice to quit their cottages and grounds, under the idea that by such a threat they would force them to work for less wages. The result was to make the negroes shift elsewhere.*

For a time then there was some confusion, and many planters found it a hard task to fit themselves and their circumstances to a state of things so new. Unhappily too, Shakspeare’s remark, that ‘calamities come not single spies, but in battalions,’ was but too well exemplified in those years. In 1843 an awful earthquake visited the Leeward group, doing frightful devastation. Out of 172 sugar-mills in Antigua, 117 were either levelled with the ground or split from top to bottom.

* See an able article in the *Westminster Review*, February, 1853. The writer comes himself, and carries his reader with him, to the conclusion, that ‘The diminution of labour was the direct and immediate consequence of the mismanagement of the planters.’

A third of the houses in the city of St. John were flung down, and most of the remainder so shattered and torn as to be untenable. A hurricane followed; and the traces of these two calamities were still visible six years after. Churches blown down, forest-trees uprooted, houses destroyed, and negro huts upturned, met Mr. Baird's eye even in 1849; and the damage done to the sugar canes was mournful.* But worse than this was the series of droughts that year after year, with only two exceptions, occurred between 1840 and 1849.† In eight years, six of drought would have been enough to reduce the planters to poverty, even had they possessed slaves in millions.

These were terrible drawbacks, and we by no means deny that there was a great deal of suffering among the owners of West Indian property during those years. But there is a general concurrence of testimony, that after the first unsettlement, things soon began to find their level, and, to quote the words of the Commissioners who inquired into the state of Guiana in 1850, 'every symptom of a change for the better was apparent; cultivation was extended, and the crops increased; the labouring population were working more steadily, and evinced signs of speedy improvement.' Slavery ceased in 1834; the apprenticeship in 1838. It was not till 1847 that the dreadful crash came, which has since resounded through the world.

What led to that crash was the vast fall in the price of sugar. The calamities that began in 1847 were aggravated by other causes. But the true explanation of them is to be found in the pregnant and striking fact, that West Indian sugar, which in 1840 (exclusive of duty) sold in bond at 49s., had sunk in 1848 to 23s. 5d. — a fall of twenty-five shillings and sevenpence out of forty-nine shillings! Or to take a wider area, sugar in the eight years ending with 1846, had averaged (exclusive of duty) 37s. 3d. per cwt. In the eight following years it averaged only 24s. 6d. per cwt.‡ And mark the consequence. In the first eight years the whole production of the West Indies was just twenty million cwt.§ In the second eight years it had increased by four million cwt. and a half. Now, had this amount sold at

* See 'Antigua and the Antiguans,' and Baird's West Indies.

† Tabular return from Jamaica, Appendix B. to Mr. Bigelow's book, p. 201.

‡ Parliamentary Return of tea and sugar, July, 1818. From this Return it also appears that, during the first twenty years of the century, sugar fetched 48s., all but double its price from 1846–55. No wonder West India property has fallen in value since those good old times.

§ Parliamentary Return, 'Sugar,' February, 1858.

the previous prices, it would have fetched fifteen millions * more than it actually did fetch. Whereas in reality, it sold for *seven millions less* than the smaller crops of the first period had sold for. One can imagine the feelings of the planters, who had laid themselves out to produce larger crops, and found themselves receiving seven millions less than they had received in the preceding eight years — fifteen millions less than they would have received, had the old prices still ruled! Seven millions less receipt! Why that fact by itself would be enough to account for the outcry that was heard from the West Indies during that time of suffering. It just made the whole difference between profit on the business, and loss on it. In falling from 37*s.* 3*d.* to 24*s.* 6*d.*, not only was the profit on the sugar swept clean away, but a dead loss ensued, wherever a loose system of management by agents instead of by proprietors existed, and where a heavy interest on mortgages had to be paid. This heavy fall of price is a fact which demands the most emphatic notice, if we wish to understand the reason why the West Indies passed through the valley of the shadow of death during those years.†

That so great a fall in the value of the one staple which the West Indies produced, would have caused grievous suffering in any society, however sound its condition might have been, it is easy to imagine. But what rendered the blow so deadly, was this, that the owners of West Indian property had inherited from the times of slavery and monopoly, a state of affairs in the last degree ruinous and rotten — so ruinous, so rotten, that a collapse, as Mr. Bigelow justly observes, was inevitable, whatever had been done or left undone. Whether slavery stood or not, whether monopoly stood or not, things had got to that pass when a hurricane was absolutely necessary to sweep the old order away, and make it give place to a new one. We will briefly touch on some of the traits of that old order, traits which strikingly remind us of Ireland, ere she too had been saved by her great calamity.

The planters were overwhelmed with debt. For instance, in the small island of St. Lucia, an Encumbered Estate Court was established in 1833, and small as the island is, in the first

* Accurately, 15,430,440*l.*

† This great fall in the price of cane sugar was partly due, of course, to the Free-trade measure of 1846 ; but also was partly due to the Protective measures, at about that time, adopted by France and Belgium, and other continental countries, in favour of their beet sugar, against cane sugar, which caused the latter to be poured into England, instead of being diffused through Europe.

eighteen months, liabilities were recorded to the enormous amount of 1,089,965*l.*, all debts incurred under slavery. Nor did that island stand alone. In each one of them the same state of things prevailed. Nearly the whole of the estates were mortgaged, many of them far beyond their actual value; and it was almost impossible for their owners to pay a heavy interest, and get a clear profit from the complex and precarious business which they were vainly attempting to conduct. Mr. Bigelow (an American traveller of great intelligence and observation), after a diligent inquiry into this point, declares that at the time of emancipation 'the island of Jamaica was 'utterly insolvent nearly every estate was mortgaged 'for more than it was worth, and was liable for more interest 'than it could possibly pay Bankruptcy was inevitable.' He says again: 'I have given my reasons for believing that 'the Emancipation Act *did not cause*, but only *precipitated*, a 'result which was inevitable. It compelled a balance to be 'struck between the debtors and creditors, which revealed, 'rather than begat, the poverty, which now no effort can 'conceal.' (P. 415.)

But far the worst feature in the position of the old proprietors was this, that scarcely any of them were residents; or if they were, they had not been trained to the management of their estates. Nearly the whole of the sugar estates were owned by absentees, the greater number of whom had never set foot in the islands. Every one knows how rare it is to make a common English farm pay, when not let, but merely looked after by a salaried bailiff. And besides these agricultural risks, there was in the planter's case the whole process of manufacture to be conducted, involving a very large outlay and requiring nice care. All this was to be done by the proprietor's agent. In not a few cases the agent was an honest man, in spite of his great temptations; a sober man, in spite of the abundance of rum and the practices of West Indian society; an energetic man, in spite of the enervating climate; and also a skilful man in the conduct of these large interests. But oftener, he was merely an attorney, who lived in Jamaica for the express purpose of getting all the plunder he could: he was much fonder of his bottle and his brown girl, or girls, than of his duty; his vigour had perspired away, or had disappeared under repeated attacks of fever, ague, and delirium tremens; he knew little of the sound methods of management; and he had several properties to attend to, and often one of his own, which of course took precedence of other people's. As an illustration of the last common occurrence, we may mention that in 1852 a me-

morial to Sir Henry Barkly was signed by eleven gentlemen, 'staple producing residents;' and they expressly state that they — these eleven men — are either owners or agents for one hundred and twenty three estates!* Eleven men managing the agriculture and manufacture of sugar upon one hundred and twenty-three estates, under a tropical sun! In Montserrat again, Dr. Davy tells us, that out of thirty-nine estates four only were in the hands of resident proprietors; and *twenty-three* of the rest were managed by one and the same agent. No wonder that nineteen of them were reputed to be 'imperfectly cultivated' or 'abandoned.' In St. Kitts there were one hundred and forty-three estates, and eight resident owners!† Mr. Bigelow fell in with a gentleman who had come over to make out for himself why he was always sinking more and more money on his estate. He found that his agent lived sixty miles away, and was obliged to make the mortifying confession that he had never once seen it! But in truth the proprietors were forced to put up with what they could get, for it was no easy matter to find an Englishman who knew anything at all about sugar plantations, and who would go out to swelter away his life in Jamaica. There is no reason to blame the landlords for being absentees. There is no reason to blame them for employing the only agents they could find. But this system could only end in bankruptcy and ruin.

That an absentee landlord, deep in debt, plundered, deceived, and neglected by his agent, was in a very precarious position, even while sugar was selling for a splendid price, will readily be allowed. What then was his inevitable fate when sugar sank from 49s., in 1840, to 23s. 5d. in 1848!

The reader will naturally think that the planter was ruined, because, not only must his profits have been swept away, but he must have been producing at a great loss. That was true. But that was not the real thing that brought the West Indies to such a crash. What struck society there to the heart was not the mere loss of profit, nor the mere loss on the year's transactions, but that hence arose a total loss of credit, and, without credit, *there was an end of the supply of capital.*

One of the main features in the conduct of West India affairs had been this — that the vast capital requisite for the production of the sugar crops (a capital of not less than some millions) had been annually advanced by the West Indian merchants in London, on the security of the crops, which were then consigned

* 'Return Sugar-growing Colonies, Jamaica,' p. 141.

† Dr. Davy, 'West Indies,' p. 459.

to them. But, of course, when it was known that sugar had fallen so enormously in value, the merchants took fright—the credit of the planter was gone. He was embarked in transactions on which a vast capital had been already laid out, and which required a vast capital to carry them on, and *capital he could not obtain!* Every other circumstance in the state of the West Indies—the indebtedness of the planters, their absenteeism, the lack of labourers, and so forth, may, more or less, have aggravated their difficulties, but here lay the very gist, here lay the very soul of the matter; that suddenly the agriculturists and manufacturers of these islands (for such the planters were) found themselves bereft of capital.

And what added to the dreadful pinch for means, to the impossibility of procuring it on almost any terms, was that at this very period the great crisis of 1847 fell on the commercial world; and, as though the West Indians were to drink the cup of destruction to the dregs, the West Indian Bank failed for a vast sum.

Such, then, was the state of things when the competition of Cuba and Brazil was let in upon the planters. Deep in debt—absentees—dependent on loans for their supplies of capital—never did a great change fall on men so little prepared. The results were terrible. The reader would hardly thank us if we described them; nor does it lie within our province to do so. All we have wished has been to point out how unjustly these events have been charged upon emancipation, when they were clearly due to the great fall in the price of sugar, and the collateral circumstances which we have described. In fact, although the less informed British public has carelessly assumed that it was emancipation, and not these other incidents, which led to the ruin of the West Indies, this seems to be scarcely ever the opinion of the colonial writers themselves. We will only add that in Barbadoes, where labour has always been abundant, and wages at from 5*d.* to 6*d.* a day, even there Lord Stanley tells us, that the same ‘change of hands took place, at the expense and ruin of the former owners, from whom their ‘properties passed at a greatly diminished value.’*

But now mark this. The old planting interest fell, and great was the fall of it. But although the lower prices crushed those who were overwhelmed with debt, and who were managing the agricultural and manufacturing processes from London by agents, still free trade did not for one moment hinder the production of sugar.

* Lord Stanley’s ‘State of the West Indies,’ p. 52.

Since 1840, the importation of sugar to the United Kingdom from the West Indies has gone forward as follows: —

	cwt.
Six years before free trade (1841—1846) -	14,629,550
Six years after free trade (1847—1852) -	17,918,362
Last six years (1853—1858) -	18,443,331.

It will be seen that these amounts are progressive. In the six years that followed free trade there was an increase of production, to the large amount of 3,288,812 cwt. upon the previous six years. This is a point of the very highest importance, as regards the question before us. It absolutely, inevitably, irresistibly demonstrates two things: first, it demonstrates that although the old proprietors could not make the production of sugar pay, *others could*. Clearly, sugar could not have gone on steadily and rapidly increasing in amount, unless the producers of it found it answer. But then, secondly, it follows that the old proprietors were ruined by their peculiar position, — by their debts, absenteeism, and so forth; and that it is not the lack of labourers that has been their destruction, for with that lack the new proprietors have had to struggle no less than the old ones. Labour cannot have been so scarce and so costly, that ‘no conceivable opulence of cane crop could cover it,’ or clearly the cane crops would have ceased to be grown.

We affirm, then, that the West Indian crash of 1847 arose from the fall in the price in sugar, which came upon a state of affairs rotten to the core. But still the question is to be weighed, whether that fall in price, and that rotten state of affairs, would have ended in such a downfall had slavery been still maintained? Was not emancipation to blame for these miseries? for if the planters had enjoyed the full use of the slaves’ labour, would they not have tided over those obstacles, and floated off again merrily? Had not there been a scarcity of labour, would not those other storms have blown in vain?

What? when the planters, while slavery and monopoly were at their zenith, were yet in a state of ‘unparalleled distress;’ were driven ‘earnestly to seek relief from Parliament;’ can we for one moment suppose that they could have stood such a blow? It would be mere folly to fancy it. The crash would have rung through the world, as it rang through it in 1847. The planters would have been ground to powder.

And now let us turn to the vexed question as to the scarcity of labour. At the outset, we must not forget that a certain amount of labour could not but be turned aside from the production of sugar, when the slaves were set free. Under slavery,

women and men were worked in gangs together; and nearly as much field labour was forced from the one sex as from the other; the children, meanwhile, being kept in a kind of hospital, under a nurse, while the mothers were so engaged. Happily this system went out under freedom. Under slavery, again, the great host of labourers were driven daily to one kind of task. Under freedom, every man has chosen the task that suited and paid him best. If the result were less sugar, that is not the least indication that the West Indies are ruined, though it may have ruined those who had laid out a vast capital on the manufacture of that one article.

It is further true, that in certain localities, especially on the banks of the rivers in Guiana, where large bodies of negroes have been cut off from communication with civilised life, and have been able to obtain a plentiful subsistence by hunting and fishing, they have lapsed into a state of useless barbarism. It is also said that in the seaports a number of filthy idlers are to be found, who impress the casual visitor unfavourably. The traveller, perhaps, on landing, will offer a shilling to a sooty gentleman in rags to carry his portmanteau; and the sooty gentleman thanks massa, but 'it doesn't not suit him' to take the job. Thinking this fellow mad, he offers the chance to another, who, after long consideration, says he will 'do anything to oblige ' massa.' He 'hopes de Lord will bless massa and all his ' family,' and that ' massa will soon find a person to do what he ' wants; ' but he himself is going to attend a funeral in the evening, and ' foller his parted broder to de grave.' Of course, the fretted traveller jumps to the conclusion that all niggers are idle, impracticable scoundrels, and on his return home, writes a fierce tirade against them and the philanthropists.

But what is said by those who really know the country? We have been surprised to find what a mass of trustworthy evidence might be brought forward to the effect that, wherever labour is lacking, this is owing to the planter's not having the capital to pay wages at the market rate, and regularly once a week; or else to his agent not having the self-control to treat the negroes with due kindness and respect. From the Governors' reports it appears that in the greater number of the islands no complaints are made of a scarcity of labour, or the Governor deems them groundless. Upon the whole, however, we have come to the conclusion that (stoutly as the fact is denied by many residents in those islands*) in Jamaica, at any rate,

* See Bigelow, especially Sir Joshua Rowe's remarks; see too the 'West Indian Labour Question,' 1858 (which is full of interesting information), the Jamaica newspapers, &c. &c.

and in Guiana, St. Kitts, Grenada, and Trinidad, there are not labourers enough to meet the great demand for them. It must, however, be noticed that a good deal more sugar is produced now by St. Kitts than in the time of slavery.* In Grenada, 'contentment pervades all classes of the community'†; and Trinidad produces far more sugar than under slavery.‡

But we find it repeatedly stated, on good authority, that the deficiency of labour, such as it is, does not arise from the indolence of the negroes. Of course in such a climate no one can be so energetic as in England. But 'I deny,' says the Governor of Tobago in 1857, 'that the peasantry are abandoned to slothful habits. On the contrary, I assert that a more industrious class does not exist in the world, at least when working for themselves.' 'There are few races of men,' says Sir Charles Grey (1852), 'who will work harder, or more perseveringly, when they are sure of getting for themselves the whole produce of their labour.' Dr. Davy observes, 'It is a mistake often committed to suppose that the African is by nature idle and indolent, less inclined to work than the European. He who has witnessed, as I have, their indefatigable and provident industry, will be disposed probably to overrate rather than underrate the activity of the negro, and his love of, or rather I would say, his non-aversion to, labour.' The testimony of so independent and scientific an observer as Dr. Davy, to the 'indefatigable and provident industry of the negro,' is remarkable.

The real causes of the scarcity of labour are these: — First, that during the early years of freedom the planters, especially in Jamaica, by their shortsighted conduct irritated the negroes, and drove them to seek a livelihood off the estates. Secondly, that from 1847 forwards, for several years the planters *had no capital to pay wages with*. This was one of the most potent causes of the secession of the labourers. Thirdly, that many of the agents of the planters have been harsh and violent to the negroes. Fourthly, that though the planter would be glad to hire the labourer *during crop time*, after that for several months he would have little work for him to do. Of course the labourer will not sacrifice other pursuits for a temporary engagement. This is a point of striking importance. Lastly, — and here after all is the soul of the matter, — the negro's freehold actually puts more money into his pocket (taking the whole year through) than the planter's wages. It is stated by Lord Harris that in Trinidad a negro can make 10*l.* an acre by his provision ground.§ If so,

* Report, 1857, p. 192.

† Ibid. 1858.

‡ Ibid. 1853. 1855.

§ Return, 1853, p. 157.

it is better for the community that he should bring forth *more wealth* in that way, than by working for hire.

These causes might have been expected to produce a far greater transfer of labour from the sugar estates, in a country abounding with rich land, than has actually taken place. In 1857 the value of the sugar alone exported to the United Kingdom (besides a considerable trade to America), amounted to no less a sum than 5,618,000*l.*! * Nor can this vast production be attributed to the immigrants. They usually stay five years. But in the last five years only 25,000 of them have been introduced into the whole of the West Indies. Many of these were women, many were children, many died. Such a mere handful of real labourers could have had but little to do with the production of nearly six million pounds worth of sugar.

We must add, that wages are far from high. Sir A. Alison, truly, is pleased to tell us that the negroes are 'so extravagant 'in their demand for wages,' as well as irregular and inconsistent in their habits, 'as to render it impossible to continue 'the cultivation of sugar with any prospect of profit.' And Mr. Carlyle, with his usual vigour and inaccuracy, draws a portrait of the negro, who, 'sunk to the ears in pumpkin, imbibing saccharine juices, and much at his ease in the creation, 'can listen to the less fortunate white man's "demand," and 'take his own time in supplying it. "Higher wages, massa: " "higher, for you cannot wait: still higher,"—till no conceivable opulence of cane crop will cover such wages.' †

Since neither the solemn pedant nor the eccentric genius give any facts as to the 'extravagant wages' which 'no conceivable opulence of crop will cover,' it might be fancied that the planter has to pay two or three times as much to his labourers as the English farmer. Now, the official reports, and indeed all authorities, concur in giving the average wages of the field negro at one shilling a day, or *six shillings a week*. ‡ Six shillings a week may seem awful to a quondam slave-owner; but if it really were a rate of wages which no opulence of crop would cover, then that crop must and would be given up. Its cultivation could only be the artificial result of fiscal follies, not the one really suitable to the soil and climate.

As regards the scarcity of labour, therefore, we believe that

* Statistical Tables, Board of Trade.

† Occasional Discourses, p. 4.

‡ The stipendiary magistrates in Jamaica, in 1854, were officially asked, What is the rate of wages for able-bodied field labourers?

Out of the fifteen replies ten place the *maximum* at six shillings a week. (*Parl. Papers, Jamaica, 1854.*)

the state of the case was very fairly summed up by the French Commissioners who inquired into the state of the West Indies, and who, on leaving Guiana, observe:—

‘A la Guyane les uns (des planteurs) proclament l'impossibilité de marcher avec le régime actuel. Les autres, au contraire, assurent qu'ils ne manquent jamais d'ouvriers, qu'ils n'ont qu'à se louer de l'assiduité des noirs, qu'ils produisent autant que sous les régimes précédents.' . . . ‘voilà pour les anciens planteurs. Maintenant, consultez les nouveaux: entendez ces hommes qui ne connaissent le travail forcé que par tradition: vous trouverez chez eux unanimité: tous vous diront qu'ils sont satisfaits du travail; que leurs exploitations vont bien.’

There seem, then, to be conclusive reasons for the opinion, that it was not emancipation which caused the West Indian crisis of 1847, but that the distresses of that period arose from the loss of monopoly, coming upon a most artificial and ruinous state of affairs. It seems to us indubitable that the loss of monopoly would have produced exactly the same crash, whether slavery had been standing or had been done away. And although we own that there has been in many places a scarcity of labour, and this has been a serious annoyance to the proprietors, yet we think the evidence proves that, generally speaking, it was not so much the difficulty of obtaining labour which caused the penury of the planters, as it was the penury of the planters which caused the difficulty of procuring labour.

There has been another potent cause of the sufferings which the West Indian islands have undergone. Misgovernment, above all, the mismanagement of their fiscal affairs, have, in the opinion of those most intimate with them, had a vast deal to do with their distresses. We shall exhibit this more fully in delineating the state of the islands one by one. We shall show how swiftly some of them have burst into the bloom of great prosperity, the moment an improvement was made in their financial arrangements. We shall show how grievous a drawback the want of such reforms has been to Jamaica and other islands. But now we will content ourselves with referring to one or two somewhat amusing facts: one, that in Montserrat, according to Dr. Davy, there were but eighty-five persons who at once were—twenty years of age, able to read, and payers of direct taxes. Yet there is a President, a Council, a House of Assembly, and seventy-seven officials, including the M.P.'s. There is a Vice-Chancellor, an Attorney-General, a Solicitor-General, a Queen's Counsel, and so forth. The governor of another of the islands officially explains why the Assembly has fallen off in number from forty-four to forty

two, by this rather queer circumstance, that the *one constituent* who should have elected *two members* for his district, had gone to England.

We must here pause for a moment. We have, we think, shown that it was the loss of monopoly, not the loss of slavery, which brought the West Indies to such a crash. Are we then to conclude that though Slavery is acquitted, Free Trade stands condemned? Is the history of the West Indies to throw a shield over the falling cause of Protection?

Quite the reverse. We shall show, ere we have done, what great wealth Free Trade has already begun to shower on the West Indies. It may be said, however, that though in the long run freedom of trade has shown itself their true friend, yet that at its outset it was a frightful calamity. But we must remember that the case of the West Indies was wholly distinct from that of any nation which should adopt Free Trade for itself. A nation in so doing would simply say, 'Instead of barring out the good things of the world by force of law, I will let every-body who likes pour them into my garners.' This can never, even from the first moment, have any other effect but that of making that country richer and happier. But in the case of the West Indies, it was quite another thing. There, a small group of islands had hitherto been assured of a sale of their produce to the mother-country, without any foreign competition. To them the resolve of the mother-country to buy in the open market, instead of buying from them, was of course a heavy blow for a time. If the world had never bought guns except at Birmingham, and then suddenly resolved to buy them wherever they were to be found, why, plainly at first, the gun-makers of Birmingham would be in a bad way. That was an exactly parallel case. The overthrow of a monopoly is of vast good to the world in general: to the monopolist it may for a while be ruin.

We must remember, too, how unfair a competition was that which was brought to bear by the Act of 1846. The people of Brazil and Cuba not merely had great multitudes of slaves, but they had the slave-trade, too, which was actually pouring 150,000 slaves every year into these two countries.* It is allowed, on all hands, that the Cuban planters work their slaves to death, on an average, in seven years. They work

* In 1839, at any rate, Sir Fowell Buxton demonstrated this to be the case, from a great mass of evidence, chiefly official. (The Slave Trade and its Remedy.) We need hardly remind the reader that Brazil has since given the slave up trade, but it still is carried on by Cuba.

night and day during the whole of crop time: *and the losses are made good from Africa.* Clearly, the British planter was not placed in a fair position, when exposed to such a competition. Slavery alone, we are persuaded, would be beaten in a very few years by free labour. But slavery, when the slaves can be worked to death, and new ones got in their stead, is, indeed, a powerful antagonist.

Yet with all this, the free trader may fairly triumph. It was naturally said in 1846, and it is often said now, that free labour must go to the wall when exposed to such a competition. But the sugar returns show, that the import of free-labour sugar, from all free-labour countries, into the United Kingdom, amounted in the ten years ending with 1846, to 41,903,326 cwt.: in the ten years ending with 1856, it reached 54,616,229 cwt.—showing that free labour holds its own, and gains rapidly,—gains an increase of 12,712,903 cwt.—even under such a trial. So far as the mother country is concerned, her consumption of sugar has increased, under the reduced duties, from 18,253,111 cwt. in the four years ending with 1846, to 30,470,354 cwt. in the four years ending with 1858.* But, what is most remarkable (and should be well noted by financiers), not only has free trade made this vast addition to the comfort of the people, but *the revenue arising from sugar has increased*, under the lowered duties, from 17,750,847*l.* in the four years referred to above, up to 20,883,583*l.* in the four years ending with 1858.†

And now let us bid adieu to ‘the dreadful past.’ Those times, thank God, are clean gone for ever. Never again in the West Indies will the hand of man be chained, or his industry cramped, by the law of England. That wickedness, that folly, is dead: and the misery they caused, that, too, is over. The anguish of the slave, his cry of ‘Think me no man?’ as his flesh was torn by the lash, is heard no more. His former owner, impoverished, broken-hearted, has passed away. The old order has given place to new. But here we come to the main question of all, --- to the question Was that crash of 1847 but a passing hurricane, or was it the beginning of an unchangeable doom? Are the West Indies ruined? Was their knell sounded by the philanthropists and free-traders, who broke the slave’s bonds, and stripped those islands of Protection? Is it true that

* The consumption per head of the population was 17lbs. in 1844, and 35½lbs. in 1858,—more than twice as much!

† Statistical Tables, published in the ‘Economist’ of January 15. 1859.

the West Indies are, year by year, sinking deeper and deeper into barbarism and poverty, or has the groundwork been laid of a great and sound well-being?

But for the irresistible force of the official reports and statistics we shall bring forward, we might hardly dare to utter our reply. So little has the eye of this country been drawn to the West Indies since the time of their tribulation, that few are aware of what has been since going on; and the world does not dream but that, as their groans are no longer heard, they are silent in death. And yet, in truth, the West Indies are rising with great speed to a height of wealth, happiness, and comfort, unknown to them before. The two great experiments, the experiment of emancipation and the experiment of free-trade, have been followed by a success which, for a while, was dashed with disappointment, but which, year by year, is growing more and more decisive. The application of sound principles, though it may have hastened a catastrophe which could not have been long delayed; though, as Mr. Bigelow says, it 'precipitated a result which was inevitable,' yet now is bringing our sugar islands round to a state of true prosperity.

We have already remarked that, when the artificial compulsion which had concentrated almost the whole labouring force of the slave colonies on the one work of sugar-making,—when that artificial compulsion was taken away, there could not fail to be a redistribution of labour. We have pointed out that it was desirable, as well as inevitable, that a variety of work should take the place of that sameness. In fact, the free-trader condemns Protection on that very ground (amongst others), that it sets men to work at one kind of production, in lieu of those other kinds for which the soil and the climate would be more fit. We should not, therefore, have felt any disappointment had other occupations almost wholly displaced the production of the old staples. It would not have been the smallest proof that our islands were ruined. It might have come from a wiser and more profitable employment of labour. This, however, has not been the result. Strangely enough, freedom of labour and of trade have not lessened but have actually increased the production of sugar in our former slave colonies! In the last two clear years of slavery (1832 and 1833), they exported to Great Britain, 8,471,744 cwt. In the two years 1856, 1857, they exported to Great Britain alone, 8,736,654 cwt. (*Sugar Return*, 1858.) And besides that, a large trade, altogether new, has sprung up with Australia, the United States, and other countries, of which we have no account.

And more striking still is the result if we leave out the one

island of Jamaica, where mismanagement and financial disorders (as we shall show presently) have clogged her grievously. Passing by that one island, and taking into account the other sixteen, we find, that whereas, in the last six years of slavery, they exported on an average 3,007,782 * cwt. of sugar, in the last four years, Great Britain alone has received from them 4,055,521 cwt., besides their new trade to foreign lands.

To this it may be objected, that we include Mauritius, which had the advantage of a large importation of Coolies, by whom the sugar is mainly produced. That is true. But it is to be borne in mind that the influx of free labour is exactly one of those advantages of which a land is debarred by slavery. It is a part of the curse of slavery that it repels the free man. When we are told that to judge of the effect of emancipation we must exclude those colonies that imported Coolies, we reply at once that this useful importation has been one of the many blessings that freedom has brought in her train. But waiving this, and excluding the Mauritius as well as Jamaica, the remaining fifteen sugar islands† produced in the three last years (1855-6-7), 7,427,618 cwt. against 7,405,849, in the last three years of slavery. So too with rum. Without referring to the Mauritius (whose export has increased to 150 times its former amount!), the export of rum from all the West Indies except Jamaica, has increased from 2,722,880 gallons, under slavery, to 4,674,602 gallons under freedom.

And in the same way, excluding the two islands of Mauritius and Jamaica, (the one which has most prodigiously increased, and the one which has diminished in prosperity,) we find that the tonnage entered inwards in the three years, 1853-4-5, exceeds that of the years 1827-8-9, (the first of which we have a return) by 62,043 tons‡, in the eight islands for which both returns are furnished. Had we those for the other eight, and had we these for the still more prosperous years, 1856, 1857, 1858, the return would be still more favourable.

It is plain then that as regards seventeen out of the eighteen islands, more wealth is produced, even of that particular species which might have been expected to fall off.

From Jamaica, and from Jamaica alone, the accounts continue to be discouraging. Those received in 1853 and 1854,

* This average is given in 'The State of the West Indies in 1855,' a colonial office document, not published, p. 19.

† Antigua, Barbadoes, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Tortola, Trinidad, Bahamas, Demerara, Berbice.

‡ 985,674, last period; 923,631, first period.

after the terrible devastation of the cholera and small-pox, were very painful indeed. It is natural to ask why, when every other colony is rapidly rising to prosperity, why should this island, the finest and most important of all, be still in a depressed condition? Nor is this question easily answered. In others of the West Indian colonies there is a superabundance of waste land. The other colonies have had to contend with the difficulties of encumbered estates, absentee proprietors, and a great fall in the price of produce. The other colonies have had their slaves set free, and have had to buy labour as best they could. Why should Jamaica be still deep under water, while they are afloat? We cannot discover any specific cause which has operated there but did not operate in other colonies, except it be the superlative badness of its government. 'There is,' says Sir C. Grey, 'no system or consistency whatever in the conduct of the financial affairs of the colony, nor any recognised organ of government or legislature which has the power to bring about effective and comprehensive improvements.'* Though giving full weight to the difficulty arising from the want of labour,

'I am persuaded,' says Sir H. Barkly, 'that the want of mutual confidence in the transactions of every day life, and the insecurity of property arising from the inadequacy of the existing arrangements for enforcing the law, are at the root of the evils which are shaking society in this island to its basis.'

Some important changes, however, have been made; and the effect already is visible in rapid improvement. The *exports* of the island rose from 837,276*l.* in 1853, up to 1,003,325*l.* in 1855, being an increase of 166,049*l.* in two years. And in the latter year the Governor says, 'I feel far more confident of the ultimate restoration of prosperity than I ever did before.'†

The latest news is of last October, when the commercial report was that,

'The southern districts have suffered greatly from severe drought, and the deficiency would be very large. But on the north side of the island the prospects *were the best known for many years.*

'The government had in no way relaxed the stringency of its financial enactments, and the country was suffering greatly under the pressure of excessive taxation.' (*Times*, Oct. 2. 1858.)

Even Jamaica then seems to be making some steps forward;

* Papers relative to Jamaica, 1854, p. 6.

† The Reports of the last two or three years contain no information, or statistics, as to the general state of Jamaica.

but still it is far outrun by the other islands. Though a catalogue *raisonné* of them may seem dull, yet we feel it to be of so much consequence to show how thoroughly freedom of labour and trade is working out the most beneficial results, that we shall venture to give a series of extracts from the Governors' reports, describing the state and prospects of each colony. But lest it should be thought that these extracts are carefully culled to produce a particular impression, and that if the reader had the whole reports before him he would find complaints and lamentations, we may at once say, that they appear to us to be fair samples of the views entertained by the Governors, and also by other gentlemen acquainted with the West Indies. The language of complaint is no longer heard. Throughout these colonies hope and congratulation seem to have taken the place of irritation and despair.*

'Antigua. — Satisfactory evidence is afforded, by the revenue returns, of increase in trade and mercantile business, consequent upon the revival of agricultural prosperity.' †

'Bahamas. — The rapidity with which these islands are advancing, is indicated by the fact that the exports and imports rose from 201,497*l.* in 1854, to 304,421*l.* in 1855, an increase of 102,924*l.* in one year. Twenty-three vessels were built in the colony in the year 1855.‡ The governor refers, in 1851, to the "great and important change for the better" in the condition of the people, which he mainly attributes to improved education.'

'Barbadoes. — 1853. "Vast increase of trade." "So far the success of cultivation by free labour in Barbadoes is unquestionable." "In 1851 more sugar shipped from this island than in any one year since it has been peopled: and it is a remarkable fact that there will be more *labourers'* sugar made this year than previously."

'Sugar exported in 1842, 21,545 hogsheads; in 1852, 48,785; the increase being 27,240 hogsheads.'

In 1858, 'a great increase in the value of the exports.' 'The large proportion of land acquired by the labouring classes furnishes striking evidence of their industry.'

Dominica. — 1853. 'The steady maintenance of production is full of promise as to the future.'§ 'The exports show a considerable increase under heads of sugar, rum, coffee, cocoa, oranges, fruits, hides, hard wood, and cotton. 1857. 'Very considerable increase in revenue, and an equally marked im-

* We have always taken the last account we could find; but very often the governors send reports full of local affairs, with no reference to the general state of the island. In all cases, the later the report the more gratifying it is found to be.

† Report, 1858.

‡ Ibid. 1856.

§ Report, 1854.

‘provement in the amount of imports.’ The Governor also dwells on the industry of the bulk of the population, and in the great amount of general comfort and independence among the labouring class, in which their industry has resulted.*

‘The native labourer, whose growing independence, manifested in the “small patches of canes and little wooden mills here and there dotting the chequered plain around,” the significance of which was so pointedly alluded to in the last despatch of your Excellency’s predecessor, has risen a step higher, and we now see him becoming the lessee of large sugar plantations regularly established, with all the usual appliances. As witness, for example, the lessee of Hope Vale Estate, containing 492 acres, with water mill and works complete; the lessee of Perseverance Estate, containing 522 acres, with steam engine and other apparatus complete; and the lessee of Mount Hardman, formerly a sugar estate, and lately a cattle farm, with 400 acres of pasture and wood, soon to be revived into its former state of flourishing luxuriance. True, these were abandoned properties belonging to absent and needy proprietors, who had not the means of keeping up the cultivation, and were glad to concede them on mere nominal terms; but in the course of time the properties will improve without any cost to the owners, while they furnish the means of profitable employment to and engage the enterprise of an aspiring class. It is cases like these that the more intelligent labourer is laying himself out for; and as he can manage more economically than his educated landlord, he spends less, and saves more; and when he cannot find a friend to assist him with pecuniary advances, he procures the physical help of his fellow labourers, and at harvest either shares the produce or remunerates them from the proceeds of the sale. Even the “old established hands,” who find it difficult to struggle against the tide, are now emulating the despised “wooden mills,” and gladly take the canes of their own labourers and neighbouring petty settlers, and manufacture them on the share system, in order to make up something like a return of produce on their ancient patrimony.’

From *Grenada* we hear (1858) that ‘contentment appears to pervade all classes of the community. ‘A proprietary body of considerable magnitude and importance has already risen from the labouring class.’ ‘State of the finances most satisfactory,’—owing to augmentation in the imports. Some remarks on the want of labour, but the trade of the island rose in the last two years of which we have returns (1851 and 1852), from 205,282*l.* to 293,696*l.*, an increase of 88,414*l.*

In the ‘Times’ of October 15. 1858, the Grenada Report is that ‘a greatly extended surface is covered by (sugar) cultivation.’ A considerable increase is noted in the exports of sugar, rum, and cocoa.

* Report, 1858.

It has been urged on the people of Grenada by Mr. Thomson Hankey, M.P., to abolish all tonnage and import duties, and make all taxation direct ; but at present they have not adopted this sensible advice.

‘ A class of peasant proprietors and renters of land has come into existence, which in its degree is making rapid strides in prosperity and independence, and a new class of tradesmen more fitted to supply its limited wants than the larger mercantile firms. But with the change in their position the peasantry of Grenada have hitherto altered but very slightly their simple habits of life, and consequently their purchases of imported goods for personal consumption do not suffice to fill up the void that has been created. As they advance in civilisation as well as in material well-being, they will no doubt become consumers on a more extended scale, but the present tariff being adapted to a different state of things, operates to check this development.’

Guiana. — None of the West Indies have gone through a harder struggle. ‘ The fall of prices in 1847 and 1848 was so sudden and so enormous as to have almost annihilated the colony at that crisis,’ writes the Governor in 1852; but he goes on to state, that now ‘ the revenue is flourishing, population augmenting, education spreading, crime diminishing, and trade increasing.’

Montserrat. — After referring to ‘ the improved and improving state of the community, as allowed on all hands,’ and giving various details, the Governor says, (in 1853), ‘ So much for the increase of confidence, enterprise, and industry in Montserrat.’ ‘ No island in these seas exhibits a more decisive tendency to social and moral regeneration and improvement. The rural population are quiet, contented, and orderly. Their condition one of great comfort.’ A new system of taxation (as we understand, throwing it off imports upon real property) came into operation in June, 1856, and with such striking and powerful effect, that the imports more than doubled in value in the course of the year !

Nevis. — The case of this island is peculiarly interesting, because in it an experiment has been tried in taxation, which may perhaps some day become generally adopted throughout the world. Things in Nevis had got to such a desperate state — they were, in fact, past all bearing — that at last Mr. President Seymour, a gentleman of remarkable boldness and vigour, induced the legislature to consent to a radical change in the fiscal system. The import duties were totally abolished : and a tax of 20 per cent. placed on rentals.

Small as the field was in which this experiment was tried, its

astonishing results are worth noting by statesmen. The new system came into play, March, 1856. In that year the imports rose from 19,728*l.* to 34,449*l.* New shops were speedily opened. House-rent rose threefold. The sound of the hammer was heard, and the smell of fresh paint experienced, where all had been crumbling decay. 'The roads appear as if the greater part of the population had new clothed themselves, and in the harbour, so often deserted, I now count ten ships of considerable burden.'*

St. Kitts.—'A larger quantity of sugar is produced now than in the time of slavery,'† (though on a smaller area). 'The agricultural prospects of the island are most encouraging. Its financial condition continues satisfactory; so do the Education Returns. The whole trade increased from 246,536*l.*, in 1856, to 352,769*l.*, in 1857—an increase of 106,233*l.* in one year! Attendance in schools steadily increasing‡; crime steadily diminishing.'§

St. Lucia.—'At no period in her history was there a greater breadth of land under sugar cultivation, than at the present moment.'|| The Education Returns are 'on the whole extremely satisfactory.' There seems to the Governor to be 'an increasing desire on the part of a very respectable¶ portion of the inhabitants to avail themselves of the schools.' In 1857, the Administrator notes the extension of cane cultivation**; and says that 'the aspect of the country is more promising: the prospects of the agriculturist are encouraging.'

Sugar exported from 1838—1842, 4,588,475 lbs.; and from 1852—1856, 6,392,093 lbs.; the increase being 1,803,618 lbs.

St. Vincent.—In 1852 the Governor described the financial management as 'inexcusable.' In 1856 important reforms were made. The result is, that, in 1857, he says, 'It is matter of great satisfaction to me to state that . . . the foundation has been laid for a great and progressive improvement.' He speaks of extended cultivation, and of 'a really sound and healthy state of the colony at present, and a cheering and pro-

* Report, 1857. President Rumbold, who succeeded President Seymour, disapproved of the change, on account of the greater difficulty of raising revenue by direct taxation. He says, however, that 'there appears now to be at work an industrious spirit of improvement: cultivation appears to be carefully attended to. . . . There is ample room to hope for the gradual regeneration of the colony.'

† Report, 1856.

‡ Ibid. 1858.

§ Ibid. 1856.

|| Ibid. 1853.

¶ In the sense of a very large portion.

** Report, 1852.

‘missing prospect for the future.’ He says the condition of the labourer is almost universally one of comfort; and describes the rising villages, the growing number of freeholders and leaseholders, and the steady progressive increase in the value of imports.* In 1858 he describes the colony as in a ‘most satisfactory state.’ ‘Agricultural operations largely extended;’ his anticipation of its continued progress and prosperity had been fully realised. Imports and exports had increased from 249,526*l.* in 1856, to 406,159*l.* in 1857; an increase of 156,633*l.* in one year.† And he expressly attributes it to ‘increased cultivation and prosperity.’ He says, ‘the cheerful prospects of 1856 are being fully realised. The present position of St. Vincent is ‘most satisfactory, and its future most promising.’

In *Tobago*, again, the accounts were dismal, in 1852 and 1853, which the Governor said was beyond doubt owing to the state of its financial affairs. In 1856, however, an improved system having been adopted, the result is, that already the Governor ‘has much satisfaction in taking a more encouraging view of the ‘prospects of the colony.’‡ A marked improvement is visible in the revenue returns. The labourers are described as well-behaved and industrious.§

Tortola under slavery exported 15,559 cwt. of sugar. It now exports none at all. But the change is wholly an advantage. The island is singularly suitable for the raising of stock, and accordingly ‘all the people, with few exceptions, are owners of ‘cattle, which they dispose of to great advantage.’

‘It is very gratifying to be able to observe that the labouring population appear fully sensible of the advantages of education to their children, and that the latter manifest a great desire to benefit by the opportunity afforded them.’

Trinidad is highly flourishing. The whole trade has increased from a yearly average under slavery, of 810,636*l.*, to 1,239,241*l.* in 1856, an increase of 428,605*l.* In 1852 the crop was the largest ever shipped from the island; and it has been extending since,—‘marked improvement in the cultivation of the sugar ‘estates.’|| Export of sugar rose from an average of 310,797 cwt. under slavery, to one of 426,042 in the seven years ending 1854.

These specific accounts of the several islands are borne out by the statistics and reports that relate to our West Indies *en masse*. To men of business, one fact will seem almost enough by itself to show their sound commercial state, namely,

* 1857.

§ Ibid.

† 1858.

|| 1853.

‡ Ibid.

that in the year 1857 the Colonial Bank received bills from the West Indies to the amount of more than 1,300,000*l.*, and less than 8000*l.* were returned.* Nor was there a single failure in the West India trade during the severe commercial crisis in the autumn of that year. Furthermore, coffee, cotton, wool, sugar, rum, cocoa, are all exported in increasing quantities. The total exports from Great Britain to the West Indies in 1857 were valued at half a million more than the average of the preceding ten years, and actually in that year equalled her exports to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece, Azores, Madeira, and Morocco, all combined.† The exports and imports together of the West Indies amounted, in the four years ending with 1853, to just 32,500,000; and in the four years ending with 1857, to just 37,000,000*l.*, an increase of 4,500,000*l.* in four years. In the year 1857, the total trade, to and fro, of those islands was valued at 10,735,000*l.*, and (as noted above), the value of the sugar alone imported from them into the United Kingdom, in that year was no less than 5,618,000*l.*!

● These official statistics and reports absolutely demonstrate the fact that the West Indies are rapidly advancing in wealth and prosperity; nor must it be supposed that they are merely 'putting money in their purse,' without a corresponding advance in the general character of the people. In this respect the change from the old state of things is described on all hands as being most gratifying‡; and especially in those thousands of cases where the negroes have built altogether new villages for themselves. The cottages are either neatly thatched, or shingled with pieces of hard wood. Some are built of stone or wood; but generally are plastered also on the outside, and white-washed. Many are ornamented with a portico in front, to screen the sitting apartment from sun and rain; while for the admission of light and air, as well as to add to their appearance, they exhibit either shutters or jalousies, painted green, or small glass windows.

'There is usually a sleeping apartment at each end and a sitting-room in the centre. The floors are in most instances terraced, although boarded ones for sleeping-rooms are becoming common. Many of the latter contain good mahogany bedsteads, a washing-stand, a looking-glass, and chairs. The middle apartment is usually furnished with a sideboard, displaying sundry articles of crockery

* See Report of Colonial Bank, for June 30. 1857.

† Trade and Navigation Accounts, 1858.

‡ See Antigua and the Antiguan; Philipppo's Jamaica, &c. &c.; Sir H. Barkly's Journal, in 1853, (P. P.) Despatch, May. 1854.

ware, some decent-looking chairs, and not unfrequently with a few broadsheets of the Tract Society hung round the walls in neat frames of cedar. For cooking food, and other domestic purposes, a little room or two is erected at the back of the cottage, where are also arranged the various conveniences for keeping domestic stock.' The villages are laid out in regular order, being divided into lots more or less intersected by roads or streets. The plots are usually in the form of an oblong square. The cottage is situated at an equal distance from each side of the allotment, and at about eight or ten feet from the public thoroughfare. The piece of ground in front is, in some instances, cultivated in the style of a European garden; displaying rose-bushes, and other flowering shrubs, among the choicer vegetable productions; while the remainder is covered with all the substantial vegetables and fruits of the country heterogeneously intermixed.'

The result is, that they present 'a very pleasing appearance.' Sir Henry Barkly was reminded by those in the hills of the villages in Switzerland, and he says they have a decided air of progressive civilisation and comfort about them; and that it is quite clear, whatever may be the case elsewhere, that their inhabitants are not retrograding either in their moral or physical condition. And the same despatch contains a report by a stipendiary magistrate, and speaks of 'the thousands of well cultivated settlements, with their tastefully arranged cottages and gardens, 'which have given quite a different appearance to the country 'since August 1838, and bespeak the prosperity and comfort of the 'occupants, and present a cheering prospect, and an encouraging 'hope for the future.'* Another magistrate reports to him that the advancement in the condition of the labouring class is unmistakably apparent.

'The peasantry, who were formerly unused to domestic comfort and a state of independence, are now otherwise circumstanced. A very large number of them are owners of freehold properties, on which they are comfortably located. They also own a large number of horses, hogs, and other live stock. They trade extensively in the native products of the parish, which they cultivate in such abundance, that boats are constantly conveying cargoes of yams, cocoas, and plantains to the port of Falmouth in the parish of Trelawney, where they are scarce, and in great demand. The vessels employed in this traffic are almost exclusively their own property. The degrading practice of concubinage has been forsaken by a large number, who have embraced the marriage state, and the weekly publication of intended matrimonial alliances, is proof that matrimony among them is on the increase. They contribute more largely than any other class to the general taxation of the parish, and not a few enjoy and

* Sir H. Barkly, 1854. Appendix.

exercise electoral rights. Generally they may be said to be a fair specimen of the labouring people of this island; willing and tractable, civil and obedient, confiding in those who employ them, often toiling on estates for weeks and months in expectation of reward, but in many instances ill-requited for their confidence and labour by disappointment and non-payment.'

The number of such settlements established since emancipation is almost incredible. Within eight years of that event, nearly two hundred villages of the kind we have been describing, had been built, and full 100,000 acres of land purchased, by the negroes of Jamaica alone. A statement was read in the House of Commons, in 1842, by Lord Stanley (then Colonial Minister), that 'it would appear wonderful how so much had been accomplished in the island, in building, planting, digging, and making fences. The number of freeholders *who have become freeholders by their accumulation and industry*, in the island of Jamaica amounted, in 1840, to 7,340.'

It is usual to fancy that the free negroes desert the estates to squat upon wild lands; but although this has occasionally been the case, by far the greater number of them have bought land, and that at a good price, for their settlements. And the negro proprietor is just as proud of his own home and freehold as any Englishman might be. The names they give them may be taken as a slight indication of their feelings: 'Content my own,' 'Comfort Castle,' 'Happy Hut,' 'Thank God to see it,' and so forth. One is mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Philipppo, as being entitled 'Occasion call,' which the owner explained thus: 'If any person have business wid me, him can come in; but if him don't want me in pottickler, me no wants him company, and him no 'casion to come.'

In appearance very many of the negroes have by no means a disagreeable exterior. In fact the clever authoress of 'Antigua and the Antiguans' declares that many of the creole* negroes may be termed very goodlooking. High and well-formed foreheads, black and sparkling eyes, aquiline noses, and lips with only a slight pout, are not uncommon, though others of the same race are more like apes than human beings. Both men and women, she tells us, are seldom to be seen except in the most becoming attire; the dress of the women generally consisting of a printed or cotton gown, with a white handkerchief tied round their heads like a turban, and a neat straw hat trimmed with white ribband. But on high days and festivals, it must be owned that the splendour of the negro array is not in the purest taste. One of the

i. e., native: not imported from Africa.

writers on the West Indies was shocked by seeing a negress who actually was adorned with pink stockings, yellow shoes, and a bonnet of green trimmed with pink, and displaying a blue rose with silver leaves! Silks, satins, muslins, and crapes are plentifully used, and even the 'gentlemen' will come out on occasion in a truly glorious costume; with velvet collars, radiant waistcoats, and boots expressly made to 'stamp and creak' well. They all carry umbrellas, silk if possible; and pocket-handkerchiefs, with one end making its appearance from the coat pocket. We are told, however, that the love for gaudy colours is disappearing; and that modesty and sensibility are becoming increasingly apparent in the female sex. In their names, the march of intellect has extinguished the Sambos, Pompeys, and Darkeys of former days, and now the shining pickaninnies rejoice in the appellations of 'Adeline Floretta,' 'Rosalind Mone-mia,' 'Alonzo Frederick,' and so forth. One cannot but smile at these little affectations; but all this shows a progress towards refinement and civilisation, though some of its offshoots are laughable. The same may be said of their manners, in which a surprising improvement has taken place. 'The uncouth address and sullen aspect and carriage of the slaves' has been replaced by a great deal of graceful kindness and ease towards strangers, and a politeness and respect to each other which may often approach extravagance, but is much better than the rough address so common in many parts of England, among the working classes. No negro peasant meets another without exchanging salutations and inquiries. Age is particularly venerated, and the noisy little negroes at their sport will stop while one of their old people are passing, with, 'How dy'e ma'm,' and, 'How dy'e me picnee,' is the courteous reply. Every one praises their generosity and kindness. To the miserable pauper whites, who abound in some of the West Indies (and whose squalor and feebleness show the wisdom of Carlyle's expectation that the West Indies will some day be saved by a population of 'true splinters of the old Harz rock, heroic white men, 'worthy to be called old Saxons,') they are often known to act the part of guardian angels. They will work for them, feed them, clothe them, without the slightest wish or prospect of receiving remuneration.

They are rising too with rapidity in the social scale, and would seem to be fit for any kind of employment. Mr. Baird mentions, that in the legislatures of many of the islands, there are already sundry negro members, as well as many gentlemen of colour. When Mr. Bigelow visited Jamaica, there were ten or a dozen coloured men in the Legislative Assembly, which

consists altogether of about fifty members; and the police force, the officers of the penitentiary, the officers of the courts of justice, as well as some of the barristers, were coloured men; and we believe they have since been freely admitted to the magistracy and to political office. The old prejudices against African blood is disappearing, though under slavery it was intensely strong; so much so, that the coloured people were generally not allowed to be buried in the same churchyard with the whites. Nay, at St. John's, in Antigua, the church bell was not allowed to be profaned by tolling for the demise of these degraded people, and a smaller one was actually provided for that purpose!

Year by year, too, education is making way; and though in some districts it is complained that the negroes do not show eagerness to obtain schooling for their children, from others very satisfactory reports are sent; and the governors, almost without exception, state that crime is diminishing in the islands. In fact, crime of an atrocious character is very rare indeed. The negroes are guilty of a great deal of petty pilfering, and they are also regardless of truth; but, happily, drunkenness is not one of their prevailing faults; nor are they given to deeds of violence, or of deliberate villany. They are a merry, light-hearted, and kindly people; somewhat shallow and thoughtless, and with the faults that come of that character; but docile, orderly, and peaceable.

We must now conclude. We trust the reader will agree with us in thinking that the facts of the case prove, First, that if emancipation might have worked better, had due preparation been made for freedom, this was the fault, not of the abolitionists, but of the planters. Secondly, that the lack of labourers has been very troublesome in some localities, but has not amounted to a severe grievance, and has not arisen from the indolence of the negroes. Thirdly, that the crash of 1847 and the ensuing years was not caused by emancipation; but was caused by the fall in the price of sugar, consequent on the Act of 1846, and the concurrent events.

Each of these propositions is of importance. But the two main conclusions which are enforced upon us by our investigation are these. The one, that slavery and monopoly were bearing the West Indies to ruin. The other, that under free labour and free trade they are rising to wealth. Under slavery and monopoly, the labouring class was miserable and was perishing miserably. Under slavery and monopoly, the owners of the soil were reduced to the greatest pitch of distress. The state of affairs which had arisen under this old dis-

compensation had rendered a crash some day inevitable. But when once that blow had fallen, and the old things had passed away, and the new things had come, then the inherent virtue of the principle of freedom became manifest; and it is now working out the most beneficent, the most astonishing — what a few years ago would have seemed the most incredible — results. Wisdom has been justified of her children. Seeking only to do the thing that was right and noble, — seeking not to please herself, but to do justice, — England set free her slaves. It is plain that but for that measure, her colonies would have sunk to irretrievable destruction. It proves now that by that measure, she has set them on the way to happiness and prosperity; that not only are the former slaves enjoying a degree of comfort and independence almost unparalleled, but that our own trade with these islands is becoming of higher and higher value. They are yearly enriching us more and more with the wealth of their fertile soil. Instead of being the plague of statesmen, the disgrace of England, they are becoming invaluable possessions to the British Crown. Never did any deed of any nation show more signally that to do right is the truest prudence, than the great deed of emancipation.

‘Not once or twice, in our rough island story,
The path of duty was the way to glory.’

And in her dealings with the negro race, both in the West Indies and in Africa, England having ‘only thirsted for the ‘right,’ has already begun to find the wisdom of that course. The fight for freedom has been fought amid great discouragements; for a time there were heart-breaking drawbacks to the success attained. But it has been fought with a good courage. And now the spread of commerce and civilisation in West Africa; the happiness of the West Indian peasantry; the improving agriculture, the extending trade of these islands; the cheering news which governor after governor is sending home of their thriving state, — such is the reward, to herself, as well as to them, which England is reaping, from a generous, self-denying, Christian policy.

- ART. VI.—1. *Dalmatia and Montenegro*. By Sir J. GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S., &c. 2 vols. London: 1848.
2. *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*. By A. A. PATON. 2 vols. London: 1849.
3. *Montenegro and the Slavonians of Turkey*. By Count VALERIAN KRASINSKI. London: 1853.

AMONG what may be termed the byways of history and geography, there is, probably, none more full of interest of various kinds than that which leads to the highland principality of Montenegro. None will better repay the attention of the political student; of the scholar wishing to realise the scenes of Homeric and patriarchal life; or of the artist in search of savage yet sublime scenery, and of strange and picturesque costumes. In the fifteenth century this little mountain-state,—a fragment of the great mediæval kingdom of Servia,—arose, like Ararat, above the flood of Mahomedanism which then threatened to overwhelm all the south and east of Europe. It arose at a crisis when the Sultan had finally seated himself on the throne of the Cæsars at Constantinople, as well as of the Caliphs at Bagdad; and when even the Pope was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, for the victorious Infidels had vowed to stable their horses in the Mother Church of Christendom, and to add the spoils of the old to those of the new Rome. And during the four centuries that have elapsed since that period, this rugged tribe of unconquerable mountaineers, and their princes,—as in the heroic ages of Greece, kings at once and high priests,—have often won no ordinary claims to the attention of Christian Europe. Far beyond those frontier commonwealths, which long bore the brunt of the barbaric invasions of the Turks,—beyond the kingdom of Hungary, beyond the republic of Venice, beyond even the Knights of St. John,—the Montenegrins held manfully, during many generations, the outpost of danger and Christianity.

The access to Montenegro is easy for all who come in peace and friendship. Like most mountaineers, the Montenegrins are overflowing in their courtesy and respect towards all foreigners who trust themselves to their honour and hospitality. Indeed, by them, as by the Scotch Highlanders of old, the very name of stranger is regarded as almost holy. And it is a journey of scarce a week from London or Paris to the village capital of Tzetinie. Three or four days of railroad will bring the traveller

to Trieste. There he will embark in a coasting steamer, which visits many remarkable places on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Such are Zara, the capital of Dalmatia, famous for the siege which it stood against the combined forces of the French and the Venetians at the commencement of the fourth Crusade; Spalato, a very singular and interesting town, entirely built (as its name implies) within the precincts and out of the vast ruins of Diocletian's Palace at Salona; and Ragusa, that tiny but gallant commonwealth, which once sent its *argosies* to every sea, and during many centuries maintained its independence against both Venice and Turkey, the powerful neighbours whose dominions hemmed in its narrow territory. On the third day of his voyage along those historic shores, and among the picturesque Dalmatian islands, the traveller reaches the Austrian frontier town of Cattaro, situated at the inner extremity of that beautiful inlet of the sea, the Rhizonic Gulf of antiquity, now known as the *Bocche di Cattaro*. As the territory of Montenegro may be best compared to a natural citadel, so in the Bay of Cattaro below is presented the spectacle of a line of gigantic docks, hewn out from the mountains by the hand of Nature. Three vast basins communicate with each other by narrow channels, termed mouths (*Bocche*), which the Austrian Government, bent on making Cattaro the Sebastopol of the Adriatic, is now strongly fortifying. So great is the expanse of water, that all the fleets of Europe united together could find safe and commodious shelter in each of these splendid harbours, whose depth would allow the largest ships of war to be moored close to the shore.

From the entrance of the *Bocche* to the town of Cattaro, the steamer occupies about two hours; and as it proceeds onwards through the winding gulf, a shifting panorama of views recalls the soft beauty of the Lake of Como, mingled with the sterner scenery of the Lake of Lucerne. The craggy mountains rise abruptly on either side, with a majestic sweep, barely allowing room for the succession of villages which fringe the shore at their feet; and whose gay Italian towers and steeples, surrounded with gardens and vineyards, and embowered in groves of olive and cypress, are mirrored in the deep still water.

The Montenegrin frontier is at only one hour's ascent above Cattaro. In the streets of the town, and in the market-place, or bazaar, recalling the *Agora* of the ancient Greeks, outside its walls, the traveller will obtain his first sight of the Montenegrins, who descend thither to sell or barter the scanty produce of their mountains. Here a group of *Perianiks**,

* So called from the feather (*pero*) worn in their caps.

Prince Daniel's body-guard, are displaying their tall and athletic forms, their rich national costumes, their embroidered tunics and flowing kilts, and their silver-hilted pistols and dirks; there a shepherd warrior, with the graceful *strucca*, or plaid of many colours, resembling the Spanish *manta*, thrown across his shoulder, is exhibiting to a Hungarian grenadier or Tyrolese rifleman of the Austrian garrison, the medals on his breast which bear witness to his prowess in many a foray and battle with the Turks. Beyond, parties of Montenegrin women, seated under the trees, and conspicuous from their red caps, ornamented with tassels, beads, and coins, their gay white pelisses, and their leather girdles, studded with agates and cornelians, — are comparing their kerchiefs and trinkets, or bargaining with the sombre-dressed townspeople.

From Cattaro to Tzetinie the distance is about twenty English miles, — a mule-ride of five or six hours. By a succession of zigzags, the Austrians have carried a very steep bridle-path, closely resembling a staircase, so far as the Montenegrin frontier, which is nearly half-way up the precipitous face of Mount Sella, or Lovcen, rising immediately behind the town. As the traveller winds slowly and wearily up the ascent, the indented shores of the bay, studded with towns and villages, the mountains standing, like silent warders, around; the blue Adriatic beyond, are spread beneath him with the distinctness of an immense model. Above, a few Montenegrin shepherds, with their flocks, appear literally to hang from the cliffs and snow-drifts. It is easily understood with what fierce impatience the mountaineers, pent up among their cold and starving rocks, bear their rigid exclusion from all free access to the sea, and from the groves and gardens where there is no winter, — all scarce a rifle-shot below their frontier. 'The most important acquisition for Montenegro,' says Count Krasinski, 'and without which it will never make any real advance in civilisation, is that of a seaport, however small it may be, in order to have a direct and free communication with the rest of the world; and, indeed, it cannot but be a cause of constant heart-burning to the Montenegrins to gaze on the sea, which at Cattaro is separated from their country by less than the distance of a rifle-shot, and not to have any access to it, except with the permission of the Austrians, and on submitting to all the vexations of their quarantine and passport systems.' (*Krasinski*, p. 81.)

When the summit of the pass, which a few resolute marksmen could defend against a host, is at length surmounted, the lofty peak of Lovcen, one of the highest in Montenegro, rises

immediately on the right; while, on the dreary upland plain in front, stand the rude stone houses, partly thatched, and partly covered with wooden shingles, of the village of Negosh, whence sprung the ruling family of Petrovich, and others of the principal clans of the principality. The scene around, as elsewhere in Montenegro, though stern and solitary, is not all barren or desolate. There are rich pasturages among the forests which partly clothe the sides of the mountains; while, half-concealed among the crags, peep out, here and there, romantic dells, glittering with wild flowers; sunny slopes and tiny vales, capable of the highest culture, and where the Montenegrins raise their harvests of hay and corn.

From the brow of a hill about one hour beyond Negosh, a wide and magnificent view opens over the southern districts of the principality, and the beautiful lake of Scodra, or Scutari, which closely resembles, in its main features, the Lago di Garda in Italy. The horizon is bounded by the distant mountains of Albania, once the stronghold of Scanderbeg, the heroic ally of Montenegro in her infant struggles for life against Mahomed II., the conqueror of Constantinople. Hence the traveller descends to the valley of Tzetic, the smallest capital in Europe, for it consists of only thirty or forty houses encircling the palace of the prince, and the church and convent, which form the Valhalla, the national temple and central shrine, of his race.

We have now shown that Tzetic may be reached from London in an easy and highly entertaining journey of a single week. Thus, in seven days after his escape from the wigs and gowns, the heat and dust, the quibbles and wrangling of Westminster Hall, an English Judge may contemplate the Prince of Montenegro, surrounded by the chief warriors and senators (*ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες*) of his tribe, — their dark eyes and glittering arms flashing in the sun, and their long hair and white tunics streaming in the wind, — as he daily administers justice at his palace gate, under the open sky, in the pure mountain air; — justice like that once administered by Agamemnon in the camp before Troy, or by Abraham at the door of his tent in the wilderness. But it is the statesman and scholar who will feel the keenest interest, and derive the most lively satisfaction, from a visit to this primitive region, which still presents a picture of the court and camp of an Homeric king.

The Montenegrin polity was organised in its present form by the late Vladika, Peter II.; and is described as follows by Sir G. Wilkinson*, who visited the Mountain in 1844:—

* Vol. i. pp. 454-6.

‘The government of Montenegro may (almost) be called republican, all affairs relating to the public good being settled in the General Assembly. The same privilege of discussion is enjoyed by the people as in other Slavonic communities of ancient and modern times ; and if the government is not democratic, as among the early Slavonians (mentioned by Procopius), respect for the popular rights is duly maintained, and every village or department has the right of electing its own chiefs. And though the reforms made by the present Vladika (Peter II.) have made a considerable change in the mode of government, in the enactment and administration of laws, and in the establishment of a senate*, the voice of the people has still its weight in all matters relating to the common interests of the country. Indeed, the ruler of Montenegro ought to be appointed to his office by the popular voice, and the General Diet has the right of his election. But the supreme power, as in some other Slavonic countries, has long since been confined to one family ; and, unless a good reason could be assigned, has always been given to the immediate heir ; so that the elective principle, in the appointment of the chief magistrate, has not for many years been really carried out.’

‘In a semicircular recess, formed by the rocks on one side of the plain of Tzetinie, and about half-a-mile to the southward of the town, is a level piece of grass land, with a thicket of low poplar trees. Here the Diet is held ; from which the spot has received the name of *Mali Sbor*, “the small assembly.” When any matter is to be discussed the people meet in this their *Rumiede*, or “meadow of council,” and, partly on the level space, partly on the rocks, receive from the Vladika notice of the question proposed. The duration of the discussion is limited to a certain time, at the expiration of which the assembly is expected to come to a decision ; and when the bell of the monastery orders silence, notwithstanding the most animated discussion, it is instantly restored. The metropolitan asks again what is their decision, and whether they agree to his proposal ? The answer is (generally) the same, *Budi po tvojemu, Vladika* ; “Let it be as thou wishest, O Vladika.”’ (*Krasinski*, p. 10.)

We return from this digression to the pictures of Homeric manners which the grassy vale of Tzetinie daily presents ;—to the feasts in the open air off sheep roasted whole on wooden spits ;—to the recitations by wandering minstrels of ballads in praise of bygone heroes ;—to the athletic games and sword-dances ;—to the warlike exercises and feats of arms, in which the Montenegrins display almost incredible strength, speed, and skill. It was the theory and practice of the Homeric age that the Prince should not only excel his people in mind and person, in council and battle, but that he should likewise be peer-

* The Montenegrin senate is composed of fourteen of the principal chiefs, and is presided over by the prince. Each senator receives the patriarchal salary of 8*l*. sterling a year, in addition to an allowance of flour.

less in martial games, and in the more refined accomplishments of music and song. The late Vladika, the friend and host of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, came fully up to this ideal. His noble features and majestic stature, of about six feet eight inches in height, might well command the respect of a primitive and warlike race. He united the qualities of a brave and skilful captain and of an able statesman. Himself educated at Vienna and St. Petersburg, he first made his countrymen feel the wants and entertain the ideas of modern civilisation. While founding schools, repairing churches, planning roads, and promulgating laws, he was, at the same time, probably, the only bishop of his day who could hit with a rifle-ball a lemon thrown into the air by one of his attendants, — a feat which added not a little to the confidence which he enjoyed among his soldiers. Well acquainted with the languages and literature of the principal European nations, he had also the merit of being a distinguished poet in his native dialect; and was wont, after the fashion of the heroic chieftains of Greece, to beguile the cares of war and government, by chanting to the music of the Slavonian *gūsła*, or lyre, in verses of his own composition, the historical lays of his country, the glorious exploits of his forefathers, and the achievements of his own comrades.

Though without the natural advantage of a commanding person, the reigning prince, or *kniaz**, has inherited many of the talents and accomplishments, and adheres firmly to the civilising policy, of his uncle and predecessor. He also is a Slavonian minstrel of no mean reputation; at the same time he excels his countrymen in the use of the rifle, as Ulysses surpassed the Ithacans in the use of the bow. The practice at the target, erected in front of the palace at Tzetinie, would supply the subject of a striking picture. The group in the fore-ground formed of the prince and his chief warriors, all in their picturesque dresses, and eager with wild excitement, as they take aim standing, leaning, or lying prostrate, according to the word of command, — is framed by the pine-clad mountains around, torn with headlong torrents, and capped with eternal snow. High over head numbers of eagles and vultures are slowly wheeling in majestic circles, attracted by the echo of the Montenegrin rifles, which have so often afforded them a banquet.

We doubt that we shall destroy the illusions of our more enthusiastic readers, and so deter them from an expedition to the

* *Kniaz* is the title of a secular prince, as *Vladika* is of a prince-bishop.

Montenegrin capital, if we assure them that they need not fear being obliged to content themselves with either Homeric fare or Homeric accommodation in the palace of Prince Daniel. He receives as his guests all travellers of distinction, or who come properly recommended to his good offices. His manners are cordial and prepossessing; and he speaks German, French, and Italian with fluency and precision. Kind and courteous, he takes a hospitable as well as politic pleasure in the visits of foreigners; and is particularly desirous that Englishmen should feel an active interest in the welfare of his country, which he considers to have a strong claim upon our friendly notice and sympathy, from the vicinity of our stronghold at Corfu, and from the fact that the Montenegrins powerfully co-operated with us in our attacks on the French in Dalmatia towards the close of the great European war.*

On the death, in 1851, of the late Vladika, Prince Daniel, then scarcely twenty-two years of age, was completing his education at Vienna; and, on his return homewards, happening to fall in love with a handsome and accomplished young lady of Trieste, he discovered that it would be more in harmony with the spirit of the present times, and with the traditions of the early heroes of his race, that the secular functions of the Prince of Montenegro should be separated from the ecclesiastical character.† After the marriage, which was celebrated by proxy, in true princely style, at Trieste, and the triumphant entry of the bride to her future home at Tzetinie, tall Montenegrin warriors were seen staggering up their mountains from Cattaro under the weight of mirrors and pianos, carpets and hangings, plate and fine linen, with all the other paraphernalia of modern furniture, which had been sent by sea from Germany. *Within* the house, therefore, foreign guests will find an entertainment resembling that which would greet them in the palace of a minor German prince. It is when they cross the threshold *outwards*, that they literally step over three thousand years, and a hundred generations,—from the nineteenth century after, to the tenth century before, the Christian era; and that they will find themselves surrounded by those Homeric and

* In 1813 and 1814. The correspondence of the Vladika Peter I. with our naval commanders in the Adriatic at that period, is preserved in the archives at Tzetinie, and the attention of English visitors is always drawn to it.

† We need hardly remind our readers that bishops, in the Greek church, are forbidden to marry. The succession of the Vladikas of Montenegro was generally from uncle to nephew in the Petrovich family.

patriarchal scenes of which we have attempted to draw an imperfect sketch.*

From our mention of the Princess of Montenegro, it is an easy transition to an examination of the domestic position held by the women of her adopted country,—that great criterion of the true character of the social life of every age and people. The forms and features of the maidens of the Black Mountain are often cast in Nature's best mould; but early exposure to the sun and wind, and a fare as hard as the incessant toil to which they are condemned almost from their cradles, soon nip their beauty in its bud. Like other Highlanders, the Montenegrins devolve almost all manual occupations upon their women, except the labours of war, of the chase, and of agriculture. Nor do the women repine at their lot. Tall and strong, they may be seen cheerfully toiling up the steepest ascents, or stepping nimbly along the verge of precipices, under such loads of corn or firewood as men seldom carry in other countries; while, as if they did not feel their enormous burdens, they hold their distaffs in their hands, and chat gaily together as they spin. Conjugal fidelity and female chastity are religiously respected in Montenegro; and the rare breaches of either are invariably punished by the death of the guilty couple. Hence spring much primitive simplicity and freedom of manner among the Penelopes and Nausicaas of Tzernogóra; and the stranger guest is often surprised at his hand being kissed, as a token of welcome and respect, by the wife or daughter of his host. Laboriously industrious in peace, these mountain heroines often brave the dangers of war with the spirit of a Deborah, a Jael, or a Judith.

We have now attempted to point out a few of the claims of Montenegro to our curiosity and sympathy. Despite them all, the very name of the mountain State remained, until quite recently, well nigh forgotten in England; or it was known only through Sir Gardner Wilkinson's elaborate, scholarlike, and exhaustive work. But the grand assault on Montenegro organised in 1852 by the concentrated forces of the Turks, under the illustrious renegade, Omer Pasha himself; and the mighty consequences which speedily, though indirectly, resulted from the proposed invasion, have since brought the little prin-

* Sir Walter Scott's description of Glennaquoich (Waverley, chap. xix.) would, in many respects, apply to the palace at Tzetinie. It is a large *lofted* house, in the Scotch phrase, that is, a building of two storeys. It is surrounded by a courtyard, defended by a high wall with flanking towers, in which are exhibited the cannon and other trophies taken at various times from the Turks.

ciality into prominent notice. The Austrian Government, always timid, and, with sound reason, jealous of any struggle near its frontier that may awaken the spirit of nationality in any of its own subject races, sent Count de Leiningen to Constantinople, to procure the recall of Omer Pasha and his troops. The wily and cautious Ottoman general gladly seized the first plausible excuse for withdrawing from an expedition in which a large army must starve, while a small force is certain of annihilation; and the success of the Austrian mission perhaps led Russia to anticipate equal results from that of Prince Menschikoff, which led to the war of 1854.

During that struggle, Prince Daniel remained strictly neutral, though the junction of his forces with the Christian insurgents and Greek sympathisers in Albania and Thessaly, would probably have turned the scale against the Ottoman dominion in those provinces. He had expected that this neutrality would be rewarded by the favourable notice of the Western Powers at the Paris Conferences of 1856; for, notwithstanding all their achievements, the Montenegrins were still destitute of that one foundation of all national existence in modern Europe, the formal recognition of their independent administration as a distinct State. But the patriotic hopes of Prince Daniel, like those of the Vladika Peter I. at the period of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, were doomed to disappointment. The representatives neither of Russia nor of the Western Powers opposed the declaration made at the Conference of March 25. 1856, by the Turkish Plenipotentiary: 'The Sublime Porte considers Montenegro an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. It, however, declares that it has no intention to endeavour to alter the existing state of things in that quarter.'

In the diplomatic notes which he has addressed to foreign potentates and statesmen some months later, and in his conversations with the English and French officers and travellers who have visited him at Tzetinie, Prince Daniel has invariably used language to the following effect: 'It is hard measure to us that we should be expected or required by the Great Powers of the West to submit, in any sense whatsoever, to the Infidels in their present condition, seeing that our ancestors, long the vanguard of Christendom, successfully resisted them in the pride of their glory and strength. Why should I own myself a vassal of Abdul Medjid, when my forefathers hurled scorn and defiance at Mahomed II. and at Solyman the Magnificent? Still, for the sake of the general peace of Europe, and with the object of gaining for my country the goodwill of England and France, I am prepared to acknowledge the *suzerainty* of

‘the Sultan, but only on such conditions as will justify or excuse so great a concession in the eyes of my senators and people. The most indispensable of these conditions are:—

1. The solemn and formal recognition of the independent administration and internal self-government of Montenegro, on the model of the kindred principality of Servia.
2. The cession of a port, to be declared free to the commerce of all nations, on the narrow strip of coast between Antivari and the Austrian frontier, which now shuts us out entirely from the sea.
3. The annexation to our mountains of a certain portion of arable land in the neighbouring lowlands, to be cultivated by the Montenegrins, whose rugged territory does not now grow sufficient corn for their subsistence.

Without such material advantages in exchange, the surrender on my part of even the least fraction of the national rights purchased by the blood of my tribe during so many generations, would prove the signal for my own death or deposition, and for the elevation in my stead of some other member of my family; who would be forced by the exigencies of his position, and by the refusal of all support and countenance elsewhere, to throw himself unreservedly into the arms of the Czar.’ It is beyond question that Prince Daniel risked not only his authority, but his life, by his breach with Russia in 1857, and by the disposition which he has shown to lean on the Western Powers. In the spring of that year, he determined to plead his cause in person at the Courts of France and England, despite the threats and cajolery of the agents of Russia, who were so furious at this open proof of complete emancipation from their control, that they endeavoured to stir up a revolution in Montenegro, and suspended the payment of the annual subsidy of 4700*l.* stipulated at the period when the Vladika Peter I. joined with the Czar against the French in Dalmatia. The prosecution of his journey to London was officially discouraged; but he was frequently received at the Tuileries; and, as subsequent events have proved, he certainly succeeded in winning the politic sympathy of the French Emperor.

An equitable arrangement of the question of Montenegro seemed likely to be brought about by the mediation of the great Powers, when it was again retarded by a fresh invasion of the Turks. So often as the power of the Sultan has become in some degree consolidated, and his armies are not fully occupied elsewhere, they have always been directed against the Montenegrins, whose freedom in their mountains under a Christian ruler appears insufferable in the eyes of the Ottomans. Elated, as it would seem, by the advantages won for

them by the arms of the Allies in the Crimea, and forgetting their own solemn declaration at the Paris Congress that they would respect the *status quo*, the Turks, early in 1858, concentrated on the Montenegrin frontiers the forces of the neighbouring provinces; while a succession of powerful armaments bore, by sea from Constantinople to the scene of action, fresh battalions and munitions of war.* The district of Grahovo, bordering on Herzegóvina, was the first point of attack; and there, on May 13. 1858, some of the choicest troops of the Turkish Empire, their breasts covered with French and English Crimean decorations, which are now exhibited as trophies in the Arsenal at Tzetinie, were as utterly routed or cut to pieces by the clans of the Black Mountains, as the English army at Prestonpans by the Scotch Highlanders in 1745. An eye-witness, who beheld the battle from a neighbouring hill, has given a vivid description of the charge of the Montenegrin columns. They rushed furiously forward, chanting their national songs, and keeping up a rolling fire on the enemy. When about a pistol-shot from the Turkish lines, they paused for a few seconds, while each man devoutly crossed himself, looking up to heaven. Then dropping their muskets and rifles, and drawing their handjars and yatagans (dirks and broad-swords), they threw themselves headlong on the foe. It was Ascension Day; and at the moment of closing, the various cries of the Christians swelled into one thrilling, enthusiastic shout, which rang clearly above the roar of battle, 'Glory to God in the highest!' Neither the flashing volleys of cannon and musketry, nor the bristling hedge of bayonets, nor the long lines of the Turkish entrenchments withstood for more than a few minutes that tremendous shock. Hardly was the first onset over, when the mingled torrent of the conquerors and the conquered went raving down the stream of fight. Never was victory more complete; never were the vanquished more nearly annihilated. The Turks who escaped from the battle mostly fell into the Montenegrin ambuscades in

* These armaments passed by Corfu during March and April, 1858. The troops and stores which they carried were disembarked at Klek and Sutorina, those narrow tongues of land intersecting the Austrian dominions in Dalmatia, which the Turks retain as ports for their great inland provinces of Bosnia and Herzegóvina. The districts of Klek and Sutorina formerly separated, to the north and south respectively, the territory of the Ragusans from that of the Venetians, who were more dreaded as neighbours than even the Ottomans by the citizens of the rival maritime and commercial republic.

the defiles through which they had marched on the previous day, in the full confidence of gaining an easy triumph.

The despatch, addressed from the field of Grahovo by Mirko Petrovich, the Montenegrin commander-in-chief, to his brother Prince Daniel, has been published in the English and continental newspapers, but merits reproduction in a somewhat less transient shape :—

‘Great Conqueror, Prince of the valiant Montenegrins!—In the name of the Lord Almighty, and in honour of my prince and well-beloved brother, I disposed my troops on Ascension Day, May 13th, before sunrise, for a general assault on the Turkish entrenchments. Immediately the columns of attack were formed, I opened fire in the valley where were massed the guards of your highness to cut off the retreat of the Turks. At the same moment, our faithful and brave *falcons** darted on the foe, brandishing their yatagans, and shouting, with an unspeakable enthusiasm, “Glory to God in the Highest, and “honour to our Prince!” I beheld then, O my chieftain and brother, prodigies of valour, of heroism, of love of liberty. Thanks be rendered to the Lord Almighty, our blows fell on the ranks of the enemy as though we had been felling the trees of the forest.

‘Of the thousands of which the Turkish army was composed, scarce a few hundreds have escaped to tell how the Montenegrins can fight for their country. Your soldiers have slain seven thousand Turks, taken eight pieces of artillery, twelve hundred caparisoned horses, and five hundred tents. At this moment it is impossible to enumerate the arms captured, and all the rich booty which we have acquired. The field of battle presents the spectacle of a forest laid low, and the mutilated corpses of the Turks are a sight of horror.

‘It is thus, O my Lord, that the Montenegrins have in part avenged the defeat of their Servian ancestors on the plain of Kosovo, on June 15. 1389. They rushed onwards, one over the body of the other, braving wounds and death to distinguish themselves in your eyes.

‘In this action we had forty-seven killed and about sixty wounded. On the side of the Turks two pashas were slain. The head of one was taken by the brave Captain Djukanor; the other fell by the sword of the standard-bearer of your highness’s guard. In the struggle of man against man, our officers were not to be distinguished from the common soldiers, — all behaved as true heroes.

‘Honour to them all before God, and before you, my Prince! When we shall have paid the last honours to the dead, tended the wounded, and distributed the booty, I will repair to your highness.’

Recent inquiries, made by no friendly critics, acquit this bulletin of exaggeration. The success of the Montenegrins at Grahovo was certainly a ‘victory of strange and almost porten-

* An epithet which the Montenegrins apply to themselves in their national songs.

'tous splendour,' to use the phrase applied by Lord Macaulay to some of the martial exploits of the Scotch mountaineers in the civil wars of Great Britain. It resembled the triumphs of the Highlanders over the English armies at Killiecrankie and Prestonpans. The true explanation is, that when disciplined troops have been once utterly broken, the individual soldiers, fighting singly, have little chance of either victory or escape, when opposed, man against man, to antagonists so superior as the Montenegrins are to the Turks in personal strength and activity.

According to the usual fate of both states and individuals, so soon as Montenegro had fully shown that she was able to help herself, external assistance poured in upon her. Scarce had the clash of arms at Grahovo resounded through Europe, when the English and French Governments concurred in the expediency of stifling a spark of war which might, for the second time, wrap Eastern Europe in a conflagration. England obtained the appointment of a commission, authorised by the Great Powers (as had long been proposed by Prince Daniel), to define the true frontiers of the principality, and so to diminish the motives or pretexts for mutual reprisals and border warfare between the Christians and Mahomedans. France sent a strong squadron into the Adriatic, to watch the movements of Austria, and to check any further aggression on the part of Turkey; while a series of very able official articles in the '*Moniteur*' advocated with almost equal effect the cause of Montenegro. As a permanent, if not final, settlement of the Montenegrin question seems at last on the eve of realisation, the opportunity appears favourable for a brief review of the history and actual position of this singular people and state.

Montenegro *, or the Black Mountain, is the Venetian translation of Tzernogóra, the name by which the lofty ridges overhanging the Adriatic and the Gulf of Cattaro are known in the language of their inhabitants, a Slavonian tribe calling themselves Tzernogorki. The Montenegrins are zealous sons of the Eastern Church; and speak a very pure dialect, uncorrupted by the admission of foreign words, and closely resembling the original Slavonic tongue, i.e. that into which the Scriptures were translated by St. Cyril and Methodius in the

* Properly *Montenero*; but the Venetian dialect of Italian has long predominated throughout the Adriatic and Levant. Of the same signification are the *Karadagh* of the Turks, and the *Μαυροβουνιον* of the Greeks. The Black Mountain was in former times more thickly clothed than at present with dark pine woods, whence the name by which it is known in modern languages.

ninth century, and which still continues to be the sacred language of all the Slavonian nations which follow the Greek communion. The principality extends in length about sixty, while its greatest breadth is about thirty-five, English miles. It is bounded on the west by the Austrian *circolo*, or department of Cattaro; on the north, east, and south, by the Turkish provinces of Herzegóvina, Bosnia, and Albania. Its population is now estimated at nearly one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of which number fully twenty thousand are fighting men. A narrow territory, it will be said, and a scanty force, to have withstood for so many ages the disciplined armies of an empire numbering thirty-five millions of subjects, and stretching from the Danube to the Persian Gulf, from the snowy mountains of Armenia to the sandy deserts of Nubia! Nor are the villages in which the Montenegrins dwell, surrounded by walls, or otherwise fortified by art. On the contrary, they are chiefly situated in the valleys, or on the slopes of the mountains, not on steep insulated rocks, difficult of access, as in the neighbouring provinces of Turkey, and indeed throughout the East, and in a large part of Italy. Thus is plainly indicated the fearless independence of these mountaineers, who, feeling secure in the natural strength of their country, require no artificial defence beyond their own good swords and rifles. But, as was said of old of Sparta, — if the villages of Montenegro are unwalled by man, the land itself is walled by nature. The rugged barriers of rock that encircle every frontier hamlet are the sentinels against a surprise; and at the first sign of an inroad from the neighbouring lowlands, every glen pours forth its hardy garrison; old men, boys, even women and children, snatch up arms against the invader. The usual manner in which the Montenegrins meet a foray of the Turks has been described by a Russian officer*, who served with them in the war against the French in Dalmatia at the beginning of the present century. ‘If they are in great force, the Montenegrins conceal themselves in ravines, and send out only a small number of marksmen, who, by retreating, lead the enemy into the ambush; here they surround and attack him, usually preferring on such occasions swords to fire-arms, because they rely on their individual strength and bravery, in which they have greatly the superiority over their assailants. When their numbers are much inferior, they choose some advantageous position on high rocks, whence, pouring forth volleys of invective and sarcasm against the In-

* M. Broniewski. He was an officer in the Russian expedition under Admiral Siniavin. (Wilkinson, vol. i. pp. 432–9.)

‘fidels, they challenge them to the combat.’ ‘As in the heroic times,’ adds Sir G. Wilkinson, ‘they taunt their enemies, and provoke them to battle; they spoil the fallen foe; all their best dressed warriors are clad in the dresses of the slain; and many a reproachful speech made at the siege of Troy, might be adopted by a modern poet in describing the contests of the Montenegrins and the Turks.’

But neither the importance nor the long preserved independence of Montenegro, are derived from the Spartan rampart of brave hearts within, so much as from its impregnable position, and from the suicidal policy of the Ottoman Porte in oppressing and persecuting, during so many centuries, its Christian subjects, to whom the fastnesses of this mountain fortress have now, during twelve generations, proved a secure place of refuge. This fact explains the sympathy of the Christians of Herzegóvina and Bosnia with the Montenegrins in 1858, as in all previous invasions of the Turks. ‘O Slavonian, wherever thou art,’ says one of the most favourite *piesmas* or national ballads, ‘whether freeman or serf, rejoice that so long as the Black Mountain exists, thou hast liberty and a country!’

The general aspect* of Montenegro has been aptly likened to that of a sea of stormy waves turned into stone. Some idea of the rugged character of the country may be formed from the tradition of the people that, ‘when the Almighty was engaged in sowing the surface of the earth with mountains, the bag of rocks burst open, and let them all fall on Tzernogóra.’ From whatever side the Black Mountain is approached, the traveller sees before him gigantic walls of rock, the pinnacles of which tower to a height of from 3000 to 8000 feet. These lofty ramparts throw forth outworks, which divide and sub-divide the country in all directions. The rivers, as they flow towards the plains, form a series of tortuous windings, offering at every angle a succession of formidable bastions. So complete, in a word, are the natural fortifications of Montenegro, that there is

* The climate of Montenegro is considered very healthy; and its inhabitants are famous for their longevity. Colonel Vialla (vol. i. p. 123.) mentions seeing a Montenegrin family which reckoned six generations. The head of the house was 117 years old, his son 100, his grandson, 82, and great-grandson 60; and the son of this last, who was 43, had a son aged 21, whose child was 2 years old. Their bracing climate, their frugal mode of living, and their active habits, render illness very unusual among the Montenegrins, and also enable them to recover speedily from wounds and severe accidents. They also possess the skill of all wild people leading an unartificial life in curing external injuries.

no even tolerably easy communication between it and the neighbouring Turkish provinces, except by the Lake of Scutari. The few paths across the mountain ramparts are so precipitous as to be scarcely accessible, except to the foot of a wild goat, or of a Tzernogorki. There is not a single pass leading from the lowlands by which an invading army can advance without danger of being well nigh exterminated, like the Turks at the battle of Grahovo, in 1858, by a people who are hereditary guerillas, strong and fleet, patient of hunger and thirst, of cold and fatigue, accustomed from childhood to the use of weapons and to border warfare, and inhabiting a natural stronghold surpassing all that human skill can devise. When the Prince of Montenegro visited Corfu in February, 1857, he was conducted by the officers of the British Staff over the citadel, that acropolis of ancient Corcyra, on which, after many strange and chequered fortunes, England, in these latter times, has laid her firm but gentle grasp. Standing on the angle of a bastion, Prince Daniel long contemplated in silence that scene of exquisite beauty, which can never pass from the heart or memory of those once familiar with it. His eager eye glanced from the ships of war in the harbour below, over the bright channel dividing the green and fertile island from the rugged coast of Epirus, to the peaks of Pindus and of the Acroceraunian Mountains. But soon his gaze settled on the little warlike world within the citadel itself—on those slopes bound round with forts and ramparts—on the long tiers of cannon—on the piles of shot and shell—on the ready furnaces, on the alert sentinels. At length, turning to his attendant clansmen, he exclaimed, with not ungraceful emotion; ‘We behold here a wonderful triumph of art and civilisation; but the mountains of our fatherland form a yet stronger and more glorious fortress.’

The modern history of Montenegro may be said to commence four centuries ago, with its first chieftain, Stratzimir, the grandson of the last king of Servia, who fell in battle against Sultan Amurath in A. D. 1389. Stratzimir, who, from his swarthy complexion, is best known in song and legend as Tzernowich, or the Black Prince, long united his fortunes with those of the Albanian hero. When, on the death of Scanderbeg in 1467, the Ottomans had overrun Albania, the Servian chief gathered around him the remnant of his own nation, and retiring, with his face ever to the foe, from forest to forest, and from wilderness to wilderness, at length turned desperately to bay in the fastnesses of the Black Mountain.

From that period, the history of Montenegro forms one long epic poem, existing in the *piesmas*, which, like the ballads of

the ancient Rhapsodists, are not only warlike songs, but also historical records, conveying a faithful picture of a civil history and a social life, which no other country of modern Europe can match. Many of the Montenegrin *piesmas* possess a rude and forcible beauty: they recite the last struggles of the expiring people of Serbia, the wanderings of its chieftains in search of a new home, and their erection of a city of refuge, in which the oppressed and proscribed of the neighbouring tribes have ever found shelter and vengeance. Thus, as it has been observed, the modern history of Montenegro throws light on the old myth of the beginnings of Rome. Tzernogóra is now to the Slavonian subjects of Turkey what Sparta once was to ancient Hellas, and Rome to ancient Italy. Its people is the remnant, and may possibly yet become the germ, of a great nation.

As Stratzimir was the Æneas, so his son, Ivan, was at once the Romulus and the Numa Pompilius, of this wild Rome of the Slavonian mountains. Several of the most favourite ballads celebrate his many victories over the Turks, his wise laws and counsels, and his foundation of the convent, church, and village of Tzetinie, ever since the seat of government and the national temple of the principality. Ivan is still the popular hero of his race. Tradition relates that in a vast mysterious cavern of the hills, this father of the Tzernogorki sleeps on the bosom of the *Vilas*—those Christian nymphs who watch over the fortunes of the Servian people, and who are painted in many a fairy lay, as they float gracefully in the mountain air, or sport by the forest streams, or dance their ringlets on the beached margent of the Adriatic. Then too it is told how, in the fulness of time, when the Almighty shall have resolved to restore Cattaro and the *Blue Sea* to the Montenegrins, the *Vilas* will awaken once more the immortal hero, who will drive the Germans from the coasts usurped from the Slavonians, and the infidel Osmanlies from the wide and fertile plains so long desolated by their dull and fanatic tyranny.

George, or, as he is sometimes named in the legends, Stephen Tzernowich, the son and successor of Ivan, was the last secular ruler of Montenegro until the accession in 1851 of the now reigning prince. He had married a lady of the great Venetian family of Mocenigo, and, when hard pressed by the Turks, he fled with her to her native city, A. D. 1516, having first, with the consent of the people, transferred the government to the hands of the spiritual chiefs. After a long period of anarchy, during which the Turks frequently overran the country, Daniel Petrovich of Negosh, the Mattathias of Tzernogora, was chosen Vladika, i. e. Prince-Bishop; and that dignity afterwards

became hereditary in his family, — the Maccabees of their tribe.

The republic of Venice had courted the alliance of Ivan. From that moment, the Tzernogorki never ceased to serve as a bulwark to all northern Italy against the Ottomans, who, having become masters of Albania and Servia since the death of Scanderbeg, would probably have overthrown the commonwealth of St. Mark had not the flood of their victories been stemmed by the mountaineers on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. It was in the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Czar Peter the Great, in his wars with Turkey, first of his dynasty opened relations with Montenegro, having perceived the advantage of an ally professing the same creed and speaking a dialect of the same language with the Russians.

It is recorded that down to the commencement of the present century, Montenegro had been attacked in more than forty regular campaigns by the Ottoman armies, which were invariably repulsed with heavy loss. So often as the invaders marched in overwhelming force through the valleys, liberty and Christianity took refuge on the mountain-tops. Burning their villages and laying waste their crops, so as to leave neither shelter nor food for the enemy, the Montenegrin warriors, fighting inch by inch, bore their infants and household gods to the caverns and wildernesses of the hills, whence issuing forth afresh, they hung like wolves on the skirts of the foe. When he had been destroyed or driven across the frontier, they rebuilt their homesteads, and tilled their fields again.

In A. D. 1797, the most powerful expedition ever organised by the Turks for the conquest of Montenegro, was placed under the command of Kara Mahmood, the Pasha of Skodra in Albania. He penetrated far into the mountains, but was at last defeated and slain in the battle of Kroussa, which the Montenegrins consider the most signal and decisive of all their victories, and which secured to Montenegro half a century of repose from invasion. For a generation afterwards, the pious elders of Tzetinie loved to apply to him the verse of Holy Writ on the defeat of the Midianites, when 'the country was 'in quietness forty years.' The Gideon of the Black Mountain lived to become also its Nestor; for he had the gift of persuasion and eloquence in such a degree that a word from him was enough to obtain the most costly sacrifices on the part of his people. On the 18th of October, 1830, the Great Vladika, full of years and honours, expired at the age of eighty, after a rule of fifty-three years. Like Joshua at Shechem, when he felt that his last hour was approaching, he summoned the chiefs

and elders of his tribe around his death-bed; exhorted them to abstain from mutual strife and blood-feuds, and entered into a solemn covenant with them that they would swear over his coffin to preserve a general truce among all districts, villages, and families, for the space of six months, in order that time might be gained for the consolidation of the statutes and ordinances which he had set them. On the following day, the nephew whom he had designated as his successor, was invested with the robes of state by the chiefs of the Mountain, and presented, holding the staff of the deceased Vladika in his hand, to the assembled people.

We have seen that in the long struggle between the early Ottoman Sultans and the republic of Venice, and in the later wars between the Turks and Russians, Montenegro rendered important services to the Christian cause. At the close of each contest, it was invariably abandoned, according to the usual fate of the weaker ally, to its own resources. During the convulsions which heralded in the fall of the French empire, the destinies of the Montenegrins were mingled with those of the great nations of the West. The far-seeing eye of the First Napoleon detected the value of the warlike mountaineers; and the friendly attitude of the French Government towards Montenegro in 1805, coupled with the tone of the official press of Paris, go far to prove that the policy and example of the founder of the imperial dynasty have not been forgotten by the heir of his name and house. Marshal Marmont, when governor of Dalmatia, was specially instructed to conciliate the Montenegrins by all the means in his power. Provoked, however, by some encroachments of the French troops, they sided with their co-religionists the Russians and their English allies in the war of 1805 and 1806, and again in 1813 and 1814. In the latter year, aided by a British squadron, they wrested from the French the town and fortress of Cattaro, which, by an agreement stated to have been made with the Vladika, were thenceforth to be the capital and port of their territory. But this arrangement was far from suiting the ambitious views of Metternich. Russia, as usual, abandoned its tiny ally to his fate; and the congress of Vienna decreed the transfer to Austria of Cattaro, together with the other ex-Venetian possessions on the mainland. Still it was only after a fierce struggle that the Montenegrins were driven from the coast; and they afterwards made several gallant, though ineffectual, attempts to recover a harbour which brought them into direct communication with the commerce and civilisation of the West. At length, in 1840, a definitive convention was concluded with Austria, and

the boundaries of the two States were authoritatively settled. The treaty of peace signed on this occasion was of great diplomatic importance, since it brought Montenegro, for the first time, under the common law of Europe, and it was negotiated between the court of Vienna and the Montenegrin chief without the intervention of the Porte. Convinced of the advantage of friendly relations with all Christian States, the Montenegrins allowed their Vladika to erect a gallows on their western frontier, on which was to be hung whoever should venture thenceforth to make a raid upon Austrian soil.

At the urgent and repeated instance of Prince Daniel, the Great Powers in 1858 appointed a commission to mark out and fix the boundaries of Montenegro on the side of Turkey, as had been done in 1840 on the side of Austria. Such a delimitation can alone put an end to the mutual forays and reprisals of that blood-stained debatable land between Christendom and Islam; and especially to the barbarous custom adopted by the borderers on either side of cutting off, as trophies of victory, the heads of their enemies. The following account of this savage practice of Montenegrin warfare is given by the Russian officer Broniewski:—

‘Their ideas about war are entirely different from those of civilised nations. They cut off the heads of those enemies whom they take with arms in their hands, and spare only those who surrender before the battle. The property they capture from the enemy is considered by them as their own, and as the reward of valour. They literally defend themselves to the last extremity. A Montenegrin never craves for mercy; and whenever one of them is severely wounded, and it is impossible to save him from the foe, his own comrades cut off his head. When, at the attack of Clobuk, a little detachment of our (Russian) troops was obliged to retreat, an officer of stout make, and no longer young, fell on the ground from exhaustion. A Montenegrin, perceiving it, ran immediately to him, and having drawn his yatagan, said, “*You are very brave, and must wish that I should cut off your head; say a prayer, and make the sign of the cross.*” The officer, horrified at this proposal, made an effort to rise, and rejoined his comrades with the assistance of the friendly Montenegrin.’

Sir Gardner Wilkinson relates an anecdote of a somewhat similar scene which occurred during the last encounter of the mountaineers with the Austrians, before the definitive peace of 1849:—

‘Two Austrian riflemen, finding themselves hard pressed by the advancing Montenegrins, and despairing of escape, threw themselves down on the ground, pretending to be dead. The Montenegrins immediately ran up to the nearest one, and, supposing him to be killed, cut off his head; when the other, seeing it was of *no use to be dead*,

started up, and rushed headlong down precipices, thinking it better to have any number of bruises than to fall into the hands of so relentless an enemy.' (Vol. i. p. 502.)

These odious and detestable acts of cruelty in border warfare, and the bad faith which the Montenegrins have too often shown towards their neighbours, have had the effect of alienating from them the sympathy they might otherwise have obtained in Europe. The reigning Prince Daniel is making zealous endeavours to abolish these savage practices; and his predecessor, the late Vladika, was also earnestly desirous of their discontinuance. 'But,' he observed to Sir G. Wilkinson, 'you who have long known the Turks, will understand how impossible it is for us to be the first to abandon it, or to propose that it should be abolished; they would inevitably attribute our humane intentions to fear, and, in their usual way, requite us with increased vexations. Our making any propositions of the kind would almost be tantamount to an invitation to invade our territory; and I must continue to regret what I cannot venture, for our own security, to discontinue.' His English visitor acknowledged that the Vladika was correct in his estimation of the Turkish character; and was confirmed in this view by the complete failure of his humane attempts to induce the Pasha of Herzégóvina to agree to a cessation of these ferocious reprisals.

And as with the bloody personal reprisals of the Montenegrins, so is it with their forays, in former times, on the Turks of the neighbouring lowlands. In such raids the Slavonian, like the Scotch Highlander, has always regarded himself as a warrior seizing lawful prize of war,—of a war scarcely once intermitted during the four centuries that have elapsed since the infidel invader drove the children of the soil to the mountains. The commissioners of the Great Powers have ratified the right of Montenegro, as derived from long occupation, to the disputed district of Grahovo, the cause or pretext of the Turkish invasion of 1858. But the Montenegrins themselves would have reduced their pretensions to no such narrow issue. They would have argued that they were surely justified in endeavouring to annex a little corner of Turkey, encircled, too, by their own territory, seeing that Turkey had been striving its best during twelve generations to annex the whole of Montenegro.

The manners of the Montenegrins, however, have materially softened of late years, in consequence of the enlightened policy initiated by the two last Vladikas, and consolidated by the reigning prince. He has put an end to the mutual animosity between the different villages and clans, which formerly caused them, when not engaged in fighting the Turks, to take up arms against each

other. He has abolished that hereditary system of vengeance, according to which blood could be avenged by blood alone, and which entailed on whole families feuds lasting for generations, and presenting a complete bar to all improvement and civilisation. The practice of making forays on the neighbouring lowlands has also been checked. Since the provisional settlement of the frontiers of Montenegro, the prince is enabled to offer to his mountaineers the intelligible alternative of protection within an acknowledged boundary, or of punishment beyond it; while no excuse is left to the Turks for fresh invasions under the pretext of retaliation or of self-defence. Moreover, the rude patriarchal justice of the chieftains and elders of the tribe has been collected and embodied; and the Montenegrins (happy people!) have justice administered to them by their prince according to the provisions of a code of *eighty-nine* articles.* At the same time the mountaineers are learning to cultivate arts unheard of by the preceding generation, not only in the progressive improvement of their possessions, but in all the comforts and amenities of life. Their houses are becoming more commodious; their habits and customs are being regulated so as better to keep pace with those of the civilised world; and that best of luxuries,—the luxury of knowledge,—is making rapid progress among them. The children of some of the principal families have been sent for their education to Paris and Vienna; while at the schools recently established at Tzetinie and the other principal villages, the sons of the peasants are learning accomplishments beyond the old Persian lesson taught to their forefathers, that is, ‘to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth.’

We have given an impartial sketch of the past history and present social condition of the Montenegrins. It remains to discuss briefly the political position which they now hold, and their prospects for the future. On these points there is a conflict of opinions, at which our space will allow us only to glance.

On one side, arguments are alleged to the effect that—however much we may admire the heroic bravery, constancy, and devotedness to their liberty and religion which the Montenegrins have exhibited during so many centuries, and however plausible and just may be their demand for a recognition of their traditional rights, still this is not an age for a policy of sentiment.

* The Montenegrin code has acquired great fame and popularity among the Christians of the neighbouring Ottoman provinces. The people of Herzegóvina, especially, now very generally refer their disputes for arbitration to Tzetinie, instead of trusting to what is facetiously termed the justice of the Turkish cadis.

Montenegro, it is true, holds the same position towards Turkey which Circassia holds towards Russia; and it may appear strange, at first sight, that the sympathies of Western Europe should be with the resistance of Moslems against Christians, and not with the resistance of Christians against Moslems. National claims, however, must now be tried by other tests than mere abstract justice, and historical or religious association. Moreover, the period of petty States has gone by. The spirit of amalgamation and centralisation is everywhere developing itself. The question of Montenegro offers a suitable field for the exercise of those international police functions, which custom has vested in the Great Powers; and it is their duty to examine and decide it with that general reference to the peace of Europe by which their recent negotiations have been directed. Any such measure as the formal recognition of the absolute independence of the Black Mountain would be a severe blow to the *prestige* of the Porte, and would constitute a very important step towards the dismemberment of its dominions.

On the other hand, it has been triumphantly proved that the case of Montenegro cannot fairly be brought under the great principle of the integrity of the Turkish Empire. For the claim of one State to either sovereignty or suzerainty over another State must be founded on either convention or conquest. Now the Sultan has rejected the conditions upon which Prince Daniel voluntarily offered to recognise his suzerainty; while the Turks are neither in occupation of Montenegro by force of arms at the present moment, nor can they show there, as in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, any proofs of conquest at a former period, such as the payment of a tribute, or the permanent maintenance of a garrison. On the contrary, the independence of Montenegro is tacitly acknowledged by all the neighbouring Powers, even by Turkey itself; for they all recognise the passports issued by the Prince as a sovereign ruler to his subjects when they travel abroad. And Austria, in particular, has made several conventions with Montenegro, as with an independent State. Why then, it is urged, should not the independence, undeniably existing *de facto*, be at length admitted *de jure*? It has been argued, indeed, that the fact of the pretensions of the Sultan over Montenegro having gained any credence or countenance whatsoever, is a proof how easily a falsehood, diligently repeated, may at last obtain belief. Montenegro is not, and never has been, a portion of the Turkish dominions. Turkish armies have occasionally entered Montenegro; so have Montenegrin armies occasionally entered Turkey. The boundary of the great and of the small State has often fluctuated, because it

is a boundary resting on the physical force of its defenders on either side ; but there has never been a single day during which the Sultan has been either *de jure* or *de facto* lord of the Black Mountain. The Porte has signally failed hitherto in its oft-repeated attempts to subdue the free mountaineers ; and, for the future, the pretensions or differences which it may have on its frontiers can no longer be decided by arms alone.

On the 17th March Lord Clarendon brought the subject before the House of Lords, and some explanations were given by Lord Malmesbury, in terms little calculated to augment the respect entertained for the British Government in Eastern Europe, or to facilitate the task of the Boundary Commissioners. It is with much regret that on this, and some other occasions, we have observed the propensity of several English statesmen to speak harshly and contemptuously of the rights of the Christian populations of the East, as if it were to the Turks and not the Christians that our sympathy and interest are due. Who can wonder if the inhabitants of these countries look with more of hope and confidence to Russia and to France than they do to Great Britain, when they find that their past history and acknowledged rights are as little understood in this country as their future destiny ? Nothing would be easier than for England to establish the most amicable relations with these provinces. Their dependence on Russia arises from nothing but the fact that from her they have received favour and protection, from us unmerited insult. In our judgment, it is in the highest degree favourable to the true interests of the Porte that these provinces should retain their semi-independent character and neutrality, which makes them a barrier against foreign invasion ; and nothing can be more impolitic than the attempt to degrade the Christian princes and inhabitants of such territories into the mere subjects of a Mohammedan Power which they despise and abhor. We hope the Commission which has just proceeded on its errand to the Dalmatian coast will be animated by an equitable consideration for the people whose most vital interests are thus placed at the disposal of the Great Powers.

It must, however, be borne in mind, that no settlement of the Montenegrin question can be final, or even permanent, which does not provide a field for the agricultural and commercial industry of the people. When these Highlanders have gathered in their scanty harvest, they are obliged to seek labour and food beyond the sea, or to overflow into the neighbouring plains ; and there are ample grounds for the belief that the practical necessity of procuring a livelihood has given

rise to their restlessness and their incursions quite as much as any political ambition or religious enthusiasm. If chosen judiciously, a boundary of rivers and mountain-ridges would be a far better guarantee against future misunderstandings than an artificial line arbitrarily drawn across hills and valleys, without any regard to the great landmarks of nature.

Finally, the political importance of Montenegro lies, as we have already shown, in its impregnable position, and in its connexion with the great masses of the Slavonian population in Turkey. What is the probable destiny of all those millions? Every eye appreciates the rapid progress of the Christian nationalities of the Levant, which are daily escaping more and more from the relaxing grasp of Islam; and although we deprecate any immediate changes which should add a fresh element of discord to the present threatening state of affairs in Southern Europe, we hail with the greatest satisfaction every indication of the progress of the Christian populations of the East in the duties of self-government. In Moldavia and Wallachia, the principles for which we pleaded some time ago against the decisions of the Congress of Paris, and against the view then taken by the British Government, have practically triumphed by the unanimous resolution of the people. Wherever the Greek language is spoken throughout the East, it is once more felt to be the language of a free people, and of a people which is advancing, by its own energy, in commercial wealth, in social importance, and in political power. The real barrier against the progress of Russia, when the decrepid Turkish administration of the Porte shall have yielded, as it must yield, to the steady growth of the most intelligent portion of its subjects, will be found in this spirit of independence; and we are convinced that it is the true policy of this country to mark her sympathy and interest in the efforts of nations which rely, not on foreign intervention, but on their own spirit and vigour to preserve and extend the rights they possess.

ART. VII.—1. *The History of Normandy and of England*. By Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K.H., &c. Vol. II. London: 1857.

2. *A History of England under the Norman Kings, to which is prefixed an Epitome of the Early History of Normandy*. Translated from the German of Dr. J. M. LAPPENBERG, by BENJAMIN THORPE. Oxford: 1857.

3. *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*. Par A. LA BUTTE. Tome Premier. Paris: 1852.

THE duties imposed upon a critic who undertakes to review the second volume of Sir Francis Palgrave's *History of Normandy and of England* are alike heavy and conflicting. If we are examining writers of the degree of excellence attained by Mr. Grote or Mr. Merivale, our course is plain. We do not conceal any points on which our own conclusions differ from theirs, but to the general treatment of their subjects we offer our unreserved admiration. In dealing with the rubbish and small fry of literature our course is equally plain. But Sir Francis Palgrave thrusts us into a dilemma. There are very few writers to whom we should wish to show a greater amount of respect. Few living men have equalled him in the extent of his reading. Still fewer have surpassed him in sincere and independent inquiry. He has won the deep gratitude of every historical student by the new light which he has thrown upon the ancient institutions of our own land. He has at least deserved, if he has not always won, a gratitude deeper still for being the first to find the key to the great riddle of general mediæval history. The man who discovered that the Roman Empire did not terminate in A. D. 476, but that the still living and acting imperial power formed an historical centre for centuries later, merits a place in the very highest rank of historical inquirers. Deserts like this could well atone for the defects which the most fervent admirer could hardly fail to perceive, even in his earlier writings. Sir Francis Palgrave has always been rather an advocate than a judge. His keen vision has at once seized upon some important and forgotten truth; he has drawn it forth to light, he has shown its real influence upon the general system of human affairs. But he has seldom been content to allow the truths which he has discovered to take their proper place side by side with those which were known before him. The same ardent imagination which has enabled him to

discover has also commonly led him to exaggerate what he has discovered. The same quality has also kept him back from that perfect appreciation of evidence, that unswerving soundness of judgment, in which Bishop Thirlwall stands without a competitor. Sir Francis often gives us an acute and brilliant statement of one side—sometimes an important and neglected side—of the truth; but he commonly forgets that in most cases there is something to be said on the other side also. We have therefore always read Sir Francis with caution, though with a caution which has never affected our general admiration of his labours.

What shall we say, then, when a man of whom we think so highly produces a volume which, had it borne a less honourable name in its title-page, we should have been tempted to cast aside altogether, or to preserve only as a subject for merriment? We say tempted, because, even had the present volume proceeded from the obscurest source, such a treatment of it would have been in the highest degree unjust. But had it not come guaranteed by such a name as Sir Francis Palgrave's, the temptation might have proved too strong for the frailty of human nature. This book contains, if you choose to dig deep, stores of curious research and novel information, together with not a little sound criticism and good sense. But the misfortune is that without digging deep for them, you will not find them. The sterling merits of the book do not lie on the surface. Faults, of which Sir Francis Palgrave's former writings showed only the germs, have now grown up to such a height as to be far more prominent at first sight than the real merits which they overshadow. An abridged translation of the present volume would form a useful and interesting history. But, as it now stands, the true essence of the book is veiled in an impenetrable cloud of irrelevant nonsense. It is unpleasant to use a single word which may sound disrespectful to so eminent a writer; but the truth must be spoken. Some people write nonsense, because they have no choice except either writing nonsense or the harder alternative of not writing at all. But Sir Francis Palgrave deliberately writes nonsense, while possessing as full a power as any man of writing sense. His crime is thereby, in strict justice, not extenuated but aggravated. Still gratitude for former services will put in her claim. Mr. Grote teaches us that the Athenians were in no wise bound to acquit Miltiades for his misconduct at Paros because he had the year before won the battle of Marathon. But it was undoubtedly the fact that he had won the battle of Marathon, which induced them to accept a fine of

fifty talents rather than to affirm Xanthippus' motion for his death. We will give Sir Francis the same advantage, but he must be content to undergo the same penance. We cannot restrain our sense of the ludicrous and extraordinary garb in which Sir Francis has thought good to bedizen himself. But this shall not hinder us from afterwards weighing, as fairly and as earnestly as we can, the graver merits and the graver defects which lurk beneath his present grotesque costume.

If the expression were not somewhat out of date, and discarded by some very high authorities, we should sum up our accusation against Sir Francis Palgrave in one phrase, that he is utterly careless of 'the dignity of history.' We know, however, of no other form of words which so well expresses our meaning. The writers who have been censured for a pedantic use of it were people who thought that the dignity of history was compromised by any reference to those small details of custom or of incident which often give more of life and reality to an historical narrative than the most elaborate records of a battle or a negotiation. Such writers would blame Sir Francis Palgrave for telling us how the young Lewis was carried out of Laon concealed in a truss of hay; or how, when the monk Richer travelled from Rheims to Chartres, he found at Meaux a bridge so rotten that his companion had to place his shield over first one hole and then another to let their horses step across it.* Yet, after all, history has a dignity of another sort. The dignity of history does require that the historian should preserve a certain respect for himself and his subject. It does not require the starched precision of a formal preacher, but it does forbid the garrulity and extravagance of a Merry-Andrew.

Our charge, then, against Sir Francis Palgrave is, that he plays with his subject, that he puts no restraint upon a tendency to frivolous garrulity, that he hops, skips, and jumps, capers and crows, laughs, cries, preaches, quizzes, storms, upbraids, expostulates, till one unlearned or unbelieving might, like the scoffer in Apostolic times, be strongly tempted to say that Sir Francis was mad. Homer does not commonly mention a hero without an epithet; neither does Sir Francis Palgrave; but the Palgravian style of epithet does not impress the mind with the same sort of awe as the *κορυθαίολος* Ἑκτωρ and the ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων. Homer generally preserves the same epithet for the same person; Sir Francis rather rejoices in some cases in never mentioning the same person twice by the same

* Richeri Chronicon, lib. iv. cap. 50.

epithet. Queen Gerberga, for instance, is sometimes merely 'matron Gerberga,' sometimes, more definitely, 'full-blown Gerberga' or 'buxom Gerberga;' when in a condition by no means unusual with her, she pleads for our sympathy as 'burthened Gerberga;' when plotting vengeance against her enemies, she strikes terror into our hearts as 'spit-fire Gerberga.' Sir Francis finds in his Frodoard, under the year 940, the simple entry, 'Hugo princeps filius Rothberti junctis sibi quibusdam Episcopis tam Franciæ quam Burgundiæ cum Heriberto Comite et Willelmo Nordmannorum Principe, Remensem obsidet urbem.' A little after he reads, 'Hugo et Heribertus locuti cum quibusdam Lothariensibus ad obsidionem Lauduni profisciscuntur cum Willelmo.' Why should the besiegers figure in Sir Francis' 242nd page as '*angry* Hugh-le-Grand, '*wily* Herbert, and '*flourishing* Guillaume Longue-épée?'

* Another trick of Sir Francis Palgrave's is to seize upon some incidental word or circumstance, and to work it to death. Gilbert,

* Once or twice Sir Francis' inability to mention anybody without some epithet has led him into the use of an inaccurate epithet. We might not have expected to find the name of John Zimiskes in a 'History of Normandy and England.' The hero of the *first* siege of Silistria might seem to have more to do with the Normandy and England of our own days than with the Normandy and England of the times in which he lived. But Otto the Great invaded Normandy; Otto the Great also procured the ward of John Zimiskes as a wife for his son; consequently John Zimiskes finds his way into Sir Francis Palgrave's second volume. In pages 815-16. thereof the reader will find the whole story of the murder of Nicephorus in its minutest details, and may thus spare himself the trouble of turning to Leo the Deacon. But he may come away with quite a wrong notion of the personal appearance of what Sir Francis, in the use of his favourite quotation, might have called the 'gros vilain' of the piece. In Sir Francis' story Theophano and her ladies let down a basket and 'haul the pleasant freight — *burly* Zimiskes and his confederates — up to the window.' Now in the narrative of Leo, book v. chapter vii. (at page 87. of the Bonn edition), we cannot find any word at all answering to Sir Francis' 'burly.' And, turning some pages on, we find an express refutation of it. The conqueror of Saracen and Russian was a man after the type of the Homeric Tydeus, μικρὸς ἦν δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής. For in the last paragraph of the same fifth book Leo says expressly, — 'Ιωάννη — ὃς κατ' ἐπικλησιν Τζιμισκῆς ἐκαλεῖτο (τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίων διαλέκτου πρόσρημα ὄν, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεθερμηνευόμενον μουζακίτζην δηλοῖ. βραχύτατος γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν τελῶν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἐκτίσασατο.) We fully share Gibbon's (chap. iv. note 69.) difficulty as to the Hellenism of the word μουζακίτζης; but what follows, at any rate, prevents us from giving it Sir Francis Palgrave's apparent interpretation of 'burly.'

Duke of Lorraine, swam across the Meuse under difficult circumstances; Sir Francis can scarcely mention him again except as 'Gilbert the Bold Swimmer.' Hugh of Vermandois was intruded into the Archbishopric of Rheims at the age of five years. Frodoard (A.D. 925) not unnaturally speaks of him as 'admodum parvulus;' Sir Francis catches at this simple expression, and apparently thinks it a very good joke to call him 'Hugh the Parvulus' through the whole of his volume. In one case this habit has led Sir Francis into what we must call a serious error. Dudo, the panegyrist of the Norman princes, in his inflated and grandiloquent style, heaps all kinds of titles on the 'objects of his worship. Not content with 'princeps,' 'dux,' 'marchio,' 'comes,' he occasionally treats them to the somewhat strange epithet of 'patricius.'* Surely this is a mere piece of classical affectation, something like the 'satrapæ atque archontes mei' of an Anglo-Saxon charter, or the way in which our own historian Æthelward describes himself as 'Fabius Quæstor Patricius Ethelwerdus.' Sir Francis lays hold of the word, and repeatedly uses the designation 'Patrician of the Normans,' as if it were a formal and recognised title. We cannot venture to assume this without some definite evidence; Pepin and Charlemagne, indeed, ruled Rome by the title of 'Patricius Romanorum,' but 'patricius' with them, like 'president' since, was the chrysalis state of 'imperator.' 'Patricius' was a common Byzantine title, and Rome had not then cast off her nominal allegiance to the eastern Cæsars. But for this solemn Byzantine designation to be conferred on a chief of half-heathen pirates — the Dux Piratarum, as Rollo and his successors are constantly called — seems to us unlikely in the extreme. Sir Francis gives us no authority. He tells us, indeed, how Duke William did homage to King Lewis at Amiens in 940: —

"Kneeling before the king, and receiving from the king a re-grant of the "Province"—this is the term employed by those who recorded the transaction — "which the late King Charles granted to the late "*Patrician of the Normans*, Guillaume Longue-épée's father, Rollo," and commending himself to the king, placing his hands between the hands of the king, Guillaume became the man of Louis in the most solemn and authentic form.' (P. 234.)

The words given by Sir Francis as a quotation are a free translation, indeed, of anything in Frodoard and Richer. Those chroniclers record the fact of the homage, but they say nothing about 'the 'Patrician of the Normans.'*

* The words of Frodoard are, 'Rex Lodowicus abiit obviam Willelmo Principi Normannorum, qui venit ad eum in pago Ambianensi, et

We have wandered somewhat from criticising Sir Francis Palgrave's style into criticising Sir Francis Palgrave's matter. The two questions, indeed, can hardly be kept separate. Yet before we finally take leave of minute fault-finding, we must give a specimen or two of Sir Francis in a purely literary aspect. Our author is very fond of moralising, but his morality is sometimes of a very commonplace order. In one passage a not very profound sentiment is set off by the charms of an alliteration kept up longer than any in the Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrog, or in the Vision of Piers Ploughman. 'The same mean, sordid, and selfish sentiments are inspired by the chances of succession to the greedy grandame's grimy, rag-wrapped guinea, the gilded coronet, or the golden crown.' (p. 654.) The alliteration we have again in describing a battle in p. 737., where we find horses 'slittering and sliding on the silt and the slimy margins.' Sir Francis' repugnance to 'dirty money' comes out still more vigorously in a passage which occurs in his 502nd page, and which is designed, in some inexplicable way, to throw light on the early days of Duke Richard the Fearless.

'The infant Princess, pure as the morning May-dew, intuitively gracious, who has breathed the atmosphere of homage since the moment when she first gazed upon the light, who may not adventure for delicateness to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, presents her plump little hand to be kissed from the perfumed lap of the silken-robed matron; whilst the beggar's hollow-eyed starveling brat, with pitiful eagerness, stretches out her long, stringy, scurfy arm, over her frowsy mother's ragged shoulder, clutching at your proffered half-penny — *that filthy copper, which no born lady would touch with a pair of tongs.*'

This, we may assure our readers, is only one passage out of several, some in a solemn, some in a sportive vein—we think Sir Francis' love of alliteration has actually bitten his censors—but all composed in a style equally extravagant, and having, to ordinary perceptions, as little to do with the history of Normandy and of England.

These things excite at first a smile, and afterwards a sigh, for they are the blemishes which deface a historical work of no ordinary merit; but we must now gird ourselves up to deal with the graver merits and the graver faults of the extraordinary.

'*se illi commisit. At ille dedit ei terram quam pater ejus Karolus Nordmannis concesserat.*' Similarly, Richer says, '*Provinciam quam ei pater Karolus Rex contulerat, ab eo etiam accepit;*' referring apparently to the homage done by William to Charles the Simple in the year 927.

volume before us. The eccentricities which we have just been criticising have grown upon Sir Francis Palgrave since the composition of his first volume. They then appeared only in their germ, and we thought them worthy of no more than a passing allusion in our former article.* But now they have really got too far. Unless Sir Francis reins himself in pretty tight, he will end by giving us the Comic History of England on a grander scale; for he seems entirely unable to resist every breath of temptation which wafts him off from the matter in hand to subjects the most heterogeneous, discrepant, fanciful, and remote. Another grievance of which we have to complain is the absence of reference to his authorities. For our own part we can truly say that Sir Francis has bestowed on us more and more needless trouble than any writer with whom we ever had to deal. We have nevertheless compared Sir Francis' narrative 'with the sources.' We have tested him, page by page, by Dudo, by Frodoard, and by Richer. But terrible has been the labour. To test and cross-question a modern writer in this way is, in our opinion, the highest compliment which we can pay him. It is a compliment which we have willingly paid to Sir Francis Palgrave. But he has certainly made the tribute a needlessly painful one on our parts.

Indeed, we cannot conceive any portion of history in which constant reference to the original authorities is more imperatively needed than in that contained in the present volume. It is a period with which party and national feelings have been very busy. The same facts and the same actors look totally different in different chronicles. There is much to weigh, to harmonise, to reconcile. It does not do to write from one authority here and from another there, without saying which you are following, or why you have selected him as your guide. But this Sir Francis never does in any satisfactory degree.

There are three principal writers who must be constantly beside the desk of any one who would write the French history of the tenth century. All three have been well and constantly used by Sir Francis Palgrave. His mind has become fully stocked with all that is recorded by Frodoard the canon of Rheims, by Richer monk of the same city, and by Dudo Dean of St. Quentin. We have tested Sir Francis diligently, and, on the whole, we have not found him wanting. His mode of composition, his practice of dictation, and his way of not citing his authorities, must have laid him under constant temptations to

inaccuracy in detail. We have not found him infallible; we have not found him even approach so near to infallibility as other authors who bring to their work equal learning and more sobermindedness. But, on the whole, Sir Francis' slips in detail are fewer in number, and less in importance, than we should have expected from the manner in which the work has been composed. They are mostly of such a character that we see no occasion to trouble our readers with their enumeration. Only one error of any great importance occurs to us, and, as that is to be found in the first volume, it perhaps hardly comes within our present subject. But we cannot conceal the fact that Sir Francis has, once at least, by confounding the Caliph of Cordova with the Caliph of Bagdad, completely upset the whole relations of Christendom and Islam.* But this stands, we think, quite alone as an instance of a serious blunder. In many instances, when a statement of Sir Francis Palgrave appeared strange or improbable, we have, after a laborious search, which a reference might have spared us, found out at last that it really rested on good authority. And, as we do not profess to have read all the books that Sir Francis Palgrave has mastered, we are ready to believe that we might in the end find the same to be the case with two or three things which puzzle us still. It would have saved us much perplexity of mind, much fruitless

* In vol. i. p. 214. Sir Francis, describing the first years of Lewis the Pious, says: — 'The fame of his coronation spread. Ambassadors 'from the East, swarthy representatives of the Caliph Abdelrahman, 'renewing the friendly intercourse begun by Haroun Alraschid, vied 'with the nations of the West in testifying that they acknowledged 'him as worthily succeeding to his father's honours.' Now surely Sir Francis ought to have remembered that the successor of Haroun Alraschid was not called Abdelrahman. But let that pass, as the chroniclers of the times might have mistaken one oriental name for another. Turn we then to our Eginhard. He undoubtedly records a mission from an Abdelrahman. Whether his ambassadors were 'swarthy,' we do not know; very likely they were so, but the historian is silent on the point. But he is very distinct as to the facts that they did not come from the East, that they had nothing whatever to do with the friendly intercourse between Charles and Haroun, and that their business was far from being of a purely complimentary nature. '*De Hispaniâ Legatos ab Abdirachmam filii Abulaz Regis 'ad se missos suscepit. . . . Legati Abdirachmam filii Abulaz 'Regis Saracenorum de Cæsaraugusta missi, pacis petendæ gratiâ 'venerunt. . . . Legati etiam Abdirachmam, cum tribus mensi- 'bus detenti essent, et jam de reditu desperare cœpissent, remissi sunt.*' (*Eginh. Ann.*, A. 816-7.) They were, in short, the ambassadors of a Spanish Saracen, not of an Asiatic monarch.

turning over many volumes, if Sir Francis would only have condescended to cite his authority for the curious and, we doubt not, authentic facts, that the language spoken by Rollo was called *English* by the courtiers of Charles the Simple*, or that Conrad, King of Burgundy, bore also the somewhat perplexing title of 'King of Geneva.' †

Sir Francis then, as it seems to us, often colours, exaggerates, makes inferences which seem to us inadmissible, but he is on the whole not inaccurate, in the sense of neglecting or contradicting his authorities. What we accuse him of is a want of judgment in their use. His three main authorities, Frodoard, Richer, and Dudo, are writers of three totally different classes, and entitled to three totally different degrees of respect. Sir Francis seems to make no sort of difference between them; at all events, he leaves us to find out which of the three he is using in any particular case.

Frodoard is the model of a mere annalist. He aspires to no higher rank, but in his own class he stands very high. He is one of those useful, painstaking men, who recorded the events of their own time for the benefit of themselves or of the brotherhood to which they belonged, probably with little expectation that they would be quoted in other lands nine hundred years afterwards. Dull, dry, and passionless you may call him if you please; under each year he sets down the events of that year, without any attempt at philosophical connexion with those of the year before or the year after. But he has the two highest merits of an annalist, he gives you the dates of his facts, and you may believe that his facts really happened. Dull and dry as he may be, he is honest, sensible, and straightforward. Invention or exaggeration you never dream of for a moment. A loyal subject of the Carolingian monarch, a faithful chaplain of Archbishop Artald, he is never carried away to misrepresent or revile their adversaries. Perhaps he shrinks from talking more than he can help of the odious and terrible Normans. But his

* 'What was the speech of the pirates and the pagan? Rollo 'is speaking English, said the courtiers of King Charles, when he 'astounded them by refusing to perform the Court ceremony; but this 'term might be applied to any Anglo-Danish dialect of Northumbria 'or East-Anglia, or any other German-sounding language.' (i. 699.) We very much doubt this last assertion.

† ii. 543. Frodoard, A. 946, has 'Cisalpinæ Galliæ Regem;' Rich. ii. 56. 'Rege Genaunorum.' But we are at a loss to conceive whether this is the ground on which Sir Francis confers so unusual a title.

reticence hardly amounts to 'suppressio veri'; of 'suggestio falsi' we should as soon think of accusing the Saxon Chronicle.

Richer is an author of quite another sort. Frodoard is content with being an annalist. Richer aspires to be an historian. His division into books and chapters doubtless gives a more pleasing appearance to his text, but it is less practically useful than the slow and sure chronological arrangement of Frodoard. Richer, too, affects more classical Latin; he gives you longer speeches, and more rounded periods. Undoubtedly he is much easier and pleasanter to read; but we cannot put the same unhesitating faith in him. He wrote later than Frodoard, and in the early part of his history made, as he himself tells us, great use of his predecessor's writings. It is curious to see good, dry, honest Frodoard tricked out in Richer's fine Latin; his geography translated from the language of the tenth century into that of the first; his simple narrative bedecked with big words and abusive epithets; his very facts expanded into marvels of which he had not dreamed. Richer, in fact, is to Frodoard pretty much what Quintus Curtius is to Arrian, or the Books of Chronicles to the Books of Kings. Through the greater part of his work Richer is a strong Carlovingian partisan. Any opponent of the imperial line is at once branded as a usurper. Sometimes, indeed, he is driven not only to the use of strong language, but of very disingenuous shifts, to exalt the greatness and dignity of his favourites. It is only in the latter part of his narrative that Richer becomes an original authority; Frodoard is dead, and we are left almost wholly to his guidance. Part of his narrative rests on his personal knowledge, part on that of his father, the brave and sagacious knight Rodolf. His narrative here becomes full, clear, and interesting, and we suppose that, after making a few allowances, we must believe it.

Dudo is an author of a different sort from either of the others. Sir Francis Palgrave says:—

'Ancient Norman history, that is to say, from the youth of Rollo to the death of Richard-sans-Peur, rests entirely upon Dudo of Saint Quentin's *Acta Normannorum*. You may abandon the history of Normandy if you choose, but, if you attempt the task, you must accept Dudo, or let the work alone. I have completely incorporated Dudo with the French and German authorities:—they absent, we should not have any dates;—Dudo deserted, we are destitute of facts.'

This really does not seem to us a very critical or logical way of arguing. Dudo is, in a manner, held up to us *in terrorem*. Believe Dudo, or be ignorant of the ancient history of Normandy. What if a whole Eisteddfod of Druids, Bards, and Ovates should seize on Sir Francis Palgrave, hold up Geoffrey of Monmouth,

and offer the fearful alternative: Believe Geoffrey, or be ignorant of the early history of Britain? Now we do not rate the authority of Dudo quite so low as the authority of Geoffrey, but the process of argument seems to us equally legitimate in the two cases. Who was Dudo? A hanger-on at the Norman court, whom Sir Francis himself in one place allows to have been as much a laurate as a historian. For a small portion of the latter part of his narrative he is a contemporary witness; of the rest he could only have known what his Norman informants chose to tell him. He writes, therefore, with one determined object, to glorify his patrons and their ancestors. His style is turgid, fulsome, and offensive, beyond any human compositions that we ever came across. The Norman dukes are, in every act, held up as models of every excellence; they are not only sages and heroes, but saints and martyrs; they cannot be mentioned on the most trifling occasion without a string of synonymous titles, and a string of laudatory epithets, which might have satisfied an epitaph-maker of the last century. His story Dudo has pretty much to himself. Where he is most full and most eloquent, Frodoard and Richer are sometimes altogether silent. Sometimes an event which they pass over in a few lines affords Dudo an opportunity of pages of declamatory narrative. Whatever could cast discredit on a Norman prince is passed by; whatever could tend to his exaltation is magnified an hundred-fold. When the author gets especially excited, he bursts forth into an 'Apostropha,' a piece of declamation yet more bombastic than usual, only couched in hobbling heroic or Horatian metre. Chronology there is none; of arrangement, argument, real eloquence, there is as little. While Frodoard, brief as he is, evidently studied with a careful eye the politics of all Western Europe, Dudo betrays the profoundest ignorance of contemporary Germany and England. Mediæval historians, like writers of every other class, may be divided into good, bad, and indifferent. We have no hesitation in placing Dudo of St. Quentin as the very worst mediæval historian, and one of the very worst writers of any sort, that it was ever our bad luck to read in the discharge of a painful duty.

'Dudo distresses us,' says Sir Francis in one of his fanciful passages, 'by the disorderly copiousness of the facts which he discloses. The events he narrates present themselves to the inquirer, as the Ægisetan marbles did to their discoverers—disjointed and flung down in confusion. The restoration of the Grecian groups and sculptures was not, however, impracticable. Separated members were reunited to the torso from which they were severed. Measure, altitude, and expression conjoined in conducting each effigy to its position on the base line. The lowest crouching warrior disclosed the angle of the

pediment. The height of the tutelary deity gave the perpendicular : and the artist, guided by these data, was enabled to reinstate each of the other images in its proper location. He could see how they were regulated by the ascending cornice, how their limbs were directed, and what their countenances told.'

In spite, however, of this daring process of restoration, we cannot think that Sir Francis Palgrave is justified in 'incorporating' such a narrative as this with those of Witikind, Frodoard, and Richer. He quotes, indeed, a passage from M. Guizot, intended to defend both Dudo and his follower William of Jumièges from the censures of their earlier commentators. Dudo, he tells us, only wrote what passed for history in an uncritical age. This might be quite sufficient answer, had Dudo been writing the life of Arthur, or even of Charlemagne. It hardly applies to a chronicler writing an elaborate panegyric on his own patron, and his patron's father. And anyhow, even if it excuses Dudo for writing an extravagant romance, it cannot excuse Sir Francis Palgrave for receiving it with the same deference as the sober annals of Frodoard. 'Dudo deserted,' he tells us, 'we are destitute of facts.' Supposing Dudo's facts should prove to be fictions? But, even without Dudo, we are not quite destitute of facts. Frodoard and Richer do give us occasional notices of Norman affairs; sometimes, indeed, they record events about which Dudo found it convenient to be silent. Dudo, in short, to our mind, is not a historian, but a panegyrist; his work is a romance founded on fact. His characters are real, so are many of the actions which he attributes to them. He doubtless preserves much authentic Norman tradition, unknown or uncared for by chroniclers writing at Rheims. But the whole is so discoloured, distorted, and exaggerated, that it is utterly impossible to 'accept Dudo' *en masse*.*

All the contemporary authorities, we need not say, write in Latin. It was not till a later time that Dudo's tales were put into

* We are still more surprised at finding so judicious a writer as Dr. Lappenberg inclined to put so much faith in Dudo, as he seems to be (p. xxi.). We hope it is not necessary to introduce to our readers the valuable history of our own early times for which we have to thank him and his learned translator, Mr. Thorpe. The preliminary sketch of Norman history is, bating a little over-faith in Dudo, as clear, sensible, and accurate as any composition of Dr. Lappenberg's is sure to be. Only it is unfortunately too much of a mere sketch greatly to serve our purpose at present. Of the other work at the head of our Article we have even less to say. We cannot say that we have learned anything from M. La Butte at all, either in the way of facts or of comments.

old French verse by Master Wace. In none of them, therefore, do we find the life which attaches to a chronicle written in the language of the people. They do not even preserve to us anything like those precious fragments of living speech handed down to us by Nithard. The sober Frodoard, the vivacious Richer, the inflated Dudo, all speak a foreign tongue; so does Witikind, so does Luitprand. England stands alone in the glorious possession of her Saxon Chronicle.

And now as to the actual matter of the present volume. Our readers probably know by this time that in the second volume of the 'History of Normandy and of England' they are not to expect anything about England. Our turn has not yet come. The present volume is a history of France during the tenth century; it is also to a considerable extent a history of Germany, nor is it without some notices of Italy and the Byzantine Empire. England is only introduced in the same incidental way as Rome or Constantinople, on those two or three occasions when Æthelstan and Edmund played a part in continental affairs. Now we in no wise object to French and even German affairs being largely introduced; for not only French, but even German, affairs are absolutely necessary to understand the Norman history. But we do complain that there is no grouping of events round a Norman centre. In a history of Normandy, Normandy should be the primary object, and the affairs of other countries should be introduced only so far as they have a real bearing upon the affairs of Normandy. But Sir Francis gives us the German and Italian career of Otto the Great in as much detail as the exploits of William of the Long Sword and of Richard the Fearless. As we came to nothing about Normandy till near the end of the first volume, so Normandy is quite forgotten through many pages of the second. In intrinsic merit we have no hesitation in setting some of these intrusive portions far above any other portion of the book. In them Sir Francis gets into his real element. When drawn within the magic circle of Imperial Rome he rises to his full power. It is not the history of England or of Normandy, but the history of the Western Empire which Sir Francis Palgrave ought to have written.

It is a great though common error, to look upon Charlemagne as a Frenchman. He was a Frank, but in his days a Frank was still essentially a Teuton. His speech was Teutonic; his favourite dwelling-places were along the banks of the Rhine. Paris was a provincial city, mentioned once by Eginhard among a string of others which he visited on one of his progresses.

Of modern France, the vast region of Aquitaine was strictly a conquered country, no less so than Lombardy or Saxony. Neustria was certainly less strange than Aquitaine, but it was not the hearth and home of the Romano-Teutonic empire. Modern France begins with Charles the Bald. After the death of Lewis the Pious, the empire fell asunder, and new states arose, answering roughly to the nations of which it was composed. One of these was the modern French. We now begin to see the existence of a new people, neither Romans, Celts, nor Teutons, but composed of elements borrowed from all three. The subjects of Charles take their oath in a tongue which is the parent of modern French, those of Lewis in a tongue which is the parent of modern German.* The empire was for a moment reunited under Charles the Fat. On his deposition in 888, it is again divided into several kingdoms. But it is remarkable that a sort of unity seems still to exist between the two great Transalpine portions; at any rate there is no broad line formally drawn between the divided kingdoms. We talk, for the sake of convenience, of France and Germany, and of Kings of France and Germany, and we find, in the original records, 'Franci' and 'Germani' opposed.† But there still lingered the notion of an Eastern and a Western France, the former of which has left its traces in the Franconia of more recent times. Each prince was alike 'Rex Francorum;' Saxo Otto is so called no less than the Carlovingian Lewis. The two Reges Francorum, when at war, act rather as rivals, than as ordinary enemies; when on friendly terms, they seem almost to act as royal colleagues ‡, like the Eastern and Western Emperors of an earlier day. The two nations are sometimes distinguished merely as 'Orientales' and 'Occidentales' §; the Eastern poten-

* See the oath in Nithard, iii. 5. Thierry seems to have strangely perverted the text of this precious monument in his 'Lettres sur l'Histoire de France,' Letter x.

† In the Astronomer's Life of Lewis the Pious (vol. ii. p. 231. of the old edition of Pithæus, the only one we have at hand), 'Imperator autem clanculo obnitebatur, diffidens Francis, magisque se credens Germanis.' Richer, again (i. 4.), calls Charles the Bald 'Germanorum atque Gallorum Imperatorem egregium.' 'Galli,' in his style, is equivalent to the 'Franci' of other people.

‡ See the whole account of the successive synods held about the disputed possession of the see of Rheims. (Frodoard, A. 948; Richer, ii. 66. et sqq.)

§ Thus Richer (iv. 13.) says of Robert, the son of Hugh Capet:— 'A Mosa fluviio usque Oceanum Occidentalibus Regem præfecit [Hugo].' In the treaty between Charles the Simple and Henry the Fowler, in

tate is pointed at, rather than described, as 'Rex Transrenensis'*; his dominions have so little of a fixed geographical name, that they are spoken of as 'Terra Henrici.'† Through the whole of the tenth century we find occasional glimpses of a notion of Gaul and Germany as still properly composing a united 'Francia.' But, on the whole, the tendency within Gaul was to the formation of a 'Francia' of a much smaller extent; a 'Francia' not only excluding Saxony and Swabia, but Aquitaine and Burgundy, a 'Francia' whose language was Romance and not Teutonic; a 'Francia' whose capital was Paris, and whose ruler was not the heir of Charles the Great.

The whole century is in fact one of struggle between two contending houses, possibly between two contending races. The undisputed reign of the Karlings in Gaul, in *western* France, ends with the deposition of Charles the Fat. Sir Francis Palgrave is perfectly right in making 888 a far more important epoch than it appears in the common histories. Germany elected successively two kings tracing an illegitimate descent from the great emperor, and then her sceptre passed away into other houses. Gaul, left to herself, raised to the throne her champion and deliverer from the Scandinavian invader, Odo, Count of Paris. A revolution restored the Carlovingian line in the person of Charles the Simple. Another brought the crown back again from Laon to Paris as the possession of Robert, the father of the Capets. His son, Hugh the Great, twice declined the crown, it passed by his direction, first to Rodolph of Burgundy, and then to Lewis, the exiled heir of Charlemagne. With the title of 'Dux Francorum' Hugh was content to rule over larger territories than the 'Rex Francorum,' and to make war on his sovereign at pleasure. This relation was handed on to the sons of Lewis and Hugh, to King Lothaire and Duke Hugh Capet. At last, after the century of contention was com-

921, the style runs: 'Rex Francorum Occidentalium Carolus,' 'Rex Francorum Orientalium Henricus.' Dudo (130. B.) has 'Orientales,' meaning Germans.

* * 'Ottonis Regis Transrenensis.' (Frod., A. 938.) So Richer (i. 20.), 'Heinrico Transrhenensi.' The same sort of formula is applied elsewhere. Hugh is 'Trans Sequanum Princeps' (A. 960), a very odd description. Under A. 946, 'Edmundus Anglorum Rex' becomes almost directly 'Edmundus Rex Transmarinus.'

† Frod., A. 933: 'Terram Heinrici trans Renum invadit.' The Saxon Chronicle, however, generally calls Flanders 'Baldwines land,' though Flanders certainly had a name. But the cases are not quite parallel, considering how many Baldwins had reigned in Flanders, while this was the first Henry in Germany.

pleted, the year 987 beheld the death of Lewis, son of Lothaire, and the election of the Duke of the French to the royal dignity. Charles of Lorraine rose up against Hugh, just as Charles the Simple did against Odo; but the fortune of war was now against him and his house. The Capet became the trunk of the new royal line, and his ancestral Paris became the royal city.

It is well known that out of these facts Thierry has constructed one of his theories, maintained, as his theories always are, with much of eloquence and ingenuity. He looks upon the Capetians as the national leaders of the new French nation, the descendants of the old Gallo-Roman population, against the Carolingian line, a line of Teutonic invaders. This theory Sir Francis Palgrave contemptuously dismisses: —

‘ Richerius alone discloses the complication of fraud and treachery and misfortune, which established the third dynasty upon the throne. He completely dispels the theory rendered so popular by Thierry’s talent, and countenanced by another imaginative investigator. I allude to the hypothesis representing the Capetian Revolution as resulting from a resuscitation of the Celtic races against the descendants of their Teutonic conquerors, instigated by the antagonism between German and Gaul, which now has become the orthodox dogma, —and (unless a total change has recently ensued) is preached as such in all the *Manuels* and *Epitomes* which form the opinions of the rising generation.’

Now we cannot conceive two historians of equal power more likely to fail in appreciating and understanding one another than Thierry and Sir Francis Palgrave. Each sees half the causes of events, builds a theory upon it, presses it over far, and remains blind to the other half. Sir Francis can see nothing but the agency of individuals and of institutions; a man’s personal character, and his formal title, are pretty nearly all that he cares about. He can give a vivid biography of a king or queen; he can trace acutely and learnedly the original development and meaning of laws and titles; but with the history of the nation, in the strictest sense, he gives himself very little concern. Thierry, on the other hand, sees nothing but the broad facts of race, conquest, and language. Sir Francis hardly believes that William the Conqueror was a foreign invader, because he called himself King of the English, and did not formally abolish the old English laws. Thierry would have us believe that in the wars of the seventeenth century an Anglo-Saxon people was trying to throw off the yoke of a Norman king. To get at the truth of history, both lines of investigation must be combined and harmonised. Institutions count for something, personal character counts for something, let race and language count for something also.

Applying the rule to the present case, we shall find that Thierry's idea has been, as usual with him, worked too far, but that it is by no means to be tossed aside as has been done by Sir Francis Palgrave.

We do not at all believe, perhaps Thierry himself hardly believed, that Hugh Capet stood forth as a conscious champion of Gallo-Roman nationality against the intruding Teuton. But the idea that he did so is certainly not overturned, as M. Gaudet thinks *, by the simple process of showing that his own family was of German origin. This argument would prove that Simon de Montfort could not have been the champion of the liberties of England, or Frederick of Aragon the champion of the liberties of Sicily. Nay, it might prove some very terrible consequences as to the condition of M. Gaudet's own country under a Corsican emperor. We do not suppose that Hugh Capet thought much about the antagonism between Gaul and German. His chief ideas doubtless were that 'Rex' was a grander-sounding title than 'Dux,' and that it was better to possess Paris and Laon than to possess Paris only. Nor need we suppose the existence of any self-conscious Gallic and German parties. Such parties are not in character with the age; they belong either to an earlier or to a later state of things. They may exist in the first days of a conquest; they may exist centuries after, when a nation has begun to meditate and theorise upon its past history. But all this by no means proves that the 'Capetian Revolution' may not have been silently, practically, and unconsciously, all that Thierry represents it. That it was brought about by 'a complication of fraud and treachery and 'misfortune,' certainly does not prove the contrary.

Now, there are a variety of circumstances, some of them passed over, others recorded, by Sir Francis Palgrave, which certainly tend, in the main, to confirm Thierry's theory. That the Karlings were essentially Teutonic no man but a Frenchman can doubt, and even Frenchmen of Thierry's school admit it. Sir Francis rather obliterates this fact by giving their names and titles in modern French, talking of Louis-le-Debonnaire, Charles-le-Chauve, &c. These are not the names nor the language of the period. We should either keep to the Latin of the contemporary writers, or else translate into English. Lewis the 'Pious' undoubtedly spoke German; his last words were, 'Huz, huz†,' which, being interpreted, is 'foras, foras.' What is more to the point, his remote descendant, Lewis IV., spoke

* Preface to Richer, p. 11.

† See the Astronomer, p. 286.: 'Huz, huz' = 'Aus, aus.'

German also. When Otto and Lewis presided together in the synod of Ingelheim, the speeches made before them in Latin were translated '*in linguam Theotiscam propter Reges.*' This very remarkable fact, recorded by Frodoard*, is quite passed over by Sir Francis Palgrave. Sismondi† has noticed it, and suggests that the Teutonic speech of Lewis is to be accounted for by his education at the court of the English Æthelstan. How many languages Lewis may have spoken we know not; but we cannot believe either that '*lingua Theotisca*' means Anglo-Saxon, or that the speech of Æthelstan and the speech of Otto were mutually intelligible. The Saxons of Otto were High, not Low, Germans; '*lingua Theotisca*' is certainly '*High Dutch*,' the old language of Charlemagne, '*lingua Francisca*' it is called in the epitaph of the Saxon pope, Gregory V.‡ This passage distinctly shows that the Carolingian kings preserved as their court language the old speech of their German fathers. But the Gallic dukes and bishops spoke something different, doubtless that Romance tongue of which Nithard has preserved to us so precious a specimen. Otto the Great and King Lewis spoke one language; Otto II. and Hugh Capet discoursed through an interpreter.§ Richer, who records this fact, on which again Sir Francis is silent, tells us, indeed, that Otto spoke to Hugh in Latin. As Otto's native language was of course German, this clearly proves two things, — first, that the Duke of the French could not understand German, though the King of the French could. Secondly, that the Romance of Gaul had by this time so far departed from Latin, that Latin needed an interpreter as well as German. Similarly, when, towards the close of Richer's narrative, Gallic and German bishops meet together in a joint synod, the former are addressed by a German prelate, who is distinguished as speaking the '*Gallic language.*'|| Here, then, are several minute circumstances incidentally recorded, which serve to show that the Carolingian kings retained the use of the German language when it had ceased to be familiar or even intelligible to the highest classes of their subjects.

Considerations of geography lead us to the same belief as considerations of language. Where was the Carolingian throne seated? Where did the Carolingian cause find its most faithful and most enduring defenders? Sir Francis has himself re-

* A. 948.

† Chap. xiv.

‡ Richer, iii. 85.

§ See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 351. (9th ed.)|| '*Eo quod linguam Gallicam norat.*' (*Richer*, iv. 100.) Much earlier (i. 20.) he distinguishes '*Germanorum Gallorumque linguæ.*'

marked, that Lorraine was strongly attached to the old imperial house. It is on the German side of Gaul, where doubtless German feelings and traditions would endure longest, that the descendants of Charlemagne maintain themselves. The royal city is Laon. The royal domains lie in the corner of Gaul closely marching upon undisputed German ground. From Charles the Simple to Charles of Lorraine we find the strength of the Carolingian party invariably lying in this quarter.

We have then little doubt that Thierry's theory, though exaggerated, is in the main correct. It expresses a fact, though a fact of which the actors were probably very imperfectly aware. We believe that the struggle of the tenth century in Gaul was a struggle between the Teutonic and the Gallo-Roman elements, and that the latter finally triumphed in the election of King Hugh. The modern French nation and the modern French kingdom, of which we see the first germs under Charles the Bald, are now definitely formed. A French-speaking dynasty reigns at Paris instead of a German-speaking dynasty at Laon. We have now to see how this great revolution was affected by the settlement of the Scandinavian pirates in Northern Gaul.

It is really wonderful how little we know about so great an event. From the Norman writers we get little but fables; the French writers are as silent as they can be as to the fact that any Normans existed at all. Frodoard, whenever he can, holds his peace about the hateful intruders; Richer scarcely mentions them without some expression of contempt. His common name for them, long after their settlement, is still merely 'the pirates;' almost his last entry, recorded, as it would seem, by his dying hand, tells us of the decease of the third Norman duke by no more respectful title than that of 'Dux piratarum.' Yet this settlement of the Northmen in Neustria, and their subsequent change from *Northmen** into *Normans*, is one of the great facts of European history. The Scandinavian settlers embraced the creed, the language, and the manners of their French neighbours, without losing a whit of their old Scandinavian vigour and love of adventure. The people, thus formed, became the

* The Scandinavian letter, so difficult to Gallic lips, gradually dies out. During our whole period they are 'Northmanni,' 'Nordmanni,' 'Nortmanni.' In the next century they are softened into 'Normanni.' The change of name is exactly analogous to the change of character. Similarly, in our period, the country they occupy is still vaguely 'Terra Northmannorum.' In the next century it has a definite name, 'Normannia.' 'Northmannia,' with Eginhard, meant *Denmark*.

foremost apostles of French chivalry and of Latin Christianity. They are the Saracens of Christendom, spreading themselves everywhere, — pilgrims, mercenaries, conquerors ; inventing nothing, but learning, adapting, improving, teaching everything.' The Norman appears in every corner of the globe, and in almost every character. He fights by the side of Romanus at Manzikert ; he threatens the empire of Alexius with destruction at Durazzo. To free England he gave a line of tyrants ; to enslaved Sicily he gave a line of beneficent rulers. But to England, too, he gave a conquering aristocracy, who, in a few generations, became as English in England as they had become French in Normandy. If he overthrew our Harolds and our Waltheofs, he gave us a Fitzwalter and a Bigod to win back the rights for which Harold and Waltheof had fallen. If he himself shone not in the arts of peace, he at least knew how to ransack Europe for scholars, poets, theologians, and artists. He guided Lanfranc and Anselm from Lombardy to Bec, and from Bec to Canterbury. Art, under his auspices, produced alike the stern grandeur of Caen and Ely, and the sunny gorgeousness of Palermo and Monreale. The indomitable vigour of the Scandinavian, joined to the buoyant vivacity of the Gaul, produced the conquering and imperial race of Europe. And yet that race, as a race, has vanished. It has everywhere been absorbed by the races which it has conquered. From both Sicilies it has vanished as though it had never been. There we might well wish that time could roll back, and that the days of 'good King William' might again smile over those noble and injured realms. In our own land the fate of the Norman has been different. He remains in his lineage and his works, but he is Norman no longer. The Scottish Bruce or the Irish Geraldine passed from Denmark to Gaul, from Gaul to England, from England to his own portion of our islands : but he at once ceased to be Danish, French, or English ; his patriotism and his whole historic being belongs to his last acquired home. In England itself the Norman has vanished from sight no less than from Sicily and Apulia. He has sunk beneath the silent and passive influence of a race less brilliant, but more indomitable, than his own. The Norman has vanished from the world, but he has indeed left a name behind him. Of him came Richard the Fearless and William the Bastard ; of him came that Robert whose foot was first placed on the ransomed battlements of the Holy City, and that mightier Robert who, in one year, beheld the Cæsars of East and West flee before him ; and of his blood, rather than of imperial Swabia, came in truth the wonder of his own and of all succeeding ages — poet, scholar, warrior, legislator, the terror and the marvel of Chris-

tendom and of Islam, the foe alike of Roman pontiffs and of Moslem sultans, who won alike the golden crown of Rome and the thorny crown of Salem, dreaded in one world as the foremost champion of Christ, cursed in another as the apostate votary of Mahomet,—the gay, the brave, the wise, the relentless, and the godless Frederick.

Of the first century of this wonderful people we know hardly anything save the succession of their princes. Not a contemporary chronicle, hardly a contemporary charter, has been handed down to us from the days which must have been the turning-point of their history. We have no record of the change which brought about the assumption of Frankish manners, language, and feelings: the change of the Northman into the Norman. We do know indeed — here a bit of authentic tradition crops out amid the dreary wilderness of Dudonian rhetoric — that Rouen had become French*, while Bayeux still remained Scandinavian; by the help of Sir Francis Palgrave, we can dimly discern the existence of a French party and a Scandinavian party, of dukes holding the balance between the two, speaking either tongue, adopting either manners, perhaps worshipping at either altar, as suited the convenience of the moment. It is clear that the Northmen of Rollo were Scandinavians, that the Normans of Richard the Good were Frenchmen. But of the details of the transformation we know absolutely nothing.

Rolf, Rollo, or Rou†, founded the Norman duchy, or, as Dudo and Sir Francis Palgrave choose to call it, the Norman monarchy. That he received a grant of land from Charles the Simple, and became a Christian ruler where he had before been a heathen devastator, are undoubted facts. But his beginning and his ending are wrapped in mystery. Of the operations of the Northmen previous to their final settlement, it would be not very difficult to draw up a consecutive and authentic narrative; but it would be no easy matter to show how much or how little Rollo had to do with them. In 911, according to most authorities‡, he suffered a miraculous defeat before Chartres. In 912 he became Duke, Count, Patrician, or whatever we are to call him, by a regular treaty with King Charles.§

* ‘Rotomagensis civitas Romanâ potius quam Daciscâ utitur eloquentiâ, et Bajocacensis fruitur frequentius Daciscâ linguâ quam Romanâ.’ (*Dudo*, p. 113. D.)

† *Rolf*, (Hrolfr) is his Danish name; *Rou*, his French name; *Rollo* is a mere Latin form, like Cnuto, Sveno, &c. We therefore do not exactly see why in modern French he is called *Rollo*.

‡ The Chronicle of Tours places it, in Duchesne's edition at least, in 893.

§ Richer is no great authority for events so long before his own

Rollo, by the treaty of Clair-sur-Epte, became the liegeman of Charles the Simple. Fidelity, policy, or a union of both, led him apparently to disown allegiance to King Robert of Paris and to King Rodolf of Burgundy. We find wars between them and the Northmen of Rouen, and, on one occasion at least, we find the Northman vanquished by the Frank. Indeed, one tradition represented Rollo himself as taken captive, and as put to a cruel death by the victors. Such was the tale inserted by Richer in the first draught of his history. In a subsequent revision he expunged it. In the more ordinary version he abdicates his duchy in his old age in favour of his son William.

William of the Long Sword appears in the pages of Dudo as a saint and a martyr. It is hard to see his claim to either character. His martyrdom consisted in being treacherously murdered by order of Arnulf, Count of Flanders. For his sanctity Sir Francis will not stand sponsor. Perhaps it is lest we should be led away by undue admiration of the Dean of St. Quentin's rhetoric; but at any rate Sir Francis takes more care than enough to inform us that Duke William does not fully realise his standard of religious and moral perfection. His facility in changing sides was certainly wonderful. How many times he appeared on the side of King Lewis, and how many on that of his enemies, we will not undertake to reckon. In his early days he is said to have had to contend against a formidable rebellion in his own duchy, which, if we may believe Dudo, was a revolt of what Sir Francis calls the Danish party against the Gallicising, and, we suppose also, the Christianising tendencies of the Duke. Not that William forgot his own people or his own tongue. He caused his son Richard to be brought up equally as Dane and as Frenchman, and sent him to Scandinavian Bayeux to learn familiarity with the ancestral speech which was already vanishing from Romanised Rouen.

The events of the reign of Richard the Fearless, especially its strange and turbulent beginning, are far too numerous and complicated for us to enter upon them at any length. The French writers give us a skeleton, which Dudo and his successors have worked up with a mass of romantic detail. That Lewis was taken prisoner by the Normans, that Otto the

time, but he clearly conceived Rollo's settlement as something sudden. 'Irruperant enim [piratæ] nuper [A.D. 921], duce Rollone *filio Catilli*, intra Neustriam repentini' [i. 28.]. The earlier expeditions in the time of Charles the Fat and Odo, he apparently attributes to this Catillus or Ketyl (i. 4. 9.) This parentage, and the whole story, is utterly different from the tale in Dudo.

Great was repulsed by them, we know from the unwilling testimony of French and German witnesses; but we cannot trust all the colouring with which Norman vanity has tricked out events so flattering to the national prowess. On the other hand, as Sir Francis himself confesses, Dudo has carefully omitted the fact recorded by Frodoard*, that the old Danish party prevailed at one time so far as to cause their young duke to apostatise to the creed of Thor and Odin. This whole period is romantic, interesting, and well worthy of study; but we have not space to enlarge upon any point except one important question as to the relations between France and Normandy. If we rightly understand Sir Francis Palgrave†, the Duke of the Normans now ceased to be the liegeman of the *King* of the French; that he merely entered into a treaty on equal terms with his ex-suzerain; that by voluntary *commendation* he became the liegeman of the *Duke* of the French; that the subsequent vassalage of Normandy to France was due, not to the kingdom, but to the duchy, and that it had its origin in the homage paid by Richard the Fearless to Duke Hugh, not in that paid by Rollo to King Charles. We say, if we rightly understand Sir Francis, because we cannot quite reconcile his statements with one another. In one page 'there is perfect reciprocity established between France and the "Norman monarchy;"' 'Richard has and holds his dominion, owing service to none but God,'—yet directly after it is allowed that 'the Duke of Normandy promises fealty and homage to the King of France.' It is dangerous to dispute with Sir Francis Palgrave on a question of feudal law, and the more so as the relations between Normandy and France at once awaken the whole controversy about 'liege' and 'simple' homage. But surely, even in a case of simple homage, there is not 'perfect reciprocity' between him who pays and him who receives it; and certainly, in the tale as we read it, we see nothing but the simple relation of suzerain and vassal, only clouded over by the big words of Dudo. And as for reciprocity, surely reciprocity of a certain kind was the essence of the feudal relation. Lord and vassal were each to help and defend the other.‡ But however this may be, the vassalage of Normandy to the Crown did not

* A. 943.

† P. 494.

‡ No one denies that Henry II. was the vassal of King Lewis VII., if not for Normandy, at any rate for his other continental possessions, but an equal obligation is imposed, in their mutual oath, on Lewis to defend Henry 'sicut fidelem suum,' as on Henry to defend Lewis 'Dominum suum.' See Wendover, Flores Hist., vol. ii. p. 388. Hist. Soc. ed.

become a practical question during the continuance of the Carolingian dynasty, while the commendation of Normandy to Hugh Capet's duchy rests on better authority than the narrative of Dudo. In a charter quoted by Dr. Lappenberg *, Richard distinctly speaks of Hugh Capet as his lord; and throughout the whole remainder of the narrative we find Richard practically acting in the character of Hugh's vassal. That Normandy was independent of the Crown seems to rest solely on the declamation of Dudo. There, indeed, Richard appears as a king, holding the Norman monarchy in fee of no earthly power. But he also appears as one who forestalled the exploit of his descendant, and held England and all Britain as a conquered possession.† By the accuracy of the one description we may, perhaps, judge of the accuracy of the other.

We have found so much occasion to differ from Sir Francis Palgrave, that we are glad to have here to accord our testimony to one very important service which he has done to the history of this obscure period. He has completely dispelled the common idea that the line of Charlemagne expired in a race of imbecile *fainéants*, like those who closed the line of Clovis. The fact is, that the Carolingian line first degenerated and then improved. From Lewis the Pious to Charles the Simple we find among them no man, in Gaul at least, of remarkable ability, and several much the reverse. The young Lewis III. and his brother Carloman were cut off before the experience of their manhood could either confirm or disavow the bright promise of their youth. But after Charles the Simple the line begins to recover something of the vigour of Charlemagne, Pepin, and Charles Martel. Sir Francis, indeed, tries to make out a case for Charles the Simple himself. In this we cannot think he succeeds. But he succeeds most completely with regard to Charles the Simple's son. Lewis IV. may be called ambitious, turbulent, and perfidious, but no man was less of a *fainéant*. His reign is one of preternatural activity. Early adversity, and, national vanity perhaps tempts us to add, his education at the hands of English Æthelstan, had brought out some very vigorous qualities in his young nephew. If he was ambitious, turbulent, and perfidious, he was only paying off Hugh of Paris and William of Rouen in

* Lapp., p. 30. The words are, 'cum assensu senioris mei Hugonis, Francorum principis.'

† 'Burgundionibus imperat, Aquitanos arguit, et increpat Britones, et Northmannos regnat et gubernat, Flandrenses minatur, et devastat. Dacos et Lotharienses, quinetiam Saxones sibi connectit et conciliat. Angli quoque ei obedientes subduntur, Scoti et Hibernenses ejus patrocínio reguntur.' (Dudo, 138. A.)

their own coin. Nothing can be more opposite than the condition of the later Merovingians and the later Carolingians. The nominal ruler of a vast empire, led about as an occasional pageant, and leaving the government of his territories to a Mayor of the Palace, is widely different from the king of the rock of Laon, spending his life in hard blows to preserve that last remnant of his heritage from the ambition of Normandy, Vermandois, and Ducal France. Sir Francis Palgrave thoroughly appreciates Lewis IV.; he writes of him and his brave queen Gerberga with heartfelt pleasure, and, bating the usual allowance of joking and moralising, he tells their story vigorously and well.

The effect exercised on these contentions by the position of the Norman duchy under Richard the Fearless is manifest at first sight. The majesty of the royal name, coupled perhaps with some lingering reverence for the blood of Charlemagne, the personal vigour of Lewis, the possession of the rock of Laon, the friendship of the king beyond the Rhine, enabled the kingdom of France to make an equal stand against the duchy of France, as long as the Norman duchy was not a permanently hostile land. During the shiftings and tergiversations of William Longsword, Normandy was neither permanently friendly nor permanently hostile; his alliance could not be securely counted on either by King or Duke. With the accession of Richard the state of things is changed. King Lewis appears in Normandy as an enemy; Duke Hugh at least assumes the character of a friend. When Lewis was a captive in the hands, first of the Normans and then of Hugh,—when the threats of his German and English allies could only procure his liberty by the cession of his stronghold of Laon,—when the King of the French was reduced to be little else than king of Compiègne, the Carolingian monarchy might indeed seem doomed. And in truth doomed it was. Normandy became from henceforth the firm ally of Ducal France, and against the two Royal France had no chance of holding its own. The alliance of Otto enabled Lewis to recover all that he had held before his captivity, but the definitive alliance of Rouen and Paris had fixed the extinction, slow it might be, but sure, of the royalty of Laon. Hugh the Great declined the crown, when he might have worn it by election; he omitted to assume it, when he might have done so by something like right of conquest. He appears to have had some superstitious dread of a title which had brought little but sorrow to his father and uncle. He would reduce the King of the French to the minimum of power and of territory, but he would never be more

than Duke of the French himself. His son, Hugh Capet, pursued a different policy. He was ready to be a king as soon as he could become one quietly and with a decent pretext, but he would not hazard the prize by clutching at it too soon. The relations of King and Duke during the long reign of Lothaire, are very different from those which existed between the father of Lothaire and the father of Hugh. Plots, enmities, open warfare, do indeed occur, but they do not cover the whole canvas as they do in the preceding reign. The reign of Lothaire was, on the whole, a season of peace on the side of Ducal France. So little, indeed, had the king of Laon to dread from Paris, that he had time to go on mad expeditions against Aix-la-Chapelle. Thus, however, he alienated the power which had been his father's best friend. Duke Hugh, the old enemy, now stands by the king, and a Saxon army advances against Paris. Lothaire deserts Hugh and seeks the friendship of Otto; a tissue of intrigues and tergiversations naturally follow.* But even this is widely different from the constant open warfare of the last generation, and the wily duke had taken care that it should be the king who was openly in the wrong. He patiently bides his time. At last the throne is vacant by death, the direct line has failed, the collateral heir is unpopular, Germany and England are weakened, divided, and alienated; who is to refuse him the crown which two of his race have already worn? The Capet becomes king, the Carolingian heir sinks into a mere pretender, a disturber of a settled order. In earlier times, the Carolingian Charles had been, in Richer's phraseology, the true 'Rex,' and Robert of Paris a mere 'Tyrannus'†; now Hugh and Robert are the true 'Reges Francorum,' and Charles of Lorraine, the heir of Charlemagne, even though for a while holding the ancestral rock of Laon, is now only called 'Tyrannus' for his pains. Paris is now the royal city, and the lord of Paris is the founder of a new royal line. But it is evident that had Rouen been hostile or even doubtful, had Norman Richard been other than Hugh Capet's faithful vassal and affectionate brother, had there been the least possibility of raising up a Norman diversion, such as Charles the Simple had raised up against Robert two generations before, the king of Laon might have well contrived to hold his own, if not as an independent French monarch, at least as an ally or vassal of the German Cæsar.

* See Richer, iii. 81. et sqq.

† Richer always uses this word in its later Latin sense of 'pretender' or 'usurper,' that in which it is applied to Tetricus and Carausius.

Sir Francis Palgrave, then, is undoubtedly right in holding that the Norman settlement in Neustria most effectually promoted, or rather was the determining cause of the change from the Carlovingian to the Capetian dynasty. If our view of the nature of that change be correct, it was the settlement of Rollo which eventually made Gaul definitely Romance instead of Teutonic; in other words, it gave the decisive impulse to the growth of modern France. A strange result, indeed, for a settlement of Scandinavian pirates. But the result is perfectly intelligible, especially if taken in connexion with the theory which Sir Francis rejects. Richard the Fearless was the great civiliser of Normandy. He naturally spread among his people the tongue and the manners of his nearest neighbours. His standard was fixed by the French court of Paris, not by the German court of Laon, or by the more distant, more purely Latin courts of Provence or Aquitaine. The Normans became Frenchmen, and their duke the most powerful of French princes. It was quite in character with their position that it should fall to their lot to make Gaul definitely French, as they afterwards did their best to make England French also.

Of the internal state of things in Normandy, its laws, its institutions, and its arts, Sir Francis Palgrave tells us very little, because in truth there is very little to tell. There are, as we have seen, no contemporary chroniclers; and charters do not begin till a good way on in the reign of Richard, when they first appear, few and far between. We are therefore cut off from any chance of those incidental touches which throw such light on the real life of a people. We have nothing except the hints preserved by Dudo as to the gradual progress of Christianity and French manners, and the long resistance offered by a powerful Danish and heathen party. But we really cannot accept Sir Francis' inference that, in want of other information, we are to suppose that Normandy was an absolute monarchy. If we may trust Dudo, the comrades of Rollo had held doctrines highly democratic, at least as long as they were on ship-board. When asked who was their lord, they said they had none; all among them were free and equal.* Did they become converts to divine right and passive obedience as soon as they set foot on the main land? And we had always pictured to ourselves William the Bastard as consulting something very like a Parliament of Estates, and finding something very like a strong opposition therein, before he began his famous voyage from St. Valeri to Pevensey.† Dudo himself represents cer-

* Dudo, 76. D.

† Roman de Rou, v. 11,173.

tain Proceres of Normandy as being consulted by their duke, and playing a prominent part even with regard to the negotiations of the Norman Foreign office. Even if we believe with Dudo that Richard 'held as a king, the monarchy of 'the Norman land,' we cannot believe that he was exempted from those constitutional laws which restrained, not only the hunted and worried king of Laon, but even the Emperor of the Romans and the Basileus of all Britain, from the full exercise of an arbitrary will.

We now take leave of Sir Francis Palgrave with our respect for his profound research and acute perception in no way diminished because we have had to deal pretty severely with his style, and to call in question some portions of his matter. He cannot, indeed, write history, but he can give the most valuable hints for those who may do so hereafter. He has ever been too one-sided to write history thoroughly well, and he has latterly allowed his tendency to discursiveness and garrulity such full play; as to make him well nigh incapable of rational writing at all. But the sterling ore is there notwithstanding the dross. Little justice as he has done to his own powers, Sir Francis Palgrave is still one of the great lights of modern historical research; for his share in enabling us to realise the grand picture of mediæval Europe, he has won a debt of gratitude which fully overbalances his vagaries, his prejudices, and his occasional errors.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Views and Opinions of Brigadier General John Jacob, C.B., late Commander of the Sindh Irregular Horse.* Collected and edited by Captain LEWIS PELLY. London: 1858.
2. *New Resources of Warfare with especial reference to Rifled Ordnance, in their chief known Varieties; including authenticated Weight, Measurement, and Mode of Construction of Armstrong's wrought-iron breech-loading Guns, and an account of their Shells and Fuses.* By Dr. SCOFFERN. London: 1859.
3. *On Naval Warfare with Steam.* By General Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, Bart. London: 1858.

DURING the last few years such progress has been made in the manufacture of all descriptions of fire-arms used for warlike purposes, as in reality to amount to a complete revolution in the whole art of war; while it has been effected so quickly and so quietly, that few are aware of the extent to which the change has been carried, and fewer still can realise either its importance or its bearings on the future. Indeed, until many of the new inventions are brought to the test of actual experience on the battle-field, it is impossible to feel sure that the improvement is as great as may be supposed, and it is dangerous to predict what the consequences of the change may be. Still the progress is, on the whole, so certain, and the subject of such immense importance, that it cannot be without interest to record what has been already done, and to attempt to indicate, however hypothetically, some at least of the results to be expected from these improvements.

In order to be fully aware how startling a change has been made within the last twenty years, it is only necessary to know how little had been effected during the two preceding centuries; and this is easily ascertained, by comparing one of the guns made during the reign of Elizabeth with one of those cast during that of Victoria. Examples of both periods exist in every national collection, and in almost all fortified places; but, except in the chemical composition of the metal, it is difficult to say what change or improvement has taken place in such a weapon. The form is the same in all respects; the mode of supporting the gun on trunnions, the position of the touch-holes, the mode of firing with a match—all remain as they were; modern guns are shorter and less ornamented, and therefore perhaps more handy and useful as field-pieces, but these alterations make

them certainly less handsome, and detract also, to some extent, from the accuracy of aim.

To take one instance among many. Any one who has visited Dover will recollect a very handsome Dutch piece of the sixteenth century, known popularly as Queen Elizabeth's pocket-pistol, with this boasting inscription on the pedestal:—

‘Sponge me well, and keep me clean,
And I'll carry a ball to Calais' Green.’

No doubt the gun brags; but it is said to have thrown a twelve-pound ball seven miles; and if the ball were of lead, and fired at a high angle, there is no great reason to doubt that it may have done so. It is obvious, however, that any such range was absurd for battering purposes, and even as against troops no effectual accuracy of aim could be attained at even a third or a fourth of this distance; while the difficulty of dragging about and of loading these elongated pieces was a serious drawback to their utility. Artillerists, consequently, were led to discard these theoretical advantages, and to shorten their range to the point at which they gained sufficient accuracy, and to the distance at which troops are generally engaged in battle; and it is only at the present day, when the improvement in rifles has so materially increased that distance, that we must revert to the old long range, and, if possible, with improved accuracy of aim.

Muskets have been as little improved as the larger description of fire-arms: those with which our soldiers fought at Salamanca and at Waterloo are identical, in all essential respects, with those which they had used at Blenheim and at Ramillies. Except the change from a flint to a percussion lock, no improvement took place in the small arms of the British army till within the last six or seven years; and the bayonet still remains the same rickety clumsy weapon it was when it superseded what was called the ‘sweynes’ feather,’ in the ranks of the French army in 1671.

By some strange perversity of reasoning, although money and skill were lavished on fire-arms when a deer or a partridge was to be brought down, any tool, however rude, was thought sufficiently good when the life of a soldier, or the safety of a kingdom, depended on the issue. Sporting guns and rifles have been improved till they bore very little resemblance to those used by our forefathers; but military weapons have remained the same as they had been in former times. In agricultural implements, in ships, in domestic furniture, and in every conceivable application of mechanical art, amazing progress had been made; but the genius of improvement which has

revolutionised civil society in the nineteenth century, seemed still to have left untouched the instruments of war. So long as all the nations of Europe were content to fight with the same weapons, and according to the same forms, it was of little importance how imperfect these might be, since the relative power of each nation remained exactly the same. As in a duel, if the two combatants fight with swords or pistols exactly similar to each other, and observe rules which apply equally to both, it matters not what those weapons or rules are; the conditions of the ordeal are satisfied: but, as no such stipulations are agreed upon beforehand between nations at war, the danger is that one State may so improve on the rude weapons of another as to acquire at least a temporary advantage. Even if European nations had been content that things should remain as they were in the last general war, it is certain that America would not have submitted to such a state of inferiority. The success of the United States in their first contest with ourselves was mainly owing to the skill with which they handled the rifle; and in their Mexican wars they used that arm with an effect so terrible as to establish beyond doubt its superiority over all other weapons; so that if they had ever come into contact with European troops armed with the less efficient musket, the victory must have remained with them, even supposing the other conditions of their army to have been inferior to the enemy.

No incident of this sort occurred during the great European war at the beginning of the present century, for the struggle in the Tyrol can only be considered as an episode having no direct effect on the general course of events—and it was lucky for the success of the French Empire that it was so; for, with all his wonderful genius for military affairs, the First Napoleon was singularly deficient in mechanical knowledge, and in the appreciation of the effects of mechanical skill. His success was precisely similar to that of a chess-player who understands the game better than any of his opponents. The rules of the game and the moves of the pieces remained the same before and after these wars; but he beat all who were pitted against him by his extraordinary powers of concentration of mind and means to a given end, and by the intuitive sagacity with which he divined the move his antagonist proposed to make, and saw how to counteract it, and thus win the game. But, fairly weighed, it is astonishing how little he has left that can be said to be a positive improvement in the art of war, of which inferior minds can avail themselves of in different circumstances. So far from the arms of the French having improved in that great struggle,

Napoleon purposely took away the rifles which had been introduced into the service during the early wars of the Republic. The secret of his system seems to have been rapid and unexpected concentration of masses on a given point, combined with great celerity of movements and rapidity and quantity of fire. These he conceived produced moral effects more conducive to victory than could be obtained by destroying a greater number of men by better mechanical contrivances. Judged by the results, he showed in this, as in most other things, his consummate knowledge of human nature; and as the other nations engaged in these wars were content with the same mechanical means, he marched from victory to victory till Europe lay at his feet.

During the exhaustion which followed these great struggles, no effort was made to alter any principle which had been established during these wars till after the siege of Antwerp, in 1832, which may be compared to the slight afterpiece which generally concludes an evening's performance in a theatre. Since then, the armies of Europe have been busily engaged in rehearsing new parts; and, judging from such trial performances as have already taken place, when the curtain again rises on a general European war the effects produced will be as striking as they are novel. An entire change will be found to have been effected in almost every department of the science of war, and it will go hard with those who have neglected to note the change, and have not prepared for the new duties they will be called upon to perform.

As might be expected from the warlike disposition of the people, and their wonderful military organisation, the first improvements were effected in France. In their early campaigns in Algeria, it was found that the Arabs, armed with the long-barrelled matchlock, could pick off the French officers or men at distances where the musket could not reach them. To fight on equal terms it was consequently necessary to introduce better armed troops than those of the line; this was speedily done, first by the introduction of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and afterwards of the Chasseurs de Vincennes. As early as 1848, the French had at least 16,000 men armed with improved rifles; and not only armed, but drilled so as to render these weapons singularly effective. Their formation was looser, their movements more rapid, than had ever before been practised; they were carefully educated as marksmen, and taught to rely on individual skill, far more than on the concentrated effect of companies or battalions. The complete subjugation of Algeria was the speedy result of the change; and since that time no

effort of the Arabs has had the smallest chance of success, whenever they have been fairly opposed by these skilled riflemen.

The first rifle in vogue in France was the so-called Pillar rifle of Thouvenin. This invention consisted in a short pillar of steel, concentric with the barrel, screwed into the breech of the gun, round which the powder was disposed. The advantage gained by this contrivance was that the conical ball used, was easily forced into the grooves of the rifle, when resting on the top of the pillar, and did not press upon, and, as it is technically called, 'meal' the powder, when struck with the ramrod. From these peculiarities, but principally from the conical form of the ball, the practice made with this rifle was very satisfactory; but certain inconveniences were found to arise from the difficulty of keeping the pillar in its place, and the rifle clean; and it was abandoned as soon as the improvement of M. Minié was made known, his being in fact the invention which has practically revolutionised the firearms of the present day.

The improvements of M. Minié are confined almost wholly to the form of the projectile, and have very little reference to that of the gun out of which it is fired. The Minié ball is of an oblong conical form, shaped something like an acorn without its cup; but instead of being solid, this cone is hollowed out at the base into a cuplike or domical form. When first used, an iron cup of somewhat less dimensions than the hollow in the ball, was inserted into it, which being forced forward by the explosion of the powder caused the rear of the ball to expand, and so pressed it into the grooves of the barrel. In practice it was found that this cup was sometimes forced through the ball; and the greater part of the lead being then left in the barrel, the gun became useless till it was extracted, which, as may be supposed, was a matter of some difficulty.* It is now consequently sometimes used without any cup, but in the most improved form, in our own service, with a small conical plug of box-wood, which answers all the purposes without any danger of its being forced through the bullet.

The advantages of this form of projectile are, first, that owing

* General Jacob remarks, in his invaluable notes (p. 228.), 'The Minié rifle, or rather the Minié ball, has most serious defects. The gun may at any moment become unserviceable; the ball, or rather a leaden tube which was the ball, remaining in the barrel. This happens about once in ten shots. Even when the ball is not left behind, it often, from being blown into a tube, drops short and feebly from the gun. These cups and balls are wholly untrustworthy.'

to its form it offers much less resistance in passing through the air than a spherical ball of the same weight would do; and, secondly, that having its centre of gravity in the foremost part, it has no tendency to turn over in its flight; but its greatest merit, in a military point of view, is, that with it the rifle can be loaded as easily as the ordinary smooth-bored gun; the rifling, or forcing the ball into the grooves of the barrel, being effected by the explosion of the gunpowder, and not by the ramrod of the soldier.

The form of rifle proper to these conical missiles differs very little from that used with the old spherical bullets, except that in the service a three-grooved rifle has superseded the old two-grooved gun, and it is still a moot question whether four grooves would not be better than three.

General Jacob says, as the result of his enormous experience:—

‘The two-grooved rifle is the worst of all, being painfully difficult to load, and because the ball, being confined in one direction only, is at liberty to roll or lean over in the other, so that the conical ball cannot be used. On the use and proper shape of *this* ball, however, depends the whole power of the rifle at long distances. My rifle loads more easily than a common musket, and never becomes so foul from firing as to cause any difficulty in the loading. However loose the ball, it still follows the twist of the rifle grooves with perfect accuracy. It is effective at 1800 yards, and just as good as a common musket at 20 yards, or any other distance.’ (*Jacob*, p. 229.)

If the barrel be of good workmanship, the grooves neatly cut, and perfectly parallel to one another, the accuracy of fire at once becomes superior to anything that can be obtained with the old spherical ball even from the most perfect rifle. With the ordinary arm supplied to the army at the present time, the soldier can make far better practice at 500, or even at 1000 yards, than he could with the old musket at 100 and 200 yards; and, in thoroughly skilled hands, a perfection of aim is attained which would have appeared altogether incredible a few years ago.

We have no very certain information as to the extent to which these improvements have been introduced into the Austrian and other continental armies; but as early as 1848, before we dreamt of abandoning our own time-honoured ‘Brown Bess,’ the Prussians had some 60,000 men armed with their needle-primed rifles; a weapon regarding which considerable difference of opinion exists among military men, but which was at that period, at all events, immensely in advance of any then to be found in other armies. The principle of this gun is, in the first place, that it is a breech-loader, the charge being introduced into the chamber by an opening near the breech,

and is then ignited by a needle or pin forced forwards by a spring through the powder till it strikes against a patch of detonating powder fastened to the rear of the ball. The advantage supposed to be gained by this contrivance is that by exploding the gunpowder in front the whole of it is ignited, and no particles forced forward in an unconsumed state or left to foul the barrel. It is also believed that more effect is obtained from a charge so fired than from one exploded from behind. These improvements are doubtless right in the main, and highly ingenious; but it is asserted that as they are obtained by the use of a highly complicated piece of machinery, the lock is liable to get out of order with the rough usage of actual warfare, and under these circumstances very difficult to clean or keep in repair. It is also said that the percussion powder being packed in immediate juxtaposition to the charge, may cause frequent and disastrous accidents, and that the breech-loading is a mistake in a military point of view. Some of these objections have been remedied by improvements made in this class of guns by Mr. Lancaster in this country, but still, if they are well grounded in principle, the greater part of them remain, while most of the advantages of this system of construction can be attained by other weapons since introduced. It is certain, however, that as far back as 1848 the Prussian soldier could deliver three or four balls for one which any enemy could return, and that the range and accuracy of aim attained at that period with these 'needle guns' were very nearly equal to anything that has been accomplished by the most improved weapons now in the hands of any troops in Europe.

The introduction of these improvements into our own service is a curious illustration of that conservative principle which pervades everything in this country. As early as the year 1828 a series of experiments were undertaken by the officers of the Royal Engineers at Chatham to ascertain what the properties of the service musket really were. The result was certainly most amusing. A stand was constructed which, besides being perfectly steady, could be elevated and depressed to any angle, and from which the musket could be directed with the utmost precision to any object it was desired to hit. The first series of experiments were to ascertain the range of the piece, and they gave the following results:—

	yds.	yds.	differences.
At point blank it varied from	116	to 218	- 102
at 1 degree elevation	- 186	„ 393	- 209
„ 2 „ „	- 258	„ 583	- 325
„ 3 „ „	- 422	„ 632	- 210
„ 4 „ „	- 525	„ 665	- 140
„ 5 „ „	- 488	„ 747	- 309

The next experiments were for deviation, or correctness of aim. The target first employed was 3 feet wide and 11 feet 6 inches high, which was struck by about three-fourths of the balls at 150 yards, fired with full charges; with reduced charges, about one half hit the target. Above this distance, the difficulty of hitting was so great, that its width had to be increased to six feet, and at 250 yards, of 10 shots fired with full charges, not one hit the target; at 300 yards, shot after shot was fired without one hitting the object aimed at, or their whereabouts being ascertained; and after various expedients had been resorted to, the officers straining all their efforts in vain to hit such an object, at such a range, gave it up in despair, and proceeded to calculate a table of instructions for soldiers in firing with the musket, some of which will appear strange at the present day. The soldier was told, in firing at a man at 600 yards, *to fire 130 feet above him*; or, in other words, if you wish to hit the church door, aim at the weathercock; but, considering the lateral deviation, the chances were certainly two to one that you would miss the church altogether.

Notwithstanding this, it was boldly contended, both in Parliament and out of it, that the British musket was the best weapon ever put into a soldier's hand, and no change was made, not even after the experience of the Caffre wars. Yet, at the Cape it was found that man for man, a naked savage, with his rude weapons, was more than a match for the best drilled soldiers of the most mechanically skilled nation in Europe. In vain we tried platoon and file firing against a few men skulking behind rocks or hid by bushes; they could shoot us, but we could not hit them; and these inglorious wars dragged on to a miserable length, because we could not read the lesson which was forced upon us in the south of Africa, as the French had learned it in the north of the same continent. Things went on as before, till the feelings of the country were fairly roused on learning what other countries were doing in this respect, and how inferior the armament of our troops was to that of other nations. When once this was clearly proved, the question was taken up by energetic men, among whom none were more persevering than Sir Charles Shaw; and, being supported by the press, the military authorities were at last made to move onwards. At first it came slowly and reluctantly; so much so, that when our army was despatched to the Crimea, in 1854, their armament is thus described by Sir Howard Douglas:—

‘There is now in the hands of the British soldiers the old regulation musket with the round bullet, the old regulation rifle with the

belted bullet, the new regulation-Minié musket, and the new Enfield small-bore musket, but in what proportion these arms are borne by our troops in the East the author cannot say. When the troops embarked some regiments were provided with two sets of arms, namely, the regulation smooth-bore musket and the Minié rifle musket. Other corps were armed, some with the old muskets and some with the new. Other corps with both new and old arms in certain proportions.'

It was, however, mainly owing to even this small proportion of improved arms that we came out of that struggle with success. At the Alma, the length of range and precision of fire of the Allies created a panic among the Russians, which contributed to their retreat; and at Inkermann it was by the same weapons in the hands of the Guards that we were enabled to hold the position of the British army on that dreadful day. Afterwards, when the 'Enfield' became more common, and the troops more familiar with the use of it, just in proportion did the Russians become more shy of encountering our soldiers in the field.

A still more singular, and perhaps even more important, result of the change is the suppression of the great rebellion in India. Had the native troops there known what they were about, they would eagerly have adopted the new arm that was offered them, but, most fortunately for us, the outbreak took place at the moment when the change was in progress; and by a fatality, of which history affords few examples, the incident that was the cause of it was in reality the means which enabled us to suppress it. Had it occurred when both European and native troops were armed with the same inefficient weapons, we must have succumbed to numbers; and had the natives possessed the improved rifles, and been familiar with the effect of them, instead of rejecting the greased cartridges, it would have gone hard with us. As it was, we were in the position of civilised men fighting with exquisite tools against a disorganised people armed with rude weapons; and, as might have been expected, we were victorious against almost any odds whenever the forces came into collision.

Even if it were otherwise doubtful, the experience of the Russian and Indian wars has quite decided the question as to the expediency of putting the best possible weapon into the hands of the soldier; the question which is the best still remains; but the solution may now fairly be left to the army itself. A few years ago, an officer who proposed to improve the arms of the soldier, was an innovator, a grumbler, a schemer — in short, a very troublesome and noxious fellow, who must be

put down. He is now a meritorious officer, an honour to his profession, and rewards and promotion are his due. Knowledge of firearms, and skill in their use, is now really the highest merit either officer or private can attain. With this change, an army composed as ours is must soon become the best armed force in the world, and the best skilled in the use of these scientific weapons.

Notwithstanding all the experience that has been gained within the last ten years, it is by no means easy now to foresee in what direction further improvement is to take place. In practical mechanics nothing is more difficult than to discover exactly the small turn which converts what is theoretically perfect into what is practically useful. In this very science, for instance, there is no doubt but that George Robins, in 1742, saw clearly all that was wanted when he proposed to use egg-shaped, instead of spherical, bullets, placing the small end downwards in the barrel. The only difference between this and the improved Minié ball is, that the lightness of the after part is now obtained by scooping out the inside, instead of paring away the outside of the ball; but this little change is all in all.

The same is true of the electric telegraph, which was not only discovered, but theoretically perfected by Dr. Watson in 1745, though it remained dormant, like the elongated bullet, for nearly a century before that little practical turn was discovered which made the telegraph and the Robins' bullets the most important inventions of the present day.

If the energy and perseverance of any one man could have settled this problem, it would have been solved by the late General John Jacob, who, for more than twenty years, devoted an immense amount of attention to it; and, during the last ten years, when in command of the Sindh Horse, he conducted, at his own expense, at Jacobabad, a series of experiments in rifles, on a scale seldom undertaken even by the most enlightened governments. Every suggested improvement, either in the form of rifle, or the projectile, was immediately tried by him, under every conceivable shape, and hundreds of thousands of experiments recorded and classified. The result was the production of a short-barrelled four-grooved rifle, 'with which,' to use his own words, 'a tolerably good shot can certainly strike an object, the size of a man, once out of three times at 1000 yards distance, and of which the full effective range is about 2000 yards, the ball at that range still flying with deadly velocity.' On the whole the result of these experiments has tended more to confirm than to alter the conclusions already arrived at in Europe, and it is now a matter of considerable doubt whether

General Jacob's rifle, or that manufactured at Enfield is on the whole the best weapon for warlike purposes.

The great question that now divides those who are skilled in this matter is whether improvement is in future to be looked for in the projectile or in the gun, or whether it is to be in both. Hitherto it is to improvements in the form of the missile that all the recent progress is due. Several suggestions have however lately been made which lead us to expect some considerable changes in the form of the rifle also. Mr. Lancaster has proposed to make the section of the barrel of a smooth bore, but elliptical, and then to give it a slight twist. Some experiments made at Chatham seem to confirm the idea that this is an improvement of some value, but the changes proposed by Mr. Whitworth are even more important than these. He uses a hexagonal bore, with a ball very much elongated, so as to be practically a *bolt*, fitting very exactly to the barrel. He also proposes a much greater twist in his grooves or faces than has yet been adopted. With these forms he has obtained results such as no other man has approached. He asserts that he will not rest satisfied till he has fired a ball from one of his guns into the barrel of another at a distance of 500 yards, and in fact make two guns *reciprocally load each other* at that range. In the meantime, however, he can depend on hitting a disc not more than two inches in diameter at 500 yards, and is daily improving in the manufacture of these weapons. It has been objected that these results are only obtained by such perfection of workmanship and accuracy of adjustment as would make them useless for all practical purposes. To a certain extent this is no doubt true. Mr. Whitworth's object seems to have been to ascertain, first, what is the most perfect form of a rifle that can be produced, and then to leave it to others to reduce the rifle to a tool that any one could make and use. This is no doubt the philosophical mode of proceeding, and if he is right in his theory of the form, there is no doubt he is on the road to the production of a perfect rifle. Notwithstanding all the results which have been obtained with former rifles, it does appear that, theoretically at least, the twisted elliptic and twisted hexagon are the best forms for projecting elongated balls; and the chief question now is, whether practically any element whose existence is not yet suspected will interfere to prevent their being as useful weapons of war as those already so successfully adopted.

Another question very much mooted among military men is whether or not we ought to adopt a breech-loading rifle as has been done in the Prussian army. To this it may be answered

that, with the present drill and present mode of manœuvring troops, its adoption would be a fatal mistake. Armed with such a weapon, even the most experienced soldier would, in the hurry and excitement of battle, probably throw away the whole of his stock of ammunition in a very short time, and it would be almost impossible to keep him sufficiently supplied; but if the soldier is taught to use his firelock as a sportsman does his fowling-piece, and never to draw a trigger till he has covered with his aim the object he is firing at, the advantage of a breech-loader would certainly be admitted. When, for instance, cavalry are coming down rapidly on troops of the line, or when the soldier is lying on the ground or concealed, the advantage of rapidity of fire, of dispensing with the use of the ramrod, are so obvious as not to be doubted, while the recent improvements in this class of arms is so great that they are now in all respects quite equal in efficiency to any muzzle-loading guns that are made.

The number of shots that can be fired in a given time by the repeating rifle of Colonel Colt, or by the breech-loading rifles patented by Mr. Prince and Mr. Terry, is very nearly the same, and the two last-named are so simple in their forms, and may be made so strong, that there seems no mechanical objection to their adoption for war purposes. If this is to be done, it is evident that all file or volley firing must be abandoned at once, and the firing of blank cartridge strictly prohibited in the service. From first to last the soldier must be taught that his object in firing must be to hit something, and that he must not fire unless he sees a reasonable chance of his so doing. If this were once understood and practised, we should no longer hear of such calculations as that it requires the weight of a man in lead to kill him in battle, which is very nearly the truth, military arithmeticians only disputing whether it requires 300 or 1000 balls to make one hit. The French, for instance, admit to having fired away 25,000,000 of cartridges in the Crimea, and certainly did not hit 25,000 men or kill half that number by musketry fire; it is no wonder, consequently, that troops advance boldly against one another, knowing that not one ball in a thousand takes effect. With the improved rifles and an improved drill, one in ten ought certainly to be nearer the mark; with old soldiers, perhaps, never less than one in three; and it need hardly be added that battles will then be very different affairs to what they have ever been since the invention of gunpowder.

Nothing was more common till within the last few months than to hear men prophesying that the age of field artillery was

past, and that the improvements in rifles and rifle practice would render it impossible for artillery ever to show itself again upon the field of battle. This, no doubt, was true, if guns were to remain without improvements while daily progress was being made in the manufacture of small arms; but no one who thought twice about the matter could help seeing that this relative inferiority could not be allowed to subsist for any length of time; for there is no principle applicable to rifles which is not equally applicable to artillery. No great progress was, however, to be expected so long as the manufacture of artillery was confined to Government establishments, exclusively superintended by military men, and governed by the usual routine of the service; for it would be about as reasonable to ask the captain of a ship to make the engine which is to propel the vessel it is his business to navigate, as it would to ask an officer to make the gun it is his business to fight. The manufacture of what is really a complicated piece of machinery must be left to those who are thoroughly conversant with tools, who select that profession because they feel a particular aptitude for it, and who from boyhood to old age think of little beyond the means of perfecting mechanical processes. There can be no doubt that the stationary position of artillery during the last two centuries is mainly due to the manufacture of guns being wholly in the hands of military men, no civilian having been allowed to interfere, directly or indirectly, with any of the processes; and that the enormous stride that has been so suddenly made simply arises from the fact that, for the first time, the mechanical appliances of the day have been brought to bear upon the subject.*

Few men, however, foresaw more clearly than the late General Jacob the change that would take place. In a passage in a work published in this country some years ago, he says, 'Judging from the experiments made — as well as an old artillery officer as a rifle man and practical mechanic, I am deliberately of opinion that a four-grooved rifle iron gun of a bore of four inches in diameter, weighing not less than twenty-four hundred-weight, could be made to throw a shot ten miles, or more, with force and accuracy.' This has not yet been accomplished, but it will probably be done before many months are over. Had Jacob lived, his knowledge and experience would alone have sufficed for the fulfilment of his prophecy; for no one had

* An exception must, however, be made in favour of General Paixhans, whose work proposing the introduction of guns calculated to throw large hollow projectiles in maritime warfare, was published at Paris in 1822.

done more to prove the inefficiency of present artillery, or to show the direction in which the change must take place. During the experiments at Jacobabad, he frequently exploded tumbrils, packed as they usually are for service, at a distance of from 1200 to 1800 yards (more than a mile); and as the effective range of field guns is barely 1000 yards, it was evident that they could never approach a body of infantry firing percussion shells from such rifles as those which General Jacob had prepared.

An incident in the Crimean war served to confirm these views. At the battle of Balaklava, 'Lieut. Godfrey,' so writes Lord Raglan, 'proceeding in advance of his battalion with a few men, under the cover of a ridge, made such excellent shooting at the Russian gunners, at 600 yards, the men handing him the rifles as fast as he fired, that, in his own words, "we got the credit of silencing them." None of our men were hurt, though at the time the shot came through us pretty fast and thick.'

Had it not been for these improvements in rifles, artillery might long have retained its time-honoured forms; for, as usual, every proposal to improve it was resisted as if it were criminal to suggest that anything was not as perfect as it could be made. To go no further back than the last ten or twelve years—in 1848, Messrs. Morgan and Holroyd, having the use of extensive works at Bristol, manufactured a 9-pounder wrought iron gun, weighing 5 cwt. 18lbs., which was sent to Woolwich, stood all the proofs, and did not burst till the 45th round, with a charge of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of powder, 4 shot, and 1 wad—a charge which no brass gun in the service would have stood for a minute. It was rejected, however, because it was too light, the recoil was too great, and it broke the cap squares. In vain the inventors urged that it was easy to stop the recoil at any point, by applying friction breaks; that cap squares were made daily to hold down the beam of a 1000-horse power engine, &c. It was condemned; and there the matter would have ended, had not these gentlemen, with a view to meet these objections, made a 9-pounder gun of 13 cwt., or exactly the weight of the service gun of the same calibre. This, of course, stood every proof and test, but was again rejected: it was said to be liable to rust; that though cheaper in the first instance, the metal could not be used again as with brass guns: and though admitted to be quite as good, it was not—except in durability—better than the guns made at Woolwich. This gun was then bored up to a 12-pounder, again tested, and proved to be perfect, but again rejected. At the same time, Messrs. Morgan and Holroyd made a 32-pounder of the same

description of wrought iron, which stood all the proofs required ; but on looking carefully into it, what was thought to be a flaw in the forging was discovered, and a deep cross was cut on it, which effectually prevented all further experiments with this gun in Her Majesty's service. In the meantime, another of these light 9-pounder guns was sent to Madras, weighing 6 cwt. 3 qr. 8 lbs., where it was so much approved of, that a committee appointed to test its merits recommended the Court of Directors immediately to send out a battery of these guns.

While this struggle was going on, the Russian war broke out, and we may all well recollect the turning incident at the battle of Inkermann, when, by incredible exertions, Colonel Dixon brought up two 18-pounder guns, which, by the weight of their fire, smashed the Russian artillery opposed to them; and so saved our army on that day ; but for the strange perversity of the authorities, all our Horse artillery might have been armed with 18 and 24-pounder guns, and the Russian artillery would never have been able to show itself in the field ; but such is not the way military matters are managed ; so these guns lay rusting on a wharf on the Isle of Dogs, till the war was over, when some officers, recollecting their existence, got them down to Shoebury Ness, and the condemned 32-pounder, after being fired twenty-three times with charges varying from 8lbs. of powder and 1 ball to 16lbs. of powder and 12 balls, weighing together 384lbs., was fired forty-six times, in rapid succession, with the last-named charge, and at last yielded. In order to insure truth and accuracy in boring, the first cut had been carried quite through, and a screw-plug inserted in the breech. This, according to the official Report, 'was blown out at the 69th round, and the muzzle fell over in front. The gun appears to have split downwards, from the 3rd to the 1st reinforce.' The 12-pounder gun was fired 343 times, with charges varying from 5lbs. of powder and 2 shot to 6lbs. and 12 shot, when it also yielded. A brass gun, in similar circumstances, which was tested with it, for the sake of comparison, gave way at the 61st round, with 6lbs. of powder and 3 shots. After so triumphant a proof, negotiations were commenced with Mr. Holroyd for the supply of a number of guns, of the composition of metal of which he was the inventor ; and these were dragging their slow length along when Armstrong's gun made its appearance on the scene, and revolutionised the whole science of artillery.

It was apparently in 1854, that Mr. Armstrong first placed his proposals for the improvement of artillery before the Duke of Newcastle, who was then Minister at War, and being en-

couraged by him to proceed, he during the next four years conducted, — it is understood, entirely at his own expense, — a series of experiments, only second to those of General Jacob in extent, and surpassing them in the results obtained. In consequence of this, he was enabled last autumn to send for trial to Shocbury Ness the gun, of which so much has recently been said, though so little is really known. The first experiments were for range, and fired at a high angle; it was found that a shell or shot could be thrown by it for a distance of upwards of 9000 yards, or more than *five English miles*. The next experiments were for penetration, and although the results have not yet been officially notified, it is understood that a butt of elm timber, three feet in thickness, was pierced at a distance of 1000 yards, and it is said that in one instance, a shot went 400 yards beyond, after passing through the timber; but the third and most satisfactory series was for difference of range and deviation, or accuracy, of fire. In this instance it was first tried against an ordinary 9-pounder field-gun, and the results of an extended series of experiments were, at 1000 yards.

	Armstrong's gun.	Service gun.
For mean difference in range	- 23.1 yds.	- 117.2 yds.
For mean lateral deviation	- 0.8 „	- 9.1 „

In other words, Armstrong's gun could hit a target 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter, at 1000 yards, while the service gun could not be depended upon to hit a hay-stack at the same distance. But this is far from being a fair view of the relative merits of the two pieces, for at 1,500 yards, and beyond, the aim of the brass gun became as wild as that of the old musket beyond 200 or 300 yards, while the rifled cannon maintained its relative accuracy up to at least 3000 yards, and even beyond that.

The bore of the gun with which these results have been attended is only $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, and consequently in the service would be classed a 4 or 5-pounder gun, that being the weight of the iron spherical ball which it would carry; but owing to its elongated shape, the projectile weighs 18 lbs., while the gun itself is only 12 cwt., which is about half the weight of the ordinary 18-pounder iron gun, and less than the ordinary 9-pounder brass gun. A larger gun, weighing 18 cwt. and carrying a 32 lb. bolt, has also been manufactured and tried with equal success; and it is understood that still larger cannon are being made, and it cannot be doubted, from the experiment with Holroyd's gun, that up to 6 in. at least, we are perfectly certain they will succeed. The mode of manufacture is understood to be that usually employed for gun-barrels, of ribbons of care-

fully prepared metal, wound spirally round a mandril, and welded by being struck perpendicularly to the direction of the barrel. In this instance the mandril is replaced by a steel cylinder, which forms the centre, and the outside is reinforced by one or more cylinders shrunk on, and welded. If this is the mode of manufacture, it must be very expensive, and is apparently complicated to a very unnecessary degree, inasmuch as the experience of Holroyd's 32-pounder proves that a gun 6½ in. in bore can be easily and cheaply manufactured of homogeneous metal; and as these stood the test of firing nearly 400 lbs. of iron shot, under the most unfavourable circumstances, there is no reason to doubt its being more than strong enough, even if rifled, to project a ball or bolt weighing from 100 to 120 pounds; and it may be possible to make an 8-inch wrought-iron gun, which in the same proportion ought to carry a ball weighing nearly 200 lbs. It is supposed that the range of such a gun would be at least ten miles, while it certainly ought not to weigh so much as one half the lightest 6- or 8-inch guns now in the service.

Sir W. Armstrong has proposed various modes of loading his gun at the breech; but it is extremely doubtful whether this part of his invention can be considered as perfected. The arrangement of the gun tried at Shoebury Ness seems to have been the following:—The breech is closed by a screw, somewhat larger in diameter than the bore. In front of this an oblong loading-box containing the cartridge, is inserted in an open chamber prepared to receive it, and the charge is then pushed forward into the barrel by an iron rod passed through the screw, which is pierced axially for the purpose. Another loading-box or plug is then inserted, containing a second charge of priming powder; this last is made of copper, which, being a softer metal, closes the breech more effectually than could be done by iron in any form, and is understood to have been used for this purpose by the Prussians, and by others in this country, before being adapted to this gun. The whole is then screwed up tight, and the gun is ready to be fired. In one instance at least it is understood that Sir W. Armstrong dispensed with the loading-box, the advantage of which is not very apparent, inserting the cartridge from the rear, and using only the copper chamber or plug as before. Whichever of these modes is adopted, this part of the invention seems to want simplification; for owing to its being so complicated, it can only be fired once when the ordinary gun can be fired twice, though no doubt its other advantages more than compensate for this defect. The bore, instead of being three or four grooved, as General Jacob

recommended, is scored by from twenty-four to forty slight parallel cuts or shallow markings, and the gun tapers slightly towards the muzzle, so as to ensure the rifling of the projectile.

The carriage shows as much ingenuity as the gun, for besides the elevating screw, which has long been used, but is here employed in a very improved form, there is a horizontal screw, which enables the gun to be turned in azimuth, as an astronomer would say, and with all the precision of any astronomical instrument. The recoil, too, is in a slot up an inclined plane on the carriage, and the gun, by its own gravity, regains the identical position after each discharge; so that once the direction and range are attained, it can continue firing night and day without any re-adjustment.

Neither of these contrivances, however, show the same amount of novelty or ingenuity as the projectile, on which perhaps Sir W. Armstrong's fame as an inventor will ultimately be based. The projectile itself is either a solid bolt with two bands of lead, so fixed in as never to strip, which has always been the great difficulty, or it is a compound shell made of bars of iron, like the staves of a barrel, but very much thicker, and in this instance of course expanding, and pressing the lead casing into the grooves of the barrel. Inside the cylinder or barrel is a plug or piston, held in its position, near the front of the shell, by a pin passed through both sides of the casing. This contrivance keeps the striker or plunger in its place in all the ordinary wear and tear of packing and carriage, but it is so adjusted as to break with the blow of the explosion that projects the shell from the gun. The plunger then falls to the rear of the cylinder by its own inertia; but the moment the shell is arrested in its flight by coming into contact with any object, it flies forward, strikes a patch of detonating powder, and explodes the shell.

The time fuse is even more curious and ingenious. The fuse is wound round the oblong shell in a circular groove, and a hollow tube from the central chamber can be turned round like the hand of a watch and so adjusted as to touch the fuse at any given point in its circumference. In this instance the striker is in the reverse direction, and explodes the detonating powder by flying back the moment the shell is fired from the gun, and the flame being communicated from the central chamber along the tube, fires the fuse at the point desired, so that the explosion can be made to take place at any second or half second after the projectile leaves the muzzle of the piece.

To these are added several minor adjustments, which it would be tedious to describe, and impossible to make intelligible without drawings; but the result is that, from being

one of the rudest of tools, the artillery gun has now been advanced to be nearly on a par mechanically with the steam engine or the power loom, and differs as essentially from the old rude tube, formerly dignified by the name of a gun, as the railway train of the present day differs from the old stage coach of our forefathers. In a recent addition to his work on projectiles Dr. Scoffern has published some interesting particulars on the Armstrong gun, but in the foregoing remarks we have relied principally on our own observations.

Notwithstanding the recent official attempts to make a secret and a mystery of these improvements, which Dr. Scoffern's publication has already in part dispelled, we must not fancy that we have a monopoly of skill in this respect. Many years ago, the Prussians magnified their needle-gun, first into a wall-piece, then into a field-piece, and now, it is said, into a gun of great calibre, for we believe that they have succeeded in rifling an 8-inch cast-iron gun, and attained with it the most satisfactory results. They have thrown shot and shells more than 9000 yards; and if the accuracy of their aim is not equal to that attained by Armstrong's gun, it is not owing to any defect in the theory, but because they do not command that perfection of workmanship which is found in English workshops. The Emperor of the French too, who possesses much of that mechanical skill in which his great uncle was so deficient, has long been working at the production of improved artillery, and has caused rifled guns to be made, the effects of which are reported to be equal to those attained in this country. With that power, however, which belongs to despotic governments, he has kept his secret from the public, and we neither know exactly how his guns are manufactured, nor their precise results, but there is no reason to doubt that they are nearly on a par with the others. They are said to be made of cast steel, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch. calibre, and consequently must rank as 5 or 6-pounders, according to the old nomenclature, but probably throw 18 or 20-pound bolts or shells.

Once the old prejudice is thrown aside, and we seek in artillery the results that have been reached by rifles, there are fifty ways in which the end may be accomplished, though it is impossible to determine which may be the best. Even in this country, notwithstanding the ingenuity of Armstrong's inventions, it is very uncertain if Whitworth's hexagonal bore will not be found more efficient in many respects. No doubt, all the guns yet tried on his principle have burst, but it is not generally known that no gun of large calibre forged by him has yet been tested. At the request of Government, he rifled some of their cast-iron and brass guns, but, as might be expected,

they could not stand the strain of throwing a heavy rifled bolt with the rapid twist which he thinks indispensable for the perfection of his system. But once a gun made entirely by himself of suitable materials is tried, we may fairly expect very different results. So we may also from Lancaster's elliptical bore when tried with wrought-iron guns and elongated shot. Hitherto the shot used have been spheroidal and of iron, and the guns of cast metal, whereas it is well known that after a certain amount of thickness has been given to a gun of that class, no additional quantity of metal adds materially to its strength; so that a limit is very soon arrived at which must stop the progress of improvements in rifling large guns entirely, if we were confined to cast metal alone, but which the introduction of wrought iron entirely obviates. Many other inventors are now also in the field, each of them as capable of making improvements as any of those above enumerated.

Although so many improvements have been made in muskets and cannon, the mortar still remains in all its pristine clumsiness, and a ruder and more imperfect tool it is impossible to conceive. As every one knows, a mortar is a thick, short chambered gun, and is generally fired at an angle of forty-five degrees to the horizon, the object of the piece being to throw shells so that they shall fall with a force equal to their own weight, increased by the velocity due to the height from which they fall. The elevation of the gun being fixed, the range is regulated wholly by the charge of powder, and consequently varies with any alteration in its quality or hygrometric state, or from other causes. The barrel being so short, the lateral deviations are also necessarily very great. The following table will show to what extent these influence its accuracy. According to the result of several years' practice at Gibraltar, quoted by Colonel Lefroy, fifty per cent. of the shells projected fell within the landing space at the following ranges:—

Range.		Landing Space.
400 to 500 yds.	-	$15 \times 30 = 450$ sq. yds.
600 to 700 „	-	$30 \times 58 = 1740$ „
900 to 1000 „	-	$50 \times 100 = 5000$ „

5000 square yards is a good-sized paddock, yet even at so short a range as 1000 yards, only half of the shells which it is attempted to throw into it fall within its limits, and beyond that range the uncertainty increases in a geometric ratio. The war practice at Sebastopol shows still more clearly what a wonderfully inefficient weapon the mortar still remains. In the English service the sizes generally are 10-inch and 13-inch,

the last dimension being adopted for the strange reason that the French foot being equal to 13 inches English, we copied it blindly from French makers about a century ago, and for that reason have adhered to it ever since. It is easy, either by masonry vaults or by blindages as they are called, to protect troops from such missiles; and as they can always be seen coming, and it is very uncertain whether they will explode, and whether, if they explode, they will do much harm, their employment is, to say the least of it, a very questionable mode of spending money and ammunition in war.

To remedy this state of affairs, Mr. Mallett, a civil engineer, proposed to Lord Palmerston during the Russian war to build a monster mortar of wrought iron, which should throw shells of three feet in diameter, while being made in sections it should be as easily transported as the ordinary 13-inch mortars. Like the monster wrought-iron gun proposed at the same time by Mr. Nasmyth, the task seems to be somewhat beyond the forging skill of the present day, though not to the same extent. The gun never was made. The mortar has been put together, and on the first occasion seven shells were thrown with great accuracy, and at ranges varying up to 3644 yards, the charge of powder being 70 lbs., the weight of the shell 2548 lbs., while the weight of a 13-inch shell is only about 200 lbs. On a second trial with an average range of about 1600 yards, or a little under one mile, very great accuracy of fire was obtained, but on both occasions, after a certain number of trials, the welding of the rings yielded and the practice had to be discontinued. Enough, however, has been done to show that if Mr. Mallett had been content to begin with a mortar two feet in diameter, and then to proceed to thirty inches, he would have been successful, and we might before long be able to throw shells of even three feet or more in diameter, and as these when loaded weighed 2966 lbs., it is clear that nothing that human hands have yet put together could resist the impact, and with the explosive compounds we now possess, their bursting might be confidently depended upon. If, for instance, the shell is cast with one side heavier than the other, and one of Armstrong's strikers inserted in the shell, it must burst as it falls.

It is very questionable, however, if the shell is the only thing that wants alteration in mortar practice, and if attention should not in the first instance be turned to securing greater accuracy of aim: whether a longer gun and elongated shell would not do more execution than any spherical shell thrown with the present uncertainty of direction: though it is only by further experiments that this question can be set at rest. At present a 10-inch gun

throws a shell weighing in round numbers 100 lbs., and a 13-inch mortar one of 200 lbs., but by elongating the form the 10-inch shell might easily be increased to 300 lbs., and if fired from a rifled howitzer, as proposed by Mr. Lynall Thomas, a degree of accuracy may be attained which is at present unknown. But whether the change comes in this direction, or in that in which Mr. Mallett has gone so far, it is certain that military men cannot now remain content with so clumsy a tool as a 13-inch mortar, and that vertical firing must be brought nearer to the accuracy of horizontal firing than it now is.

During the late war, Mr. Hale invented a new kind of rocket, from which, at one time, great things were expected. His plan was to bore two or three holes, spirally, near the base of the rocket, in such a direction, that the fire escaping from them propelled and rifled the rocket at the same time. By this means he was enabled to dispense with the stick, which had hitherto been the great incumbrance in their use, and the principal cause of their uncertainty of flight. Although some further improvements in the same direction have lately been added, the invention does not seem to have been entirely successful, and the rocket remains the same rude, unsatisfactory weapon it always was. The truth seems to be, that we cannot any longer be permitted to consider shot guns, howitzers, mortars, and rockets as separate and distinct inventions, but as gradations of one great principle; and when rockets are really improved, it will be by assimilating them to the others. A very little rocket powder, for instance, placed in the rear of one of Armstrong's bolt, or any other elongated projectile, would add immensely to its powers of flight, and enable it to take a lower trajectory; and in proportion as the amount of rocket composition was increased, the propelling charge of gunpowder and the weight of the gun might be decreased, till at last the gun became a rifled rocket tube, and the projectile a rocket.

As it is impossible to enumerate all the weapons of destruction which have been invented, we must conclude our list with an allusion to Captain Norton's liquid fire, which, against shipping, seems likely to be singularly effective. As yet it has only been tried in small shells fired from rifles; but it seems, when ignited by the explosion of an ordinary percussion fuse, to be able to set on fire not only sail cloth or shavings, but planks and wood of any description, and if discharged on board wooden ships, which it can be by gallons at a time, their destruction by fire would be inevitable. Besides this Captain Norton, who has laboured with extraordinary perseverance and ingenuity during the last thirty years on these subjects, has a

whole arsenal of pleasant inventions for shortening the days of his fellow-men. Indeed, it is not clear that he is not in reality the first inventor of most of the improvements we have just been detailing, though, from some cause or other, he has not yet been able to get the credit for them which seems his due. With him and so many other earnest and clever men, both civilians and military, steadily at work, and with a well-defined object, the public may rest assured that everything that human contrivance can suggest, and that modern science can attain, will now be done to make weapons of war complete and perfect; and although there is something horrible in the application of so much ingenuity to the purposes of destruction, we are satisfied that the result will in the end be to render protracted warfare impossible, to make battles shorter and more decisive, and to give the civilised nations which possess these weapons a more indisputable supremacy over the rest of the globe.

It is much easier to describe these improvements than it is to estimate what their probable effects may be on the science of war, when they are brought to the test of actual experience, though it cannot be doubted but that very great changes in the manœuvring of troops and the mode of fighting battles must result from them, and that the general who first appreciates their effects will be the master of the situation.

As battles have been hitherto fought, the usual practice has been for the opposing armies to range themselves in battle array at distances varying from 500 to 1500 yards from one another. At Waterloo the armies were about 1200 yards apart. At such distances musketry fire was out of the question, as was the fire of grape or any other except round shot from field guns, and even that was so uncertain and innocuous against bodies of men, that no decisive result could be obtained from it. It was necessary therefore that one or other of the armies should cross the intervening space to get at the other. This they could do in any formation that suited them, and the assailants advanced to within 200 or 300 yards of their opponents without suffering any serious damage. As troops can easily pass over 100 yards in a minute, within two or three minutes at the utmost from the time of the army coming under fire, they were upon their opponents, and either forced them to retire, or were beaten back with a loss that was wonderfully small, considering what it ought theoretically to be under such circumstances.

All this must now be altered. It will be impossible to range troops at less than 2000 yards, or they would be able to shoot each other down with their rifles even without reference to ar-

tillery ; shells with time fuses at that distance, will certainly be as destructive as grape-shot was in the olden time at 300 yards, and to avoid their effect, the men must lie down on the ground, or hide themselves behind some undulation of the country. But battles are not won by cannonading, and the question still remains how armies are to get at one another ; for even supposing that at 2000 yards very little damage can be done by rifle practice, still whenever a column or body of troops advances within 1000 yards of a division drawn up to receive it, they will be torn to pieces during the ten minutes that must elapse before they can close, and it will scarcely encourage them to know that if repulsed they must be for ten minutes more within range of their enemies' rifles.

One obvious suggestion for getting over a portion at least of the difficulty would be to advance the men as skirmishers in such loose formation that artillery would have little or no effect on them, and even rifle practice be very harmless, considering the unsteadiness of aim incident to the heat and excitement of a battle-field. This, no doubt, would be a practicable manœuvre if there were no cavalry in the field ; but if infantry do advance far from their supports, and in such loose formation that they cannot collect and form squares at very short notice, it will require better and steadier troops than we have yet seen to prevent themselves being ridden over and cut to pieces. Even abstracting the element of cavalry from the question, it is evident that as both armies can throw out skirmishers, and in that respect be equal, no decisive result can be expected from such a mode of fighting.

In the Crimea the generals seem to have felt this, though the arms then employed were not what they have since become, and their effects were not appreciated as they now are. At the Alma the Allies rushed at the Russians the moment they came within range, without much manœuvring and still less formation ; and at Inkermann the Russians, evidently dreading the passage of the gulph in daylight, stole upon the British in the dark, and the fight became a hand-to-hand struggle. This difficulty will frequently be felt in future, if one army cannot steal on the other unawares, to take it at a disadvantage. As far as we can at present judge, the fight probably will be between the two artilleries till the one gains a superiority, and is then enabled to turn its attention to the infantry ; and when once it has decimated them and rendered them unsteady, one army will then rush as rapidly as possible at the other, and a hand-to-hand fight decide the day. In whatever manner battles will in future be fought, it seems tolerably evident that close formation and heavy infantry drills

are out of date, and that light infantry movements are essential, not only to enable the soldier to use with the greatest possible effect the improved weapons which have been put into his hands, but also to prevent his presenting such a target to the fire of the enemy as battalions in close formation and with slow movements must do.

All this, however, is a mere question of detail and speculation, which will scarcely alter the result of a campaign to any sensible extent. When two armies are in the field, they will meet and will fight battles, at first probably with a good deal of blundering on the one side or the other, but tactics will soon settle down to a system as before; and all that at present seems to be established is, that battles will be shorter, more bloody, and more decisive, than they were with the old-fashioned weapons; but the relative superiority of one nation or of one army over another will remain, in all probability, exactly where it was.

Although, however, it is probable that the results of all these improvements will be, in campaigning, more apparent than real, the case will be very different with regard to fortification and other branches of the art of war. It is true it did not require Armstrong's gun or the Enfield rifle to prove that the bastion system had become antiquated. It was invented and perfected a century and a half ago, in the days of the supremacy of Brown Bess and brass blunderbusses, and it has been perpetuated by the same influences which so long kept the armies of Europe from the use of weapons at all worthy of the science of the age. If it is not national vanity that induces the French still to adhere, even to the extent they now do, to the system of Vauban, it certainly is very little to the credit of their staff that they should have improved the art as little as they have done. The Germans are doing better, but it is very questionable if even their works would have resisted the improvements in shell firing and the increased size of siege ordnance even before the recent improvements; and with Armstrong's gun and Mallett's mortars there is an end of the question, even supposing that these weapons do not realise all that is expected of them; and unless a larger and more reasonable treatment of the science can be adopted, it is no use attempting to fortify any place. We do not, however, doubt that new modes of defence may be successfully adapted to this new state of things.

The question is not so much whether the works of a place can be made strong enough to resist an assault, for even if this were done, no town or dockyard in Europe is safe from a bombardment. Take even Paris, whose works are certainly the most extensive since the walls of Babylon. There are two points, one on

the north, one in the east, where the city is covered by St. Denis and the heights of Romainville, whence no guns yet forged could throw shells into its centre; but on all others it is open, and there are a dozen spots whence Armstrong's gun could command the heart of the city, and if there is anything in Norton's liquid fire compounds, a place so commanded might be set on fire in every direction. This is still more true of Lyons or Strasburg, or of any of the German towns which have recently been surrounded by fortifications, and dignified by the name of entrenched camps, with the idea that they would afford shelter and security to armies.

Assuming, therefore, that these fortifications are no longer secure, the question presents itself, how are arsenals and dockyards to be defended? In order to appreciate the difficulties, it must be remembered that a five mile (9000 yards) radius makes a thirty mile circumference, and the expense of making and maintaining such an extent of works is enormous, and unless defended by a sufficiently large army, fortifications of this class are worse than useless. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind, that of all combustible places, dockyards and arsenals are the most so. The greater number of them, moreover, can easily be reached from the sea: for a corvette or gun-boat is a very small object to hit from the shore, at a distance of three or four miles; while a town or dockyard is a very large object to throw combustibles into, and when a landing can be effected, it is difficult to see how they can be protected. To take an instance which will be familiar to most people. Portsmouth dockyard is only 9000 yards from Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, and only 6000 from Portsmouth Hill, below which it lies like a map; and there are few maritime places, either in England or on the Continent, which are not equally exposed. It must be borne in mind, that when speaking of a five or ten mile range, it is only with reference to shot or shell, pitched from guns fired at high angles, and only useful as against towns and dockyards, or very large objects, while it would be a mere useless waste of ammunition to attempt to return it, either against shipping or against shore batteries of guns behind epaulments.

Notwithstanding all this, the defence of dockyards and arsenals is so important, so vitally essential in fact, that it must be accomplished by some means or other, either by detached works on vulnerable points, and far in advance, or by iron-plated floating batteries, or by fleets of gun-boats; in other words, it must be done by the application of those very means which facilitate the attack, for unless this is done, and a base secured for

a fleet or army, both are useless, and the very foundations of our national force are in jeopardy.

It is perhaps, after all, at sea that the effects of the improvements in artillery will be most felt, though their extent must remain a mystery till practical experience decide it. If the Russian fleet, or even a Russian frigate, had once fairly encountered a ship of the Allies during the late war, it would have saved Europe a vast deal of uncertainty, and also, it must be added, of expense. Whether it was that at the little preliminary rehearsal they had at Sinop, the Russians learned a secret that they did not care to communicate to their enemies, or from whatever other cause, it is certain we have had no opportunity yet of ascertaining what may be the effect of shells fired from one ship at another from Paixhan's guns. That it will be frightfully destructive no one doubts, but whether a vessel will be sunk by one broadside, or will be able to fight for any reasonable time, is by no means clear. So certain, however, is the destruction of all wooden vessels when once fairly engaged, that the practical question now seems to be, whether or not they can be rendered invulnerable by plating their sides with iron. Some vessels of this class were used in the Crimea, and on the whole with very satisfactory results. Since that time the experiments made seem to show, that heavy 8-inch shot, fired at certain distances, will pass through their sides, but that nothing lighter can, and that no shells or hollow missiles are of any avail against them; even Armstrong's 32-pound steel bolt was flattened against the sides of the 'Trusty,' and the practice from his gun, on that occasion, must be pronounced a failure. If this is so, the problem is so far solved at present, for it is well known what amount of solid shot passed through the sides of our ships at the Nile or Trafalgar, without doing them much harm, and if we can keep out explosive and combustible missiles, iron vessels will answer all practical purposes. To do this, the old-fashioned three-foot port must be abandoned, and a circular opening substituted, not more than one or two inches larger in diameter than the muzzle of the gun. But this is easy, especially with a breech-loader, and the lighter metal that wrought-iron guns will enable us to use. Such a vessel armed with 8-inch guns, throwing 120 to 200 pound bolts, might sweep the seas of anything that is built of wood, if it be wood only. The accuracy of aim of rifled cannon will not be so perfect at sea as on land, since the unstable platform of the deck does not admit of the same nice adjustment. Much will depend on the steadiness of the vessel, and this condition of naval architecture becomes of the greatest importance when the armament is such as to give the

utmost precision of fire. With a rifled gun, when the aim is good the practice is so also, and vessels will now be able to hit one another with fatal effect, at distances that could not before be thought of, unless the iron plating protect their sides from injury.

The French have apparently been experimenting to even a greater extent than ourselves on this subject; and although they keep the details a secret, we know the result to be, that they have laid down at least two line-of-battle ships, and six or eight frigates, which are to be plated with iron, and they have also determined on *razéeing* some of their wooden vessels in hopes of making them light enough to carry their new armour without danger. It is possible the last expedient may succeed if at the same time they reduce the weight of their armament two thirds, which can easily be done by taking away one third of the number of guns, and substituting wrought-iron rifled guns of half the weight of metal for the remainder. A vessel so armed might throw the same broadside weight of metal as before, and even with her cuirass be not much disturbed in her equilibrium. The experiment is hazardous, however, and a converted vessel will never be equal to one designed *ab initio* for the novel circumstances; but the fact is significant as tending to show that as certainly as we have been forced to convert our whole sailing fleet into a steam navy, so certainly shall we be forced to cover all their sides with some sort of armour to protect them from the new incendiary missiles getting inside and destroying every thing on board, which they certainly would easily accomplish in wooden vessels without some protection of the sort.

The form of the problem, however, that is most generally interesting is whether the improvements which have been made will render war so costly or so deadly as to deter nations from entering upon it lightly, and in the next place whether or not the changes are in favour of defensive or aggressive operations. On the whole the answer to these questions seems to be satisfactory; although there is no doubt but that the application of screw propulsion to vessels of war and the introduction of steam transport has given an immensely increased power of attack to any nation possessing both a fleet and an army.*

* In addition to Sir Howard Douglas's valuable 'Essay on Naval Gunnery,' we are now indebted to the same accomplished officer for a treatise on 'Naval Warfare with Steam,' which is the first systematic attempt we have seen to adapt the science of naval tactics to the movements of a steam-propelled fleet. Sir Howard has no difficulty

This question has been very ably argued by a well-known and illustrious authority in a late number of the 'Revue des Deux Mondes;' and the proposition there enunciated is no doubt in the main correct. If one of the belligerent parties can embark fifty thousand men in steam transports convoyed by the requisite number of fighting vessels, their power of choosing the time and place of their descent must to a great extent paralyse the operations of their enemies, and may enable them to act most opportunely either on their flank or rear at a time when such an operation may go far to decide the fate of a campaign. Our recent experience in the Crimea is sufficient to prove how easily and certainly the operation of a land force can now be based on the sea, and at what a distance from home an army can be supplied, as regards both the *personnel* and the *matériel* of its equipment, when the command of the sea is in the hands of the attacking Power.

As Europe is now constituted, England, France, and Russia are the only three Powers possessing fleets which enable them to take advantage of such a manœuvre. The English could hardly avail themselves of it without allies, owing to the numerical inferiority of their land forces, and Russia could scarcely attempt it except against Turkey or the Scandinavian States; but in the event of a general continental war, it would add immensely to the military preponderance of France. While menacing the enemy on the Rhine and the Po, she might make either the Adriatic or the Baltic her real base of operations (supposing the other two great Powers, and especially this country, to be neutral), and either Dantzic or Trieste the real point of attack, and so turn all the fortresses of the Germanic Confederation, and neutralise the old strategical points of defence. The fact, indeed, of one Power possessing two distinct and separate modes of attack, whilst other states have only an army, without the means of counteracting the power of the fleet, gives to the maritime Power a superiority, the extent of which it is almost impossible to overrate, were it not that the very improvements which have been described above, tend to defeat such a combination; for if there is one thing more clear than another, it is the advantage resulting from

in proving that the whole system of naval tactics is revolutionised, and that the celebrated movements which have so often crowned the British fleet with victory would now be impracticable or unsuccessful. The volume is one of great interest; but its interest and its value would be increased if Sir Howard Douglas had paid more attention to the naval armament of ships of war, in which changes are occurring not less significant than the change from sails to screw propellers.

the improvements in guns for coast defences. It is clear that by such rifled ordnance, many a channel and harbour may be now closed, which before these improvements it was almost impossible to defend. Assuming, for instance, a channel a mile or a mile and a half wide, if the range of the guns in a battery on shore is two or two and a half miles, a vessel passing at the rate of ten miles an hour, will be for half an hour under the fire of the battery, and in that time, anything that is built of wood might be utterly destroyed. An iron-plated vessel might possibly be able to pass; but we are still very far from such a fleet of iron-plated transports as is likely to be formidable, and one or two invulnerables passing ought scarcely to be feared, if proper precautions are taken, for in that case they would only be caught in a trap. But as the question whether or not they can be made invulnerable still remains to be decided, it is hardly worth while speculating upon it, while, on the other hand, it is very certain that batteries on shore can be made practically unassailable. Guns, for instance, placed in earthworks and spaced very widely apart, present a target to a vessel not more than one foot or eighteen inches in diameter, so that the chances are more than 100 to 1 that they cannot be hit from the unstable and moving platform of a vessel's deck, even supposing the guns and the aim to be perfect.

When the position of the battery is such that earth is not available, wrought iron is far more easily and cheaply available to protect guns on shore than it is on board ship. Casemates may be constructed with wrought-iron embrasures, into which a musket-ball will hardly be able to penetrate past the muzzle of the gun, and against which both shells and shot will fall to splinters without doing any harm; and more than this, by a proper application of wrought iron, martello towers may be built in shallow seas, which, though not more than 100 or 120 feet in diameter, would be able to bring a force of from twelve to twenty guns to bear on any passing object, with such security from injury and advantage of position as to render it dangerous for even the best iron-plated vessels to approach within their range.

Another point to which these improvements clearly tend, is to render the skilful though undisciplined civilian marksman more nearly a match than he has ever been before, for the best disciplined soldier, at least in defensive war. Hitherto the superiority of one body of soldiers over another has consisted principally in the solidity of their formation, and the steadiness with which they could change their formation and advance and retire under fire. No body of volunteers or militiamen could for one moment

compare with regular soldiers in this respect, but armed with the new rifles, a swarm is nearly a match for a battalion, except, as pointed out above, where cavalry are likely to interfere; but even this difficulty might easily be obviated in defensive war by certain mechanical contrivances. The invention of 'chevaux de frise' stopped the victorious cavalry of the Turks from marching from one end of Europe, and a centipede can be made, easily transported and easily placed, which would stop any cavalry in the world. It is also evident that the new rifles ought to render a very slight intrenchment nearly impregnable. All that is required would be a ditch and an embankment sufficiently deep to cover effectually the defenders, and to enable them to move about under shelter, so that without a regular sap the approach to it ought to be dangerous in the extreme.

There are other considerations which it would be tedious to enumerate and superfluous to speculate upon, all of which tend to the same result,—that any improvement which may be made in firearms will render wars more bloody and more expensive, and consequently will make nations less eager to engage in them, and will shorten their duration when once unfortunately they are entered upon. The same causes tend to deprive the disciplined soldier of the incontestable superiority over the civilian which he now undoubtedly possesses. But on the other hand, they give to governments possessing these arms an incalculable advantage over mere popular masses or barbarous countries.

To place the question on its narrowest basis, it may safely be asserted that, in so far as Great Britain is concerned, we have no reason to regret any of the improvements that have taken place, or are now likely to be made. If the application of steam power to ships has rendered the invasion of these shores more easy and probable, it has most obviously conferred the same benefits on our defences, and even to a greater extent. If, with the long range, the enemy can fire our dockyards, we can return the compliment with interest. If the improved rifle renders the soldier more formidable to his fellows, we can arm thousands who are more skilled in the use of that arm than any people in the world except, perhaps, our cousins over the water, or the Swiss and Tyrolese mountaineers. So far, indeed, from fearing these changes, we ought to rejoice in any improvement that is made, for they are more in our favour than in that of any other nation. If war is to become more expensive, we are richer; if metal is to supersede wood, we have more iron; if skill and workmanship are to carry the day, our workshops

are more extensive, and our artisans are more skilled; and if individual skill and coolness in using the new weapon are to give the victory, we have nothing to fear. If the energies of the country are allowed fair play, it matters little how expensive, how complicated, or how deadly the weapons of war may become. If a struggle should supervene, in which we are unfortunately involved, the energies of all, from the highest to the lowest, must be fearfully taxed, if we are to come out of it successfully; but the sacrifice will be cheerfully made if the cause is the defence of our territory and our rights; and if the public feel that the best measures are taken, and the best men employed, to support the honour and ensure the safety of our country.

ART. IX. — *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India: being Extracts from the Letters of the late Major W. S. R. Hodson, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, First Bengal European Fusiliers, Commandant of Hodson's Horse; including a Personal Narrative of the Siege of Delhi and Capture of the King and Princes.* Edited by his brother the Rev. GEORGE HODSON, M.A. London: 1859.

IT is a difficult thing for those who are accustomed to use language with any degree of precision to bring themselves to make general statements about nations and national character; for a nation is so vast and so ill-defined a body, that it is almost impossible to have any very accurate or adequate knowledge of it. Still most of us do gradually form an estimate of the people amongst whom we live, sufficiently just for ordinary purposes, and sometimes of surprising accuracy; nor are any facts better attested than that this estimate varies materially in different nations, and that the differences it indicates regulate the position which such nations occupy in relation to each other. The whole course of history is mainly determined by the average qualities of human nature, and this fact gives peculiar interest to the cases in which average men are placed in extraordinary circumstances. Mechanical contrivances will inform us whether the gun-metal or the wrought-iron which present the same resistance to the touch is the stronger substance; but it is not once in a lifetime that the winds blow and the rains descend, and the floods beat upon the commonplace virtues of commonplace men, so as to show whether

they are built upon sand or rock; and it is not once in an age, that the experiment is performed on such a scale as to throw light of the same kind on the character of a nation.

The Bengal Mutiny appears to us to derive a great part, perhaps the chief part, of its interest from the circumstance that it furnishes us with abundant evidence of this description. At a moment's notice, without the smallest preparation, far remote from effective assistance, thousands of ordinary Englishmen and women were plunged into what may, with no exaggeration at all, be called a fiery trial. In the midst of peaceful pursuits they were called upon to fight for their lives against overwhelming odds. From unsuspecting confidence and security they were suddenly awakened to the existence of universal treachery. The unquestioned rulers of a mighty empire on one day became proscribed fugitives on the next. Here, indeed, was an instance in which men might prove what they were made of. Here if anywhere was a test which would show what were the materials of which so splendid a fabric as the Indian Empire had been constructed. It is as evidence of the character of an ordinary Englishman, endowed with no other gifts than hundreds of his fellow-countrymen possess, trained by no other education than that through which English gentlemen usually pass, favoured by no unusual combination of circumstances, the object of no other patronage than that which he won by a zeal, intelligence, and energy, which, though highly creditable, are of common occurrence, that we invite attention to the Memoirs of the late Major Hodson. We have selected him from many other brave men for this purpose, not because he was, but because he was not, one of the principal defenders of the British Empire in India. Whatever eminence he might have attained, had his life been spared, it would be absurd to place him in the same class with Lord Clyde, with General Havelock, or with Sir John or Sir Henry Lawrence. There is nothing to show that his name would not have risen (had he lived) to a height far greater than that which he did in fact attain; those who knew and loved him may have good reasons for believing that it would; but the course of events was not so ordered. To the world at large, Major Hodson may stand as a fair specimen of the great staple produce of the country, the 'good yeomen whose limbs are made in England.' An outline of his career will show what that position implies.

Major Hodson was the third son of the late Archdeacon of Stafford, and was born near Gloucester, in March, 1821. He was educated at Rugby from his fifteenth to his twentieth year,

establishing there a great reputation for bodily activity, and for that combination of moral and physical force on which Dr. Arnold placed so much value, and which his system undoubtedly tended to develope in some cases. In 1840 he was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, where his pursuits were rather athletic than intellectual. After taking his degree he determined to enter the army; and, after a short term of service with the Guernsey Militia, obtained a cadetship in the Company's service, and landed in Calcutta in September, 1845, whence he went up the country to Agra, to join the troops proceeding to the Sutlej campaign. He did duty with the 2nd Grenadiers, and was present, within two or three months after the commencement of his military life, at three of the most desperate battles ever fought in India,—battles which will sustain a comparison, in point both of fierceness and of slaughter, with the bloodiest engagements of European warfare. Nearly the first gun he heard fired, killed a man at his side; and immediately afterwards a ball, from the musket of a Sepoy behind him, grazed his cheek, whilst his face was blackened by the explosion of the powder.

This rough entrance into the duties of his profession was succeeded by a period of quiet, as far at least as ordinary military service was concerned, though it was filled by a constant succession of those multifarious occupations, engineering, political, and military, which are commonly incidental to a successful Indian career. Of these avocations Lieutenant Hodson's correspondence with his family gives a very full account. He had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Mr. Thomason and Sir Henry (then Colonel) Lawrence; and as he was both older and far better educated than most officers of his standing, either civil or military, he obtained, through their means, abundant opportunities of distinguishing himself by activity, zeal, and intelligence. The list of his services gives a singular notion of the career of an active Indian officer. He was sent in the first instance to superintend the establishment of an orphan asylum, founded by Sir H. Lawrence at his own expense, at Subathoo, on the slope of the Himalayas, an institution intended to provide for the education of the motherless children of European soldiers in the Company's service. The mode in which the works had to be carried on was very characteristic. Not only were plans to be drawn, a house to be built, 450 workmen to be superintended, paid, and kept to their several duties, but every department of the work performed had to be invented from its first principles.

'I have to get earth dug for bricks,' says Lieutenant Hodson in a spirited letter to his father: 'see the moulds made, and watch the

progress of them till the kiln is filled, get wood for the kiln, and direct the lighting of the same, and finally provide a goat to sacrifice to the demon who is supposed to turn the bricks red. . . . Then the whole of the woodwork must be set out and made under one's own eye, and a lump of iron brought from the mine to be wrought (also under one's direction) into nails and screws, before a single door can be set up. . . . You will naturally ask how I learned all these trades. I can only say that you can't be more astonished than I am myself.'

Having completed the works at Subathoo, Lieutenant Hodson was deputed to make a road from Lahore to the Sutlej, a distance of forty miles, and to undertake a variety of police and surveying duties in the district. He was also second in command of the Corps of Guides, lately established, and found himself, with 'a half sensation of modesty,' administering justice in cases of very considerable importance.

In the course of these avocations the second Sikh war broke out. Our readers will remember the part which was played on this occasion by the irregular forces raised on the frontier by Lieutenant (now Colonel) Herbert Edwardes. Lieutenant Hodson had several somewhat similar opportunities of distinguishing himself. Though at that period he had no independent command, he played a principal part in several actions, and displayed, in a very unusual degree, the highest and least common of all forms of courage—that which consists in accepting most serious responsibility. Thinking, on one occasion, that his commander, Brigadier Wheeler, did not advance as rapidly as was desirable, he himself marched on, at the head of 100 men, to attack 4000, 'sending back a messenger to the Brigadier to say 'that I was close to the place, and that if he did not come on 'sharp they would run away or overwhelm me.' The Brigadier came on accordingly. The Sikhs had at first advanced on the small party which they saw in front of them, but they stopped on perceiving how it was supported. Brigadier Wheeler gave Lieutenant Hodson orders to charge with two regiments of irregular cavalry. The enemy fled in confusion, leaving 200 or 300 men dead on the ground. A little later in the campaign Lieutenant Hodson charged a body of 150 men with 15 troopers. Amongst the enemy were included a number of fanatics called Akhalees, who resisted with desperate ferocity. One, in particular, beat off four of the troopers, and was then attacked by Lieutenant Hodson, who thus describes the scene in a letter.

'He rushed to meet me like a tiger, closed with me, yelling, "Wah Gooroo, ji!" and accompanying each shout with a terrific

blow of his tulwar. I guarded the three or four first, but he pressed so closely to my horse's rein that I could not get a fair cut in return. At length I pressed in my turn upon him so sharply that he missed his blow, and I caught his tulwar with my bridle-hand, wrenched it from him, and cut him down with my right, having received no further injury than a severe cut across the fingers. I never beheld such desperation and fury in my life. It was not human scarcely.'

For this gallant action, as well as for the mode in which his other duties were discharged, Lieutenant Hodson received the thanks of the Governor-general.

After the peace, which followed on the battle of Chillianwallah, Lieutenant Hodson was employed for a considerable time in various civil capacities, and, amongst other things, he accompanied Sir Henry Lawrence in a journey to Cashmere and Thibet. The change of occupation was not, however, very agreeable to his tastes, and he was accordingly greatly rejoiced at being appointed to the command of the Corps of Guides on the Peshawur frontier, on the return of their former commandant to England. Indeed the appointment was one of the most desirable and important in India. It conferred precisely one of those positions which distinguish the Indian service from any other. The Corps of Guides consisted of 5 English officers, 300 horse, and 600 foot, the latter being all riflemen. They were divided into three troops and six companies. Each of the troops and companies was of a different race, and in each the officers were of a different race from the men. During the period of his command Lieutenant Hodson was at the head of every department of business, judicial, financial, and military in one part of his district. It was a very wild, exciting way of life.

'A daybreak parade or inspection, a gallop across the plain to some outpost, a plunge in the river, and then an early breakfast, occupy your time till 9 A.M. Then come a couple of corpses whose owners (late) had their heads broken over night, and consequent investigations and examinations. Next a patch of villagers to say their crops are destroyed by a storm and no rents forthcoming. Then a scream of woe from a plundered farm on the frontier; and next a grain dealer to say his camels have been carried off to the hills. . . . Then each of my 900 men considers me bound to listen to any amount of stories he may please to invent or remember of his own private griefs and troubles.'

The amount of the business discharged may be estimated from the fact that in the course of a single month 'he disposed of twenty-one serious criminal charges, such as murder and wounding with intent, and nearly 200 charges of felony, larceny, &c.' The ordinary business of the station was varied

by a campaign of seven weeks on the frontier against a wild Afghan tribe, who were attacked in order to secure the Kohat pass. For his services on this occasion he was mentioned in the despatches of Brigadier Boileau, and thanked by the commander-in-chief, Sir W. Gomm.

Up to this period, Lieutenant Hodson had enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, but in the year 1853, he was accused of negligent management in respect of the public money which had passed through his hands. His brother's statement of the case is that his appointment had excited great jealousy, that on his arrival at the scene of his duties he found the affairs of the station in great confusion, and that he had in the course of twenty-four hours to take the field without any audit between his predecessor and himself, and that he tried to reduce this confusion to order, but was unable to do so effectually. Under these circumstances, a special military court sat in Peshawur in the end of 1854 to investigate the charges. They reported to the Governor-general, but their report was delayed till July 1855. The Governor-general referred to Major Reynell Taylor, who made his report in February 1856; but this report, according to Mr. George Hodson, was kept back by some private influence, and was never laid before Lord Dalhousie at all before his departure from India. Of its tenor, Sir Robert Napier and Mr. Montgomery, then one of the Commissioners in the Punjab, and now Chief Commissioner of Oude, both gave their written opinion. The former says,—

‘The result of Major Taylor's laborious and patient investigation of Lieutenant Hodson's regimental accounts, has not at all added to the confidence that I have throughout maintained in the honour and uprightness of his conduct. It has, however, shown how much labour Lieutenant Hodson bestowed in putting the affairs of his regiment in order.’

Mr. Montgomery said,—

‘To me the whole report seemed more satisfactory than any one I had ever read; and considering Major Taylor's high character, patience, and discernment, and the lengthened period he took to investigate every item, most triumphant.’

This evidence certainly exculpated Lieutenant Hodson from the imputation which such a charge carries with it, but the private letters which he wrote to his family at the time will to many minds convey a still stronger impression of his innocence, especially when their manly simple tone is connected with the equally manly and simple conduct which their writer constantly maintained.

For about two years from the beginning of 1855, till the out-

break of the mutiny in 1857, he underwent a series of the severest trials. He lost a child to whom he was very tenderly attached. He lost his father, and he was dismissed from his command, and obliged to return to his regimental duties as a simple lieutenant. He turned to them with as keen an interest, as strong a sense of duty, and as prompt efficiency as if he had never commanded on one of the most stirring positions in India. The regimental affairs had fallen into great disorder, and the Colonel requested Lieutenant Hodson to accept the post of quarter-master. Instead of brooding over his grievances, he applied himself with such energy to this complicated and uninteresting task as to accomplish most successfully the objects which his superiors had in view, and to earn from them the warmest acknowledgments for his services. Mr. George Hodson may well say, that nothing in his brother's career was more admirable, or showed more real heroism.

In July, 1857, Lieutenant Hodson's services were required on a very different scene. On the outbreak of the mutiny he received orders to raise the regiment of irregular cavalry which was known by his name. The services which they rendered at the siege of Delhi and during Lord Clyde's advance on Lucknow are too well known to require minute description. Nor do we feel prepared to enter upon the question of the justice of Major Hodson's view as to the possibility of taking Delhi at a much earlier period than that at which it actually was taken. The materials for the discussion of such a question are not, and perhaps never will be, collected. The proceedings of Major Hodson (for he gained brevet rank on obtaining his company in the course of the siege of Delhi) are so characteristically and so happily described in several passages of his brother's memoir, that we lay them before our readers in full, that they may judge for themselves as to the character of his exploits. The following is Lieutenant Macdowell's account of the capture of the princes. It supersedes all necessity for comment:—

‘On the 20th the King gave himself up, and was lodged securely in Delhi under a guard. On this day all had evacuated the place, of which we were complete masters. On the 21st a note from Hodson, “Come sharp, bring one hundred men.” Off I went, time 6 o'clock A.M. To explain why he wrote to me, I must tell you that although he commanded the regiment, he was also the head of the Intelligence Department, and lived in the General's quarters, while I lived with the regiment, commanding it in his absence, as being Second in command. Well, down I went. He told me he had heard that the three Princes (the heads of the rebellion and sons of the King) were in a tomb six miles off, and he intended going to bring them, and offered me the chance of accompanying him. Wasn't it handsome on his

part! Of course I went: we started at about eight o'clock, and proceeded slowly towards the tomb. It is called Humayoon's Tomb, and is an immense building. In it were the princes and about 3000 Mussulman followers. In the suburb close by about 3000 more, all armed, so it was rather a ticklish bit of work. We halted half a mile from the place, and sent in to say the princes must give themselves up unconditionally, or take the consequences. A long half hour elapsed, when a messenger came out to say the princes wished to know if their lives would be promised them, if they came out. "Unconditional surrender," was the answer. Again we waited. It was a most anxious time. We dared not take them by force, or all would have been lost, and we doubted their coming. We heard the shouts of the fanatics (as we found out afterwards) begging the princes to lead them on against us. And we had only one hundred men, and were six miles from Delhi. At length, I suppose, imagining that sooner or later they must be taken, they resolved to give themselves up unconditionally, fancying, I suppose, as we had spared the King, we would spare them. So the messenger was sent to say they were coming. We sent ten men to meet them, and by Hodson's order I drew the troop up across the road, ready to receive them, and shoot them at once if there was any attempt at a rescue. Soon they appeared in a small "Ruth" or Hindoostanee cart drawn by bullocks, five troopers on each side. Behind them thronged about 2000 or 3000 (I am not exaggerating) Mussulmans. We met them, and at once Hodson and I rode up, leaving the men a little in the rear. They bowed as we came up, and Hodson, bowing, ordered the driver to move on. This was the minute. The crowd behind made a movement. Hodson waved them back; I beckoned to the troop, which came up, and in an instant formed them up between the crowd and the cart. By Hodson's order I advanced at a walk on the people, who fell back sullenly and slowly at our approach. It was touch and go. Meanwhile Hodson galloped back, and told the sowars (10) to hurry the princes on along the road, while we showed a front and kept back the mob. They retired on Humayoon's tomb, and step by step we followed them. Inside they went up the steps, and formed up in the immense garden inside. The entrance to this was through an arch, up steps. *Leaving the men outside, Hodson and myself (I stuck to him throughout), with four men, rode up the steps into the arch, when he called out to them to lay down their arms. There was a murmur. He reiterated the command, and (God knows why, I never can understand it) they commenced doing so.* Now you see we didn't want their arms, and under ordinary circumstances would not have risked our lives in so rash a way, but what we wanted was to gain time to get the princes away, for we could have done nothing had they attacked us, but cut our way back, and very little chance of doing even this successfully. *Well, there we stayed for two hours, collecting their arms, and I assure you I thought every moment they would rush upon us. I said nothing, but smoked all the time, to show I was unconcerned; but at last, when it was all done, and all the arms collected, put in a cart, and started, Hodson turned to me*

and said, "We'll go now." Very slowly we mounted, formed up the troop, and cautiously departed, followed by the crowd. We rode along quietly. You will say, why did we not charge them? I merely say, we were one hundred men, and they were fully 6000. I am not exaggerating; the official reports will show you it is all true. As we got about a mile off, Hodson turned to me and said, "Well, Mac, we've got them at last;" and we both gave a sigh of relief. Never in my life, under the heaviest fire, have I been in such imminent danger. Everybody says it is the most dashing and daring thing that has been done for years (not on my part, for I merely obeyed orders, but on Hodson's, who planned and carried it out). Well, I must finish my story. We came up to the princes, now about five miles from where we had taken them, and close to Delhi. The increasing crowd pressed close on the horses of the sowars, and assumed every moment a more hostile appearance. "What shall we do with them?" said Hodson to me. "I think we had better shoot them here; we shall never get them in."

'We had identified them by means of a nephew of the king's whom we had with us, and who turned king's evidence. Besides, they acknowledged themselves to be the men. Their names were Mirza Mogul, the king's nephew and head of the whole business; Mirza Kishere Sultamet, who was also one of the principal rebels, and had made himself notorious by murdering women and children; and Abu Bukt, the commander-in-chief nominally, and heir-apparent to the throne. This was the young fiend who had stripped our women in the open street, and cutting off little children's arms and legs, poured the blood into their mothers' mouths: this is literally the case. There was no time to be lost; we halted the troop, put five troopers across the road behind and in front. Hodson ordered the princes to strip and get again into the cart, he then shot them with his own hand. So ended the career of the chiefs of the revolt, and of the greatest villains that ever shamed humanity. Before they were shot, Hodson addressed our men, explaining who they were, and why they were to suffer death; the effect was marvellous, the Mussulmans seemed struck with a wholesome idea of retribution, and the Sikhs shouted with delight, while the mass moved off slowly and silently.'

No more righteous act was ever done. No history in the world records an instance of more heroic courage.* The following passage, from the same pen, is an instance of courage of

* In the 'Times' of March 15, 1859, General Thompson is reported to have said in the House of Commons: 'He stood up in that house to speak of the murder of the princes of Delhi. *There was a slight probability that the man who committed these murders was suffering under the affliction of insanity.*' We make no other comment upon this than that no other nation was ever so splendidly served as our own, and that in none have all the arts of detraction, ridicule, and contempt been exercised on public servants with such inveterate and ignorant malignity.

another kind. It reads like one of the most exciting scenes in Fenimore Cooper's novels. After describing how Major Hodson and himself rode over from Bewar to Lord Clyde's camp (fifty-seven miles) between 6 A.M. and 4 P.M., Lieutenant Macdowell thus describes their return. The road was beset by the enemy, but Hodson resolved, if possible, to push through:—

'We had a very pleasant dinner, and at 8 P.M. started on our long ride (fifty-four miles) back. We arrived at Goorsahaigunge all safe, and pushed on at once for the next stage, Chibberamow. When we had got half way, we were stopped by a native, who had been waiting in expectation of our return. God bless him! I say, and I am sure you will say so too when you have read all. He told us that a party of the enemy had attacked our twenty-five sowars at Chibberamow, cut up some, and beaten back the rest, and that there was a great probability some of them (the enemy) were lurking about the road to our front. This was pleasant news, was it not?—twenty miles from the commander-in-chief's camp, thirty from our own; time, midnight, scene, an open road; *dramatis personæ*, two officers armed with swords and revolvers, and a howling enemy supposed to be close at hand. We deliberated what we should do, and Hodson decided we should ride on at all risks. "At the worst," he said, "we can gallop back; but we'll try and push through." The native came with us, and we started. I have seen a few adventures in my time, but must confess this was the most trying one I had ever engaged in. It was a piercingly cold night, with a bright moon and a wintry sky, and a cold wind every now and then sweeping by and chilling us to the very marrow. Taking our horses off the hard road on to the side where it was soft, so that the noise of their footfalls could be less distinctly heard, we silently went on our way, anxiously listening for every sound that fell upon our ears, and straining our sight to see if, behind the dark trees dotted along the road, we could discern the forms of the enemy waiting in ambush to seize us. It was indeed an anxious time. We proceeded till close to Chibberamow. "They are there," said our guide in a whisper, pointing to a garden in a clump of trees to our right front. Distinctly we heard a faint hum in the distance—whether it was the enemy, or whether our imagination conjured up the sound, I know not. We slowly and silently passed through the village, in the main street of which we saw the dead body of one of our men lying stark and stiff and ghastly in the moonlight; and on emerging from the other side, dismissed our faithful guide, with directions to come to our camp—and then, putting spurs to our horses, we galloped for the dear life to Bewar, breathing more freely as every stride bore us away from the danger now happily past. All Hodson said when we were at Bewar, and safe, was "By George! Mac, I'd give a good deal for a cup of tea," and immediately went to sleep. He is the coolest hand I have ever yet met. We rode ninety-four miles. Hodson rode seventy-two on one horse, the little dun, and I rode Alma seventy-two miles also.'

Major Hodson, with his regiment, was present at the opera-

tions before Lucknow. Lieutenant Macdowell, his gallant companion, and the author of the striking letters from which we have quoted the above extracts, was killed on the 27th of January, 1858. On the 12th of March Major Hodson himself met the same fate. He was shot through the body by a sepoy who with some others had taken refuge in a room in the begum's palace at Lucknow, which he entered to look for fugitives. He died the next morning with the same patient courage which he had so often displayed in life.

A few of the anecdotes of his behaviour during the siege of Delhi may serve to complete his portrait:—

‘The way Hodson used to work was quite miraculous. He was a slighter man and lighter weight than I am. Then he had that most valuable gift, of being able to get refreshing sleep on horseback. I have been out with him all night following and watching the enemy, when he has gone off dead asleep, waking up after an hour as fresh as a lark; whereas, if I went to sleep in the saddle, the odds were I fell off on my nose.

‘In a fight he was glorious. If there was only a good hard skirmish he was as happy as a king. A beautiful swordsman, he never failed to kill his man; and the way he used to play with the most brave and furious of these rebels was perfect. I fancy I see him now, smiling, laughing, parrying most fearful blows, as calmly as if he were brushing off flies, calling out all the time, “Why, try again, now,” “What’s that?” “Do you call yourself a swordsman?” &c.

‘He has wonderful tact in getting information out of the natives, and divining the movements of the enemy. He is scarcely out of the saddle day or night, for not only has he to lead his regiment and keep the country clear, but being Intelligence Officer, he is always on the move to gain news of the progress of affairs, and acts and intentions of the enemy. He used to know what the rebels had for dinner in Delhi.

‘Even when he might take rest he will not, but will go and help work at the batteries, and expose himself constantly, in order to relieve some fainting gunner or wounded man.’

We may seem to be doing injustice to the memory of such a man as Major Hodson in saying that we have chosen his life for special notice, because he is a representative of the ordinary and not of the extraordinary virtues of his countrymen. Nothing is further from our wish than to say a single word about him which could convey any impression of coldness or indifference to his merits. What his career appears to us to prove is, that there must be amongst us many hundreds, perhaps many thousands, of persons who, in the common course of life, attract no attention, but who, if they were placed in extraordinary circumstances, would show that they possessed qualities which every one would call extraordinary. The proof of this is

that in Major Hodson's career there is no violent break or transition, and that great part of his career was in no way remarkable. Such as he was at Rugby he continued to be at Cambridge. The different occupations in which he was engaged in India were all of the same character. They do not seem to have required other faculties than that sort of Robinson Crusoe independence and self-reliance which we see in a thousand cases on less picturesque stages without being at all surprised at it. An active clergyman in a neglected parish; a clever attorney who puts a case together from incoherent materials; a country gentleman who brings an ill-managed estate into good order, and raises its value by agricultural improvements; any man who works his way in life by the exercise of enterprise and intelligence, is doing, on a commonplace stage, just the same sort of things that Major Hodson did on an exciting one. We meet with such men in abundance in all directions. Any one of our readers could, no doubt, name scores of them with a little thought. We usually tacitly assume that such men must be commonplace, because they are placed in commonplace positions; and Mr. John Mill, in the latest and one of the ablest of his publications, has very emphatically indorsed this opinion, by expressing his belief, that a great decay has taken place, and is continuing to proceed, in the power and originality of individual character: Major Hodson's career appears to us to show that such an opinion is most unjust. That he was a man of great power and vivacity of character, no one who reads his memoir can possibly doubt. If he had worn a coat of mail and lived in a feudal castle, his career might have been quoted as a proof of the racy vigour which feudalism developed; but it is strictly true that he was only a specimen of a class. There is nothing in his life or letters to show that he possessed any supernatural powers either of mind or body. Each, no doubt, was trained to the highest pitch. His mind was in a state of constant and wholesome employment. His body was hardened by continual exercise, but the capacity, as distinguished from the training, displayed by his performances, does not appear to us to have been at all uncommon, though it was certainly considerable. His letters are exactly the sort of letters which might be expected from a shrewd lively man, with a keen eye and plenty of sound good sense, but they contain no traces of any qualities of a higher kind. Thousands of such letters arrive by every mail, and during the Crimean campaign, scarcely a day passed in which a considerable number were not published in the papers. Curiously enough, an exact measure of Major Hodson's

physical powers is given in one of these letters. Speaking of prodigious marches which he had accomplished on horseback, he says that he certainly shall never again be able to repeat his college feat of walking from a ferry between the mainland and the Isle of Skye to Inverness (about sixty miles) in thirty hours. It is a feat which would present no insuperable difficulty to any man of active out-door habits in the vigour of life. We will venture to say that scores of Major Hodson's contemporaries at Rugby and Trinity were thoroughly equal to him both in mental and physical capacity. Where are they now? They are the leaders of every day English life, — what we may call the non-commissioned officers of English society, — the clergy, the lawyers, the doctors, the country squires, the junior partners in banks and merchants' offices, men who are in every sense of the word gentlemen though no one would class them with the aristocracy. Take a man of this order at random, throw him into strange circumstances, repose confidence in him, subject him to responsibility, and Major Hodson is the result.

If it were necessary in these days to give any formal proof of the soundness of that popular instinct which attaches the highest importance to military prowess, we should find it in the belief that it is the rough but certain test of those broad, deep, common virtues, which are not too great and good for the aspirations of common men, but which are so great and good that without them a nation would be no more than a mob of cheats, slaves, cowards, and liars, more or less cunning. We have all heard a great deal more than enough of the horrible, the ludicrous, and contemptible side of war, and of the foibles and follies of soldiers. Let us turn for once to the other side of the picture. What a world of silent, untold worth must have preceded so much rude heroism, — what lessons of obedience, patience, and honesty are implied in that iron stubbornness which won the battle of Inkermann! What numbers of parents must have taught their children to fear God and honour the Queen, before six hundred carters and ploughboys could be capable of being drilled into the cavalry who charged at Balaklava! What self-reliance, what resource, what a frank, hearty, common understanding, must have been learnt in the schools which trained the civil and military servants of the East India Company! what a vast mass of unemployed energy and latent courage must be diffused through the classes of society from which they were chosen! The Army and the Company's Service were true samples of the material of which the English nation is composed. It is as a faithful picture of a noble specimen of this class, that Major Hodson's life well deserves wide and lasting at-

tention. We will add that the execution of the book is thoroughly worthy of its subject. The skill, the modesty, and the self-respect with which Mr. George Hodson relates his brother's life almost entirely by means of his letters, are very remarkable. That form of narrative is now very common, and is often extremely tiresome; but there is not a page of Mr. Hodson's book which has not its own interest, or which fails to carry the story forward.

ART. X.—1. *L'Empereur Napoléon III. et l'Italie.* Paris: February, 1859.

2. *La question Italienne, Etudes du Comte Charles Catinelli, ancien Chef d'Etat Major de l'Armée Anglo-Sicilienne, sous Lord William Bentinck.* 8vo. Bruxelles et Leipzig: March, 1859.

3. *Italy; Remarks made in several Visits from the year 1816 to 1854.* By the Right Honourable Lord BROUGHTON, G.C.B. 2 vols. London: 1859.

THE incidents which have agitated Europe and alarmed diplomacy from the 1st of January to the 1st of April, are of so momentous a character, that although it is not within our province to trace from day to day the course of events, we seize the first opportunity to examine with some detail the causes of a state of things which was till lately unforeseen, and the consequences which still threaten to affect the relations of several of the great Powers of Europe.

As if by some pre-arranged signal, the festivities of the Tuileries, on a day usually devoted to peace and good-fellowship, were disturbed by a remark which, in the conventional language of courts, indicated something more than coldness between France and Austria. With electric rapidity the commotion spread. A more warlike speech at Turin responded to the Imperial declaration at Paris. A strange marriage, secretly negotiated and abruptly solemnised, seemed designed to cement the policy of the House of Savoy with the fortunes of the Bonapartes. Italy was flushed from one end of the peninsula to the other by the promises of her champions, and the impetuosity of a southern population is only restrained by the belief that the cause of national independence has at last found an Italian prince to lead it, and a powerful ally to defend it. France became alarmed at the prospect of hostilities which certainly had not been provoked by any affront to her own honour or interests; Germany united and indignant;

England strenuously opposed to any infraction of the peace of Europe; Austria was compelled to take the most active measures for the defence of her own territories and rights; Russia watched from afar, not without latent satisfaction, the occurrence of dissensions which left her free to pursue whichever course of policy she might prefer. Such was the state of Europe within a very few weeks of the commencement of this year, when the pamphlet appeared, which we have placed at the head of this article, professedly and avowedly emanating from the head of the French Government, or from a writer in his immediate confidence, for the express purpose of making known to France and to the world the view entertained in the closet of the Tuileries on what is termed the Italian Question.

But whilst the arguments of this writer, and a variety of other incidents betokening active military preparations in Piedmont and in France, could not fail to excite the liveliest apprehensions of war, the language of the pamphlet was so far guarded that it pointed to a settlement of the state of affairs in Italy by diplomatic means, rather than to an actual and immediate rupture. Availing himself of this reservation in favour of peace, Lord Cowley, the British ambassador in Paris, having obtained permission from the English Cabinet to proceed to Vienna, urged upon the Emperor of Austria and his Ministers the expediency of entering into negotiations on this subject, which was backed by the Russian proposal of a Congress. The Court of Vienna had prepared to meet the peril with great alacrity, but it also met the provocation, which had not been spared it, with imperturbable coolness and temper. Well-armed at every point to repel a hostile attack — well-supported in all her essential rights by treaties which have been established for upwards a century in the public law of Europe — Austria could without the smallest sacrifice of dignity concur with the other Powers in considering what arrangements, if any, may be devised to obviate the danger of revolutionary war and foreign interventions in Italy. The Emperor of the French, on the other hand, though foiled in the warlike objects which he appeared at one time to contemplate, and compelled by the determined attitude of Europe and the unanimous repugnance of France to modify the support which had been held out to the ambitious policy of M. de Cavour, may lay claim to the credit of having brought before a European Congress questions which deeply affect the welfare of that country. Something is gained if the suggestions of the writer of this pamphlet, or any other suggestions of a more practical character, can be discussed amicably instead of being carried

violently: and this result, if it be attained, is mainly due to the judicious and persevering intervention of Lord Cowley. But though the question may thus have entered on a second and more tranquil phase, we cannot jump to the conclusion that its difficulties are removed: Austria is not become less tenacious of her rights — or France less eager for foreign influence and renown — or Italy less dissatisfied by her condition, which indeed has been sorely aggravated by the false and mischievous agitation of her pretended friends. The aspirations of Italian nationality, the abrogation of territorial treaties, the civil reorganisation of the Papal Government, are not subjects which a Congress of independent and jealous States can easily agree upon; nor are such controversies easily settled with a threat of invasion behind them.

As to the value of these objects in themselves, there is, we apprehend, but little difference of opinion in this country. We are not insensible to the glory and the grief of Italy, and we should rejoice to witness that resurrection of her national greatness which her poets and historians have been proclaiming to mankind for five hundred years. The beauty of her natural gifts and the genius of her people have, throughout that period, protested against her political condition; and even the prolonged peace, which has brought to other European nations the blessings of increasing civilisation, has only awakened the Italians to an increased sense of their divisions and their wrongs. But if these evils are in part attributable to the ambition and territorial pretensions of foreign Powers, it must in justice be remembered that they are also the result of the passions and divisions of the Italian people. 'We ourselves,' said Count Balbo in his 'Hopes of Italy' 'have called in the Greeks against the Goths, the Lombards against the Greeks, the French against the Lombards, the Germans against the French — Angevins against Suabians, Aragonese against Angevins, French against Aragonese, Austrians against French, French against Austrians repeatedly, with no other result than that change of servitude which is the worst of servitudes. France has always been called in against Germany, and Germany against France — one being equal to the other as to the danger of having to bear their yoke, save that the yoke of Germany has always lasted longer than that of France.'

The bad governments Italy has for ages endured are commonly imputed to foreign rulers or foreign influence predominating in various parts of the peninsula. But are these bad governments the consequence of foreign dominion, or is foreign

intervention the consequence of bad government? To a certain extent, a country in this unhappy condition treads in a vicious circle, and foreign dominion perpetuates the internal vices of government which introduced it; but the origin of foreign interference lies in the absence or decline of that union and strength which are the basis of national independence. At the present time, as in past ages, the most odious and tyrannical governments of Italy are not foreign but Italian governments — the Papacy, which exercises so considerable an influence over Italy and the world, is essentially Italian — the execrable cruelties which lately cast upon the shores of Ireland Poerio and his unfortunate comrades in the dungeons of Naples, were the deeds of Italians on their fellow-countrymen — and no government which has ever existed, south of the Alps, has found any want of Italians to be the instruments of misgovernment and oppression. Hatred of the foreigner is an excellent rallying cry, for it expresses a universal sentiment. But if the foreigner were expelled, every other question which can embarrass governments and divide nations would still remain; and we see no reason to believe that these questions would be settled without long and furious contests, leading to the re-introduction of that foreign domination which was, in the first instance, expelled. Indeed the question, as it is now presented to the world, is whether Italy is to be permitted to advance in the course of self-improvement under the ægis of constitutional monarchy, as it is established in one portion of the peninsula, or whether the effort for her emancipation is once more to be based on a foreign intervention, which all her wisest and noblest patriots have condemned.

The tenth section of the pamphlet before us distinctly asserts that Italian nationality can never be worked out but by the latter course. Here, then, we at once join issue with those who confound the liberal policy of England and English statesmen towards Italy, with that policy which bears the stamp of the French Empire. It may suit the purpose of the ruler of that empire to encourage the belief, that as we entertain a common desire for the improvement of the condition of the Italian States, so we are disposed to pursue that object by similar means. But the fact is altogether otherwise. The views entertained by the liberal statesmen of England and by the Emperor of the French, for what is termed the liberation of Italy, are not only different but opposite—not only dissimilar, but incompatible. England holds that to restore the States of Italy to their true position in the world, they must look first of all to themselves, to the gradual development of their own institutions, to peace and

legality, without which there can be no freedom, and to the education of a generation of citizens better qualified than their forefathers have been to work out the laborious task of political union and national progress. Nor are these the opinions of dispassionate foreigners only. They are shared and corroborated by the highest Italian authority. Thus in the Marquis d'Azeglio's '*Programma per l'opinione nazionale*' we find these words:—

'The opportunity of reconquering our independence is perhaps remote. We await it in calm activity, not applying ourselves to disturb, inconsiderately, the repose of others, but to reform our institutions in that shred of Italy which is left to us, and to render ourselves more capable of profiting by such opportunities as Providence may vouchsafe to us.'

Again, in the debates on the last Sardinian loan, Count Solar della Margherita said, with true sense and patriotism:—

'To speak candidly, gentlemen, if, since 1849, we had quietly attended to the development of our institutions; if we had made it our chief care to promote science, art, and commerce within our own limits; if we had not extraordinarily increased the taxes; if we had not held out allurements to the factions in all parts of Italy, and evoked hopes which for eight centuries have been nourished in vain; if we had thought more of improving our own lot than of censuring and causing anxiety to other governments, we should not have the name of agitators, nor should we see the plains of Lombardy inundated with Austrian bands; rumours of war would not arise on the shores of the Ticino.'

We are satisfied that these opinions are entertained by the great majority of the Piedmontese themselves, who are threatened with bloodshed, bankruptcy, and perhaps destruction chiefly to gratify the passions of refugees from other parts of Italy and the military ambition of the Court of Turin. Savoy, especially, protests loudly against a policy which first imposes on her the burdens of an Italian war, and would then probably surrender her to France as the price of Italian conquest.

As long as the Piedmontese Government has the strength and resolution to confine itself within its rightful limits, and to maintain the principles of constitutional liberty within the King's dominions, a great and good example is shown to the world, and the sympathy and support of England are most cordially given to it. But, unhappily, the influence of the war party is exerted to produce results absolutely fatal to the cause of rational progress in Northern Italy. While we talk of freedom, they talk of territorial aggrandisement—while we advocate economy and free trade, they encourage the costly armaments of offensive war—while we maintain the rights of Piedmont to

independence and self-government, they inflame the passions and the hopes of an excitable people with the cry of 'Death to the Austrians,' and a march on Milan. Above all, while we implore the men of Italy to keep for themselves at least that portion of their country which enjoys the blessings they are so justly proud of, they are told from Paris that their cause is hopeless without another foreign intervention.

'The *Italian Idea* has been, since 1847, the motive and the cause of every act of the policy of Piedmont—the passion of King Victor Emmanuel, and the standard of the cabinet of Count Cavour. This idea has already produced all that it could produce, under the circumstances—military achievements, preparations for war, systems of defence, political manifestations against Austria: it can go no further in this direction without meeting war. Yet Piedmont cannot, without great danger, remain where she now is. She cannot have put herself at the head of an Italian movement and then recede. Piedmont *must* find means to satisfy the hopes she has created, or forfeit all influence in Italy, and find herself overpowered by the passions which her own popularity still restrains.' (*Napoléon III. et l'Italie*, p. 30.)

It may suit the purposes of a Power not indisposed to engage in aggressive war, to make what is termed the principle of 'nationalities' one of the pretexts of a policy which has no better justification. The same principle has often been loudly invoked by the revolutionary party when it sought to overthrow the existing settlement of Europe. So, too, it is obvious that a Power bent on overleaping those barriers, and destroying those engagements which have maintained the peace of continental Europe for nearly half a century, speaks lightly of the force of that compact. The treaties which bind governments, and are the international laws of nations, are described by the author of the pamphlet before us as causes of danger rather than of security to the peace of Europe; and a state relying on these written engagements alone, may find itself opposed, we are told, 'by moral right and universal conscience.' (p. 62.) Before we enter upon a more minute examination of the bearing of these propositions on Italy, we pause for a moment to consider them in their application to the policy of our own country.

If we at all understand the theory of nationality, which is of modern growth and uncertain application, it means that each political unity constituting a state is to be commensurate with one of those branches of the human family which have the same language, race, and national character, and that the rule of any one of these branches over fractions of another branch is to be regarded as an intolerable oppression. To this it may be replied, that in fact no state ever realised this condition.

Even France, which approaches the nearest to absolute identity of national character, has her Alsatians, her Flemings, her Bretons, her Basques, her Provençals, her Corsica and Algeria. Germany, with a considerable amount of family likeness in her population, has never constituted a true political unity, and includes several Slavonian provinces. Italy, with all her cry for unity, is subdivided by endless local distinctions; even the present dominions of the King of Sardinia consist of five portions intensely jealous of each other, viz., Savoy, Piedmont, the Lomellina, acquired from Lombardy in 1734, Genoa, and Sardinia. The national union of Italy would require that Austria should give up Lombardy, Venice, and the South Tyrol; Switzerland, the Canton of Ticino; France, Corsica; and England, Malta. It is clear, that the application of this principle would lead to the entire dissolution of the multifarious states which are properly called empires, and in particular of those of Russia, Austria, and Great Britain. Indeed, the Abbé Gioberti, one of the lights of modern Italy, argues that these composite states are monstrous anomalies, which must be of short duration; but his theory is contradicted by the entire history of mankind, and by facts of irresistible authority.

Of all the sovereigns now filling a throne, Queen Victoria is undoubtedly the ruler of the largest number of subject races, alien populations, and discordant tongues. In the vast circumference of her dominions, every form of religion is professed, every code of law is administered, and her empire is tessellated with every variety of the human species. Everywhere, no doubt, that ineradicable feeling prevails, which makes a man believe his own religion to be the true one, his own form the type of beauty, his own race and country the best in the world. But above and around them all stands that majestic edifice, raised by the valour and authority of England, which connects these scattered dependencies with one great Whole infinitely more powerful, more civilised, and more free than any separate fragment could be; and it is to the subordination of national or provincial independence that the true citizenship of these realms owes its existence. In the name of that right, we have crushed the Indian mutiny, and we refuse to entertain the prayer of the Ionian people, though they indeed do not even owe allegiance to the British Crown. In the name of that right, we have formed the people of these islands into a United Kingdom, though that union has cost us a secular contest with the disaffection of Ireland, and has not always been accepted on this side our northern border. But it is the glory of England to have constituted such an empire, and to govern it, in the main, on just

and tolerant principles, as long as her imperial rights are not assailed; when they are assailed, the people of England have never shown much forbearance in the defence of them. Such being the fact, it is utterly repugnant to the first principles of our own policy, and to every page in our history, to lend encouragement to that separation of nationalities from other empires which we fiercely resist when it threatens to dismember our own. On the contrary, it is our part to teach a different lesson—to remind the world that this heterogeneous empire is not so much held together by the force of England, as by the respect she has ever professed for national usages, the desire she feels to carry self-government to the furthest practicable limits, and to attach her possessions to the Crown, not by the severity, but by the lightness, of her control. If Austria had governed her provinces, from 1815 to 1848, on more liberal principles, it is possible that she might have accomplished similar results, and at times even her Italian subjects might perhaps have been conciliated. Since 1848, the case is different. The contests of that period have left implacable resentments. The policy of the new government has been centralising, and the well-meant endeavours of the Archduke Maximilian to conciliate the Lombards met with no success at Milan, and no countenance at Vienna. Whilst, therefore, we cannot, as Englishmen, agree that a mere outcry for ‘nationality’ is to be set against the law of treaties, or regarded as an expression of ‘moral right and universal conscience,’ the violent and frequent recurrence of that cry indicates a failure of policy or a vice of system on the part of the dominant Power, which brute force cannot cure, and which it becomes a wise and provident government to remove.

Similar reasons, in addition to those considerations of honour, truth, and fidelity, which are the sanction of all public obligations, bind us imperatively to the maintenance of treaties even when they are at variance with the liberal sentiments and free institutions of this country. To take a recent and memorable example; the war in which the arms and the diplomacy of France and England were lately engaged, was undertaken for no other object. The existence of the Turkish Empire in Europe and the government of its Christian populations by the sword of Islam, is a fact infinitely more injurious to the great interests of civilisation and the rights of humanity than the possession of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom by the House of Austria. But when Russia appeared as the armed champion of what she termed the rights *ab antiquo* of the Christians in Turkey, and when she threatened to overthrow the tottering dominion of the Porte, England and France did

not hesitate to spend their best blood, not certainly in support of Turkish despotism, but in defence of those treaties which Turkey had a right to invoke, and in opposition to the hostile intervention of a foreign Power; and Sardinia herself joined her arms to their's. The spirit of the Austrian government in the Italian provinces we heartily deplore. All things considered, it would have been better for Austria herself if England and the other Powers had not insisted in 1815 on her resuming the government of Lombardy*, or if the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom had been erected into a distinct State; but that consideration is utterly insufficient to justify a deliberate breach of the public law of Europe.

The existence of territorial rights secured by treaties is sometimes attacked by unreflecting or dishonest politicians, as if the only object of such treaties was to place reluctant populations under the yoke of an oppressor, and to secure the possessions of mighty empires. Nothing can be more shallow and short-sighted than such an argument. Treaties serve, no doubt, to define the territorial rights of the strong, but they serve much more to protect the rights of the weak. Great Powers might be able to hold their own by their military strength; but small States owe their very existence to the treaties they affect to denounce. In reality, treaties serve to restrain the former and to preserve the latter. France, Russia, and Austria are held within their boundaries by the compact of 1815, and by other engagements concluded under that compact. If that were removed, what would become of the independence of Belgium, the neutrality of Switzerland, the constitutional rights of Piedmont? The argument we urged, and urged we think with unanswerable force, against the incorporation of Cracow with the Austrian Empire, was, that in that case this principle was violated, and, like all other violations of right, it will one day tell with fatal effect on the authors of it. But there is no other instance in which the treaties of 1815 have been modified without the consent of all the parties to them. No doubt the principles which prevail in the Sardinian dominions are hateful to Austria; and every form of provocation has been used by the Italian party to induce her to strike

* We believe that we are strictly correct in stating that the Emperor Francis, foreseeing the difficulties his government would have to encounter in Lombardy, and anxious to avoid causes of future dissension with France, expressed his strong disinclination to resume that province, but it was pressed upon him by the other Powers, and especially by the Prince Regent of England, as the only effectual mode of excluding the influence of France from Northern Italy.

the first blow. What restrains her? The law of treaties — the very treaties which appear so onerous to King Victor Emmanuel and M. de Cavour because they unite Lombardy to Austria, are the same ‘title-deeds of Europe’ to which the court of Turin owes the possession of several provinces, and above all that sovereign independence within certain limits which no Power can assail with impunity. But the mere fact of the existence of the free constitutional monarchy of Piedmont, which has successfully planted the national flag of Italy on its own soil, gives a peremptory contradiction to the assertion that treaties are upheld in the interest of Austria alone; for in spite of the bitter hostility of that monarchy against Austria, and of two Piedmontese invasions of Lombardy, the Cabinet of Vienna has never attempted any coercive interference with her neighbour. Nor is it a small thing that under the protection of these very treaties the Piedmontese Government stands perfectly secure, its independent rights absolutely protected by the law of Europe. M. de Cavour has utterly failed, in our judgment, to show by his Memorandum of the 1st March any case whatever in which Austria has encroached upon any of the rights of Piedmont; and he would do well to remember that the other States of Italy are entitled to the same independence in their policy and their alliances, which he justly claims for the Crown of Sardinia. All governments are interested in protesting against such doctrines as he has put forward, by mis-stating facts, by mis-quoting history, to impugn existing territorial arrangements, and lead us step by step to the new ‘imperial map of Europe in 1860.’

Let us now briefly describe the engagements which define the territories of Austria and Sardinia in Italy, and those which exist between Austria and the other Italian States. By a secret article of the Treaty of Tœplitz, of the 9th September, 1813, in which Austria joined the Great Alliance with Great Britain and her allies, it was stipulated that the Austrian monarchy should be reconstructed on its former footing; and accordingly the 93rd, 94th, and 95th articles of the Final Act of Vienna expressly recognise the restoration of Austria in all the territories north of the Po, which are minutely particularised and described in the 93rd article. The 103rd article restored the Roman Legations to the Pope, reserving a right of garrison to Austria in the fortresses of Ferrara and Comacchio. A treaty of the 10th June, 1817, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Spain, expressly declared, by its fifth article, that ‘although the frontier of the Austrian states in Italy be ‘fixed by the course of the River Po, it is, nevertheless, una-

'nimosly agreed that, as the fortress of Piacentia is an object 'of essential interest to the defensive system of Italy,' Austria should continue to enjoy the right of garrison in that city until the reversions consequent on the extinction of the male Spanish line of the Bourbons should take place. On that event the Duchy of Parma falls to Austria, and that of Piacenza to Sardinia, in conformity with the arrangement concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. By another convention between Austria and Sardinia of May 20th, 1815, it was agreed that in the event of the reversion taking place, the town of Piacenza, with a radius of 2000 toises, falls to Austria in full sovereignty, and Sardinia is to obtain an equivalent elsewhere. Sardinia complains that, in opposition to the spirit of these engagements, Austria has already converted Piacenza into a place of war of the first class. These are the limits of the Austrian power in Italy as far as it rests upon the treaties common to all Europe.

The cession of Genoa to Sardinia and the delimitation of the Sardinian dominions in Italy is to be found in articles 85 to 90 of the same treaty, with the express addition that the convention of the 4th October, 1751, between the Court of Turin and the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa shall in all respects be observed. Tuscany was transferred to the branch of the imperial family which represented the House of Lorraine in the person of the second son of Maria Theresa, in consideration of the annexation of Lorraine to France by the peace of 1736, which was acceded to by Spain, Sardinia, and the Germanic body, and solemnly guaranteed by France. Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola were restored to the branch of the imperial family which represents the House of Este, those duchies having been originally conferred on the third son of Maria Theresa, who married the grand-daughter of the Duke of Modena, by the treaty of 1753, concluded at Vienna under the mediation of King George II. These facts prove that the position of Austria herself in Italy, and that of the *agnates* of the Austrian family in their respective dominions, is not the result of encroachment or conquest, or even of the treaties of 1815, but that it rests on inheritances, exchanges, and contracts, belonging, for upwards of a century, to the public law of Europe, and if these possessions are to be withdrawn from her, the rights and territories for which they were exchanged should be restored.

We pause for a moment to show the feeling and opinion which prevailed on these questions at the time these arrangements were made. When Lord William Bentinck landed at Leghorn in March, 1814, at the head of the Anglo-Sicilian army of about 15,000 men, he was animated by those sentiments towards the Italians which his own generous and liberal cha-

racter readily conceived; and it was hoped that the arrival of a division in which so many Italians were engaged would incite the nation to join the general combination of Europe. 'Italians!' said the British general in his proclamation from Leghorn of the 14th March, 1814, 'hesitate no longer — be 'Italians, and let Italy in arms be convinced that the great 'cause of the country is in her hands! Warriors of Italy! you 'are not invited to join us, but you are invited to vindicate 'your own rights and to be free.' This proclamation, though supported by an Anglo-Italian army, met with no response. The anxiety of the Italians, at that time, seems solely to have been directed to the recovery of their *local* independence. Colonel Catinelli, who was serving on the Staff of Lord William's army, relates that, having been employed in a British uniform to ascertain the disposition of the people in various places, he found that at Naples they wished for the Bourbons; at Rome and in the Legations, for the Pope; at Florence, for the Grand Duke Ferdinand; at Modena, for the House of Este; and at Verona, for the Emperor Francis. At Milan, after the disturbances of the 21st April, Baron Trecchi, who went from Gonalonieri on a mission to Lord William Bentinck, complained that the Lombards were 'stupidly and blindly Austrian.' Certain it is, that in all the arrangements sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna with regard to Italy, only one was imposed by force, or was at that time repugnant to the people — and that one was the annexation of Genoa to Piedmont, which the citizens of that proud republic bitterly resented, and which to this hour they have not forgiven.

Throughout the debates in the British Parliament which took place on the return of Lord Castlereagh from Vienna, in March 1815, not a single word of doubt or censure was pronounced by the liberal opposition on the restoration of the former governments of Central and Northern Italy. The retention of Venice by Austria was objected to because Austria had obtained that territory from France, and on questionable grounds. But the whole force of the opposition, led by Mr. Whitbread in the House of Commons, and by Lord Buckingham, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Grey in the House of Lords, was directed against the 'enormity' of the cession of Genoa to the King of Sardinia, in direct opposition to the will of his people and the promises of Lord William Bentinck. 'The Genoese,' Lord William had said in his despatch of the 27th April, 1814, 'universally desire the restoration of their ancient republic. They 'dread above all other arrangements their annexation to Piedmont, to the inhabitants of which there always has existed a 'particular aversion.' On what grounds of policy was this

measure justified? As early as 1805, Mr. Pitt had stated, in a paper addressed to Count Woronzow, his opinion that it was desirable that Genoa should be annexed to Piedmont, as constituting by their union the best bulwark that could be established for the defence of the Italian frontier against France; and Lord Liverpool added in debate, that, 'as in consequence of the weakness of the King of Sardinia Bonaparte had been able to overrun and conquer Italy, the object was to place a barrier between France and Italy that would prevent such a consequence in future.' The statesmen of that day did not foresee that a time might come when Sardinia would lend herself to France for the very purpose she was then engaged, by the acquisition of Genoa, to prevent.

It is important not to confound the strict rights established by the Congress of Vienna, which are necessarily recognised by all the parties to the general treaties of Europe, with the measures of policy which have at different times been taken by some of the Powers under subsidiary conventions. The treaty between Austria and Naples of the 29th April, 1815, by which Naples bound herself to do nothing contrary to the system of the Austrian Government in its own Italian provinces, is one of these arrangements. The very terms of it are as absurd as they are unjust; for strictly applied they would extinguish the independence of the crown of Naples: but it can scarcely be said now to have any force or effect, and it ought unquestionably to be annulled. We pass over the interventions of the Holy Alliance and the Congress of Laybach in Piedmont and Naples, which certainly could not now be repeated, and which were condemned nearly forty years ago by public opinion throughout Europe. The treaties with the States of Central Italy rest on totally different grounds. In the event of the extinction of the secondary and tertiary lines of the House of Hapsburg Lorraine, the reversion in the Duchies is secured by repeated treaties to Austria, who has therefore a direct interest in the maintenance of these arrangements; for if the reigning branches in these States were annihilated, the territories they govern would lapse, *de jure*, to the Austrian Empire; and on this ground Austria claims the right of defending the heirs in possession.* The treaty of the 12th June 1815, between Austria and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, is called a treaty of friendship, union, and defensive alliance, the prominent object of which is to provide as well for

* See Prince Schwarzenberg's despatch of 25th February, 1849, in Samwer's Martens, vol. xiv. p. 702.

the internal tranquillity, as for the external security, of Italy. It establishes a reciprocal guarantee of the territorial possessions of both States (precisely similar to our own treaties with Portugal); insomuch that any attack on the Italian possessions of one of them is equally to be repelled by the other; the forces supplied by Austria being fixed at 80,000, and those of Tuscany at 6000 men. They are also to communicate to each other all that regards the tranquillity of Italy. A further convention was concluded between Austria and Tuscany on the 22nd April, 1850, by virtue of which the temporary occupation of that State took place after the late revolution, and lasted till 1854.* The Grand Duke was in fact recalled by the free will of his subjects, and they accuse him of a breach of faith in calling in the Austrians after the government had been restored by the Tuscans themselves.

In December 1847, on the eve of that convulsion which spread in the following spring to almost every State in Europe, the Duke of Modena concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Austria, 'to cement the ties of friendship and kinsmanship between the sovereigns, and to devote their common efforts to the maintenance of internal and external peace and legal order in their dominions.' Under this treaty, the contracting Powers agreed jointly to repel attacks from without. Austria obtained (by the second article) 'the right of advancing the Imperial troops into the Modenese territory, and of occupying the fortresses there whenever the interest of common defence or military caution require it.' And in exchange for this power, Austria undertook to afford to the Duke of Modena the necessary support against any popular commotion in his dominions, which his own force should be unable to put down. The Duke of Modena further engaged not to conclude any military convention with any foreign Power without the previous consent of the Court of Vienna.† Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, 2000 Austrians entered the Modenese territory. An identical treaty was shortly afterwards concluded between Austria and the Infant, Duke of Parma, then reigning.

These treaties constitute the principal danger at this moment to the peace of Europe, which they profess to protect, for they undoubtedly amount to a considerable extension of the military power and political influence of Austria beyond her own frontier, the line of the Po; and it may fairly be argued that they exceed the limitation imposed by the general treaty of 10th

* Published in Samwer's continuation of Martens, vol. xv. p. 251.

† Published in Murhard's Martens, vol. xi. p. 353.

June, 1817, above referred to. They were concluded at a crisis when the tranquillity of the Peninsula was threatened by great and serious dangers, and at the urgent solicitations of the Governments of these States. At the present time, indeed, Austria is not in the occupation of any one of these States beyond the Po, except Bologna and the citadel of Ancona, and from them she is ready to withdraw at the request of the Pope, and on the cessation of the French occupation of Rome. But Austria has placed herself by these engagements in the dangerous position of a great Power liable to be called upon by these lesser States to take military measures which would probably afford grounds for actual hostilities on the part of Sardinia and France. The mere existence of such treaties cannot be regarded as a *casus belli*, any more than the treaty of Unkiar Skælessi, which placed the Porte under the exclusive protection of the Emperor of Russia, to the great dissatisfaction of the rest of Europe, could be regarded as a ground of war, unless it had been put in force. In the present temper of Italy, there can be no doubt that, if Austria did resolve to put these treaties in force, and to occupy the territories to which they give her access, such an advance would be denounced as an 'invasion,' which is the term Signor Farini has already applied to her previous occupations. To Austria, therefore, these treaties constitute an onerous and dangerous obligation, from which it is scarcely possible that she should derive any corresponding advantage. It would, therefore, have been in the highest degree conducive to her own security and welfare, if Lord Cowley's mission to Vienna, or any other consideration, had prevailed upon her to readjust these relations with the minor Italian States. Lord Palmerston elicited from Prince Metternich, in 1847, a most emphatic declaration of the respect of Austria 'for the independence and territorial integrity 'of the States which compose Italy under the guarantee of the 'treaties of 1814 and 1815;' to which was added the assurance that 'Austria recognised in every government the right to carry 'out the reforms and the ameliorations which it may judge calculated to advance the well-being of its subjects.' (*Italian Papers*, vol. ii. p. 157.) This principle, and the rule of strict non-intervention in territories beyond her own frontiers, it is the obvious duty and interest of Austria to maintain, if she would avert the calamity of a counter-interference on the part of France.

With regard to the offensive and defensive treaties between Austria and the Duchies of Modena and Parma*, Lord Pal-

* The exact character of the diplomatic engagements existing with

merston recorded his opinion in a despatch, dated December 27th, 1848, the very time when he is represented by the pamphleteer as most actively engaged in combating the rights of Austria in Italy. His words are remarkable:—

‘However much those treaties may in principle be objected to by other states, and especially by neighbouring Italian states, as introducing the armed interference of a foreign Power into the internal affairs of the two duchies, yet those treaties do seem to give the Austrian Government a right to send troops into those duchies if invited by their respective sovereigns; and, in fact, the main objection against those treaties lies in the circumstance that they do confer that right on the Austrian Government.’ (*Italian Papers*, Part III. p. 682.)

Even M. Emile de Girardin remarks in his pamphlet, bearing the ominous title of ‘*La Guerre*,’ that in common justice to Austria she has at least the same right to conclude treaties of this nature with the sovereigns of neighbouring States who are her kinsmen and allies, as France has to conclude treaties with Piedmont. To dispute the treaty-making power of Sovereign States would be in fact to introduce endless causes of hostility, and to limit our own means of action; for if we succeed in persuading these very States to change their policy and adhere to a different system of alliances—a thing which has happened before, and may again—it is by treaties alone that such engagements could be maintained. We are far, therefore, from disputing the abstract right of Austria to conclude and maintain these treaties; but we hold them to be in the highest degree impolitic, and they aggravate her own difficulties by connecting her more closely with the Italian sovereigns, and rendering her more obnoxious to the hostility of the Italian people. There is, moreover, a wide distinction between general treaties, negotiated at a European Congress, assented to by all States, forming the basis of European law, and conventions such as these, which are in fact separate agreements tending to modify the territorial limits of powerful empires. The former class consists of public engagements of paramount authority; the latter are subsidiary arrangements, which ought to yield whenever they trench on the rights of other States or the general interests of the world.

Having thus established what we conceive to be the fundamental principles that govern the policy of all the parties to the general settlement of 1815, in reference to these questions, we

reference to the Italian duchies, and of the treaties in question, will be found in the Italian papers laid before Parliament in 1849. (Part II. p. 390.)

shall now proceed to notice in succession the heads of the pamphlet published in February last by the French Government. That pamphlet is not an ephemeral production. It bears the marks of long and careful deliberation, and if any doubt were entertained as to the authorship of it, we could without difficulty point out passages of a striking similarity in the 'Idées 'Napoléoniennes,' published by the present Emperor of the French in 1839, during his exile in this country. They are in fact the opinions he has entertained, with that fixity which is characteristic of his mind, for a long series of years. They were probably conceived at the time of his early connexion with the Italian patriots in the movement of 1831; they were cautiously avowed in London; they were silently elaborated in the forced seclusion of Ham; they were indicated at the Congress of Paris at the close of the late war; and the publication of them to the world demonstrates, that in the opinion of their author, the time for their application had arrived. Circumstances have subsequently occurred which have rendered their application far more difficult than was imagined, but we are not yet satisfied that the same ends will not be pursued by other means and in another form.

The character of the Emperor Napoleon III. combines several qualities which are not commonly united—a mind bold, chimerical, and speculative, dwelling long on its own creations, tenacious in the extreme degree of conceptions which have scarcely the semblance of probability, but cautious and often hesitating in action. The incidents of his life have been so strange, his success so complete where it was most improbable, his career so much more like a tale of Aladdin's lamp than the ordinary and rational course of human events, that to his mind the most fanciful objects acquire consistency and probability,—the most positive sometimes appear unreal. But though his confidence in his fortunes is great, it is not unbounded; he consults the hour as well as the man, and his resolution fluctuates for a time, as if it hung on the quivering needle of a compass or the trickling sand of an hour-glass. This tentative process might be traced by those who watched his conduct on a much smaller theatre in the preparations for the attempts on Strasbourg and Boulogne. The same course was followed throughout the proceedings which began on the 10th December, 1848, and ended on the 2nd December, 1852, by placing on his head the Imperial crown. The same course may be traced in his foreign policy, and in the design for changing the territorial division of Europe. No doubt the wise and politic consideration he has met with from

successive governments in this country have materially affected his conduct to other States. The chief obstacle to the execution of rash and aggressive projects lay in the certainty that they would at once cost him the alliance of England.

Hence, the very first section of this pamphlet attempts to show that the policy it advocates towards Italy is an English policy—that England is bound by her antecedents to support it, and that the intentions of the English Cabinet in 1847 and 1848 are to be regarded as the sanction of the schemes of France in 1859. This artifice, for as such we must regard it, falls to pieces before the general considerations we have already presented on the Italian policy of Great Britain. The support we have endeavoured to give to the liberal cause in Italy was given to constitutional monarchy, to national institutions, and to territorial rights. We withhold our sympathy from the revolutionary party, whether it be represented by Mazzini or by an Imperial prince, from foreign intervention and from military aggressions, from whatever side they proceed. Nothing can be more disingenuous than to apply the language used by a British Minister, under circumstances of a totally different character, eleven years ago, to events brought about by an opposite motive. The pamphlet (p. 8.), quotes two extracts from a despatch said to have been addressed by Lord Palmerston to Lord Ponsonby on the 29th October, 1848, for the purpose of showing that the British Government were of opinion that Austria could not permanently retain her possessions in Northern Italy, and that the wisest course for her to pursue would be to emancipate Lombardy, an opinion which was entertained at that time by the Archduke John himself. On turning to this despatch, which bears the date of November 11th, 1848, and not of the 29th October, we find with some surprise that the extracts made from it by the author of the pamphlet are essentially inaccurate, and that the principal argument used by Lord Palmerston on that occasion *has been suppressed altogether*.

Lord Palmerston was of opinion that the moment was favourable to a due calculation by Austria of the chances of the future, and for making an arrangement to release Lombardy from Austrian rule, by establishing a separate viceroyalty or otherwise. The authority of the Imperial arms had been triumphantly re-established in Lombardy and at Vienna. The Emperor was therefore free to take any course which a prudent policy might prescribe. But another circumstance was pointed out by the English Minister, as of great importance in the then state of affairs. France was on the eve of that election which placed Louis Napoleon at the head of the Republic, and the opinion

which Lord Palmerston expressed on that contingency was in the following terms : —

‘Important changes may take place in France. The election which is coming on next month may bring other men into power in that country : with other men another policy may come in. Traditional maxims of policy, connected with a busier action in regard to foreign countries, may be taken up as the guide of the government of France. Popular feeling in that country, which at present inclines to peace, might easily be turned in an opposite direction ; and the glory, as it would be considered in France, of freeing the whole of Italy up to the Alps from the domination of Austria, might reconcile the French nation to many sacrifices and to great exertions. Occasions for calling upon France to interfere in favour of Italian independence would not long be wanting, and would be amply afforded by the Lombards so soon as it was known by them that the French government and people were disposed to answer to their call. It is hardly possible to doubt that an efficient and powerful French army, aided and supported by a general rising of the Italians, would be too strong for the force which Austria could spare for operations in Italy ; and the probability is, that in such a case Austria would lose everything in Italy even up to the Alps.’ (*Italian Papers*, 1848, p. 567.)

Considering the state of Hungary in the autumn of 1848, and the recent overthrow of all authority at Vienna, this apprehension was not unreasonable, and Lord Palmerston thought that it would be prudent to meet the danger by a concession. But what was the danger? *That of a French intervention.* The evident object and intention of the British Minister was to prevent that calamity ; and in the various transactions in which we have been engaged with France, we do not hesitate to avow — what indeed needs no avowal — that one of the chief objects of this country has been to deter France from attacking the public treaties of Europe, and that our alliance has flourished in proportion to the respect which she, in common with ourselves, has shown for those treaties.

It is true that England sought to lessen the disastrous consequences of the battle of Novara, which was fought by Charles Albert, in defiance of our earnest remonstrances ; it is true that England has ever since taken the warmest interest in the welfare of the constitutional government of Piedmont ; it is true that we encouraged and assisted her to join us in the Crimean war, and that at Paris, when France and Austria would have excluded the representative of Sardinia from the general proceedings of the Congress, on the ground that he was only entitled to take a part when the interests of his own country were under discussion, it was entirely owing to the energetic remonstrance of the British Plenipotentiary that M. de

Cavour was admitted to the Conference on equal terms with the Great Powers.* He subsequently requited that benefit by joining his voice to Russia and France on all the questions which arose upon the interpretation and execution of the treaty, in opposition to the just demands of England, Turkey, and Austria. The union of the policy of Russia and of France — a union pregnant with disastrous consequences to the best interests of Europe — became from that moment an object eagerly pursued by the Sardinian Minister, and from Russia especially he received encouragement and support. In fact, at that moment the policy of Sardinia was already directed, not to the pacification of the East, but to a future contest in Italy. Thus a combination was speedily formed at Paris, between our allies and the enemy we had just vanquished. Before many months had elapsed the Russian fleet, which had been annihilated in the Black Sea, found a Mediterranean haven in the Sardinian port of Villa Franca, and the closest intimacy has sprung up between these governments which have no common tie but their extreme animosity to a fourth Power.

We may here remark that M. de Cavour has more than once claimed the merit of having brought what is called the 'Italian Question' before the Congress of Paris: on this ground he was hailed with enthusiasm on his return to Turin, and honours were conferred on him throughout Italy. But the protocols of the Congress prove that whatever was said on the subject of Italy was said by Count Walewski and Lord Clarendon at the sitting of the 8th April, 1856, and that it related exclusively to the occupation of the Papal States by foreign troops, and to the reactionary violence of the King of Naples. Count Cavour's own short observations were judiciously confined to the same subjects. It is true that on the 16th April the Sardinian Minister did address a note on the general state of Italy to the English and French Cabinets, which has since been laid before Parliament, but that note formed no part of the proceedings of the Congress, and was probably intended chiefly to gratify the national party at Turin. This transaction is related with great accuracy in the third of Count Catinelli's very able and instructive '*Études*,' which we strongly recommend to those who are desirous to know what can be said on

* We are surprised that M. de Cavour should have urged this precedent in support of his claim to attend the Congress now about to assemble. Piedmont has no claim to enter a conference of the *Great Powers*, though she had a claim to enter a conference of *belligerents* in 1856. The true precedent to follow is that of Belgium at the Conference of London in 1831.

both sides of the question. The visit of the King of Sardinia to this country after the war led to explanations which can have left no doubt on the mind of His Majesty as to the views entertained by British statesmen on the subject of territorial changes in Italy.

We now proceed to consider, with more brevity, the second head of the Imperial pamphlet, which is directed to prove that Germany, properly so called, has no interest in Italy; that German nationality is interested in casting off altogether the fragment of Italian nationality that adheres to the skirts of the empire; that Prussia, 'which tends to become the head of the Germanic Body, has an immense interest in keeping Austria within bounds; and that, by becoming her ally, she would lend a hand to her own abasement, and thus disavow the work of Frederic the Great.' The tendency of these suggestions is too obvious to require comment. They have certainly deceived no one on the right bank of the Rhine; and they derive their sole importance from the intention they disclose to dissever, if possible, the Germanic Body; to speculate on the jealousies and divisions of Prussia and Austria; to flatter the former Power, in order to isolate the latter; and to purchase the connivance of Germany in the spoliation of the House of Hapsburg. Happily for Germany, and for the world, it is not the policy of Frederic the Great which now constitutes the force and glory of the Prussian monarchy. That policy may still have been felt when Prussia withdrew from the contest against the French Republic by the Peace of Basle, and left Austria to continue the contest single-handed in three successive wars. But the year which followed Austerlitz, beheld Jena. We know, and Prussia knows, what was the end of that selfish and irresolute policy — degradation and defeat beyond all human endurance, which were not wiped out until the united armies of Germany fought once more in a common cause. Let it not be thought that Austria can stand without Germany, or Germany without Austria; especially at a moment when France and Russia are in close alliance. All the German States are Confederates, whose existence, as regards foreign Powers, is indissolubly joined. As far as the opinion and influence of this country extend, the maintenance of a firm and intimate union throughout the Germanic Confederation is a cardinal point in the policy of England, for without that union peace can never be secure, and the independence of Europe cannot be preserved.

We rejoice, therefore, to find that the effect of the passage in the Imperial pamphlet here referred to, and of the undisguised attempts of the Court of France to sow dissension in

Germany, has been precisely the contrary of that which the author of this policy seems to have contemplated. For the first time since the great collapse of 1849, the German States and the German people have been stirred by a generous and gallant feeling of national union, which would rise, on further provocation, to the height of military enthusiasm. The young sovereign who fills the throne of the German Cæsars is brave and resolute, and, were the emergency to arise, we have no doubt his appeal would be heard beyond the limits of his own empire. Alliance with France would now be regarded in Germany as an inextinguishable degradation. The second Empire has no Bavaria, no Saxony, no Confederation of the Rhine, amongst its courtiers; and the injudicious language employed at Paris has given to Austria twice the strength she could herself bring into the field. For Prussia to stand aloof in such an emergency, or to place herself, as M. de Schleinitz has attempted to do in his circular despatch, on the same footing as Russia or Great Britain, foreign and neutral Powers, would be to renounce the character of a German Power altogether. The answer of the minor German Courts to Austria is, on the contrary, eminently patriotic and judicious; and the temporary check given to the warlike and aggressive policy of France is mainly due to the manifest determination of Germany to stand up as one man against the disturbance of the peace of Europe.

The third point in the pamphlet which attracts our notice, is the assumption that the policy of France is ‘simply aiming at the consolidation of the peace of Europe by applying her power to remove the difficulties which threaten it.’ The grand and necessary objects of the first Empire were, it is said, ‘territorial and political defence, and moral expansion for the benefit of other nations,’ so that the acquisitions of France on the Rhine, the Scheldt, the Pyrenees, and the Alps were only the outworks of the French Empire. The following passage must be cited as it stands:—

‘The motives of the domination of the Emperor over Italy were explained by him in one of his memorable conversations at St. Helena. “As for the Italians,” said he, “their agglomeration was already considerably advanced. All that was needed was time to ripen the union of their feelings and their laws. The annexation of Piedmont to France, and that of Parma, Tuscany, and Rome, were only temporary measures, with no other object than to superintend, protect, and advance the national education of the Italians.” Nor was this generous idea a mere afterthought of the illustrious exile: it was the essence of his policy, as was proved by the official answer given in 1808 to M. Melzi, who headed the deputation charged to offer him

the crown of Italy. That answer throws a beam of light upon this historical question. "I have always," said he, "intended to create Italian nationality free and independent. I accept the crown, and "I will keep it, *but only as long as my interests require.*" The campaigns of the Revolution and the conquests of the Empire were, therefore, a violent measure and a last expedient of strife and propaganda, but not a system. *The Emperor only made Germany and Italy French in order to prepare them some day to become German and Italian.** . . . If France, which desires peace, were forced to make war, Europe would no doubt be moved, but she need not be alarmed, her independence would not be at stake. This war, which fortunately is not probable, would have no other object, from the day when it becomes necessary, than to anticipate revolutions by affording just satisfaction to the demands of nations, and by protecting and guaranteeing the acknowledged principles and authentic rights of their nationality.' (Pp. 22-7.)

We acknowledge that we cannot transcribe without astonishment a passage so outrageously repugnant to the truth of history. To speak of Napoleon I. as the protector and cherisher of nationalities—to describe his dominion over Europe as 'an expansion of moral influence'—to suppose that he had annexed Italy and trampled on Germany only to teach the Italians and Germans to be men—to imagine that he ever intended to relax the gripe of his oppression on one single province of that vast and ill-gotten empire, is an extravagance which might be pardoned in the dreams of an enthusiast, but it assumes a different character when it is deliberately repeated under the sanction of his nephew and representative. Every recorded incident in the life of Napoleon I. repudiates such a construction. Every letter which comes to light proves the utter scorn with which he regarded the

* The same idea is expressed almost in the same words by the Prince Napoleon Louis in his 'Idées Napoléoniennes' of 1839 (p. 150.): 'Napoléon avait réuni au grand Empire le Piedmont, ainsi que Rome et Florence, dans le but d'habituer ces peuples à un gouvernement qui fit les hommes citoyens et soldats. Une fois les guerres finies il les aurait rendues à la mère patrie.' The same passage also refers to the declaration to M. Melzi in 1808, quoted in the pamphlet. The identity of the two publications on this subject is complete. Melzi's own account of that interview, as recorded by Count Balbo in his 'Speranze d'Italia,' is widely different. Melzi proposed that Northern Italy should be placed under one ruler. Napoleon assented. Melzi went on to suggest that the House of Savoy should be that ruler. Napoleon smiled. Melzi persisted, and said it would conduce to the balance of power. 'Who talks of the balance of power?' exclaimed Napoleon. A silence ensued. Melzi resumed, 'I am wrong there; I ought to have spoken of *preponderance.*' 'Now you have it,' rejoined the Emperor.

muttered curses of the foreign nations he had yoked to his car. Take the two remarkable volumes of his own correspondence during the first Italian campaigns, which, with singular candour, have been published by order of Napoleon III.—every page breathes the stern authority of revolutionary war. Take the letters addressed to King Joseph when in Naples and in Spain, in which that temperate ruler is admonished to strengthen his government by acts of violence and force, and to crush every sign of national feeling among his subjects.* Take the long series of contributions of war levied on conquered, and even on allied, states—the plunder of churches and museums—the insults heaped on every independent and illustrious head, insults more deadly than the injuries they endured—the military murders of the Marquis Rodio at Naples, and Palm in Germany—the internecine war between the secret national societies which covered Europe and the Imperial Police—the universal and detested yoke cast upon all national thought, action, feeling, law, which burst at length with the crash of an earthquake and hurled the tyrant to the dust; and with these events fresh in our memories—for our fathers bore no inconsiderable part in resisting that dire oppression—we protest, in the name of all freedom and of every people, against the audacious assertion that the national rights and interests of mankind were to be secured by him who was their unrelenting oppressor. Once only, in his whole career, did the First Napoleon render a service to the nationalities of Europe, when he roused them to a pitch of unexampled union and vigour to throw off his intolerable yoke.

We are at no loss to select from the innumerable examples which refute this astonishing position, one or two striking instances of what French dominion under the Empire really was. Lord Broughton, whose interesting reminiscences of Italy are before us, shall supply them; and they might be multiplied to any extent. We have the more pleasure in taking these instances from Lord Broughton, because he visited Italy with

* Consult 'Cesare Cantù Storia degli Italiani,' vol. vi. p. 251. for a lively picture of the atrocity of the French government of Italy. In fact, the Emperor Napoleon only used the Italians to assist in the subjugation of the rest of Europe. In one of his letters to Joseph, speaking of the disaffection of Calabria, he says, 'Je ne pardonne rien; faites passer par les armes au moins six cents révoltés, faites brûler les maisons, trente des principaux de chaque village, et distribuez leurs biens à l'armée. Livrez au sac deux ou trois bourgades de plus mauvaise conduite; cela servira d'exemple, et rendra aux soldats la joie et l'envie de s'agiter.'

Lord Byron directly after the war, and his sympathies were certainly not peculiarly hostile to Napoleon, or favourable to the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna.

The real object of the French Directory and of Bonaparte himself in the conquest of Italy in 1797 was to procure a territory which should be restored to Austria on condition of her assenting at the peace to the annexation of the Low Countries to the territory of the French Republic. By the secret article of Leoben* signed on the 18th April, 1797, Austria ceded the territory beyond the Oglio, on condition of obtaining all the Venetian territory on terra firma, as well as Dalmatia and Istria, and in Bonaparte's despatch to the Directory of the 19th April the spoliation of Venice is discussed and justified. But the scheme was not yet mature. In Bonaparte's letter to the Municipality of Venice, of May 26, 1797, (five weeks after their annihilation had been secretly decreed) these words occur.

‘ Dans toutes les circonstances je ferai tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour vous donner des preuves du désir que j'ai de voir consolider votre liberté, et de voir la misérable Italie se placer enfin, avec gloire, libre et indépendante des étrangers.’

At this very time a plot was carried on by French agents for the overthrow of the Venetian Government, though a pretended treaty had been signed on the 16th May, at Milan, between the French General and the Venetian deputies. During the summer of that year Venice was occupied by French troops and administered by a French Commission, and on the 18th October the definitive treaty was signed which extinguished the independence of Venice and handed over the Queen of the Adriatic to Austria. Even the Directory were revolted at the cynical treachery of their General to the cause of Italy. Bonaparte himself replied to the last protest of the Venetian municipality that ‘the Venetian people were little fitted for liberty; if they were capable of appreciating it, and had the virtue necessary for acquiring it, well and good: existing circumstances gave them an excellent opportunity of proving it: let them defend it.’†

One other example of the protection afforded by the French Empire to Italian nationality. If there be any portion of the French administration in Italy which has been regarded from a distance with regret, it is the viceregal government of Eugène.

* Correspondance de Napoléon I., vol. ii. p. 499.

† Lord Broughton's ‘Italy,’ vol. i. pp. 125–34. Daru, ‘Hist. de Venise,’ liv. xxxviii. p. 439.

The Ministers of the Italian Kingdom were honest and able; large numbers of the Milanese entered the public service; and Italian troops shared the glory of the Imperial armies. But though Lombardy had undoubtedly less to complain of under Eugène than under Austria, after a time the French Government and its Italian adherents were not a whit less unpopular. The following passage from Lord Broughton gives a striking and apposite account of the state of things which actually prevailed:—

‘It is now well known, and no danger can result from the promulgation of the fact, that for some time previous to the downfall of Napoleon a widely-extended conspiracy had been formed in his Italian provinces, having for its object the long-desired, unattainable independence of the Italian peninsula. The secret, if so it may be called, was in the breasts of no less than four thousand individuals, calling themselves Freemasons, and communicating by the masonic signs in use, not in France, but in England. These persons, although for ordinary purposes they acted with all the Freemasons of Italy, yet, for special political objects, were governed by rules and conducted by chiefs known only to themselves. Thus Prince Eugène was grand-master of Lombardy, but the private grand-master was the real head of the brotherhood, and of the project of which it was intended the viceroy should be the last to hear, and which was scrupulously concealed from every one supposed to be connected with French interests. . . . The battle of Hanau afforded the Italians the last opportunity of displaying their military genius beyond the Alps; and when General Zucchi, who commanded their contingent of the French army, returned to Milan, he proclaimed publicly that he was authorised to announce that Napoleon resigned the iron crown, released his Italian subjects and soldiers from their oaths, and left the whole of their armed force to work out the independence of their common country. This certainly was, if any, the time to secure that glorious object. Eugène and his council deliberated on a declaration proclaiming the union of all the states of Upper Italy, with Eugène for their constitutional monarch, and France for a permanent ally. The decree was written, and preparations made for sending it to all the provincial prefects: but the prince hesitated, and the decree was cancelled. He was unwilling to convoke the electoral or representative bodies, fearful lest his influence, declining daily with the disasters of his imperial step-father, should prove too weak to place the crown on his own head. The patriot Freemasons also were inactive, partly because they were aware of divisions amongst themselves, and partly because they depended on the assistance of England to secure their liberties at a general peace. Some of the bolder malcontents, amongst them Pino, opened communication with Murat, who was advancing through the Roman States with designs unknown to others, and probably not determined upon by himself. The war came at last into Italy, and, according to approved precedents, the Austrians advanced with the assurance that they came to liberate the

Lombards from a foreign yoke, and had no desire to regain their ancient Cisalpine possessions. An English general officer was charged to pledge the imperial word of Francis the First to that effect. In fact, the independence of Italy had been one of the conditions proposed to Napoleon at Dresden in 1813.* Not one of all the champions contending for the honour of imposing a master on this unhappy country omitted the usual ceremony of promising better days of freedom and happiness. The Austrian general, Nugent, and his English partisans, disembarked at the mouth of the Po and overran Romagna, and before they were repulsed by the French general, Grenier, near Parma, had time to proclaim themselves "disinterested liberators." Prince Eugène, in his proclamation of the 4th of February (1814), from Verona, declared that Murat had for the three past months promised to march to his aid. But Murat was now the ally of Austria; and advancing towards Lombardy, proclaimed, by the mouth of his general, Carascosa, the independence of Italy. The English, Sicilians, Calabrians, and Greeks, who landed at Leghorn under the command of Lord William Bentinck, assumed the same generous character of liberators and friends, allies in the same pious enterprise — the final emancipation of all Italy from a foreign yoke. It must seem to us, who have seen the event, very strange that the most credulous of the patriot Italians should have indulged in any hopes not derived from the acknowledged prowess of their own Italian army; nor would they perhaps, if Eugène had adopted a decided course, and raised the national banner. This, however, he did not do; he preferred, for the time, constancy to his great benefactor; and in his declaration of the 4th of February, 1814, from Verona, "FIDELITY," not "LIBERTY," was declared to be the watchword of all true Italians.

* Lord Broughton is wrong in this particular. The conditions proposed to Napoleon by Prince Metternich contained not a word about the independence of Italy. They stipulated the restoration of the Illyrian provinces to Austria, but no change in any part of Italy, which would have continued to form part of the French Empire, or to be governed by French viceroys. (See the conditions in *Thiers*, vol. xvi. p. 217.) But at the close of 1813 an attempt was made by the Allies to detach both Eugène and Murat from the cause of Napoleon, by offering to the former the throne of Northern Italy, and to the latter that of Naples. Murat accepted the proposal, and signed a treaty with Austria on the 11th of January, 1814, which he soon violated: Eugène, from honourable motives, refused a similar offer. But it is certain that the proposal was made to the Viceroy in the latter part of November, 1813, by the Prince Thurn and Taxis, at Verona, in direct obedience to the instructions of Prince Metternich, and had he joined the coalition and adhered to it, the fate of Northern Italy would have been changed. But he persevered, and Lombardy was in fact reconquered by Austria at the battle of the Mincio, fought on the 8th of February, 1814. The whole transaction is accurately related by Count Catinelli. (*Etudes*, p. 32.)

The account which follows of the revolutionary movements at Milan on the fall of the French Emperor is highly instructive and interesting. The cry was raised '*Patria e Indipendenza, non Eugenio, non Vicerè, non Francesi!*' A paper was presented to the Senate, beginning with the words, '*Spain and Germany have thrown off the yoke of the French; Italy has to imitate them.*' An Italian nobleman present thrust his umbrella through the portrait of Napoleon by Appiani. But the patriots were not satisfied with this bloodless insult; the populace rushed to the house of Prina, one of the Italian Ministers of Eugène, seized him, half stripped him, and threw him from a window. Still able to walk, he took refuge in a wine-shop near the Scala, whence he was torn by the mob, *who beat him to death with their umbrellas*. It was supposed that he retained some life for nearly four hours, says Lord Broughton; no mortal wound was found on his body; but he was dragged about by torch-light until ten at night, and was so much disfigured that no one could identify the corpse. Prina was a man of great talents, great courage, and great honesty. He had been Minister to the King of Sardinia and to the Cisalpine Republic. But he was preeminently the Italian Minister of Napoleon, and as the Minister of Napoleon he suffered, at the hands of the Milanese, a cruel and ignominious death.

These instances may suffice to show what was done by Napoleon I. for Italian nationality, and how Italian nationality repaid the agents of France.

We now approach a topic of more direct practical importance, since it is one on which this pamphlet propounds actual remedial measures, and on which the recent negotiations of the Great Powers have principally turned—we mean the condition of the government of the Papal States, and the evacuation of those States by the French and Austrian troops. It must, however, here be remarked that if the arrangement of what is termed '*the Roman difficulty*' was the real or the principal object which the French Government had in view, the language of this pamphlet, the armaments of that Power, the expectations held out to Sardinia in exchange for the hand of a Princess of the House of Savoy, and the perturbation caused by these events throughout Europe, are circumstances wholly disproportioned to the result. There was in fact no obstacle to the withdrawal of the foreign troops, which diplomacy could not surmount. As long ago as the Congress of Paris, France and England had loudly expressed their desire that the abnormal condition of the Papal terri-

tories should cease, and Lord Clarendon added that the problem which it was urgent to solve was to combine the withdrawal of the troops with the maintenance of order, and this solution was only to be found in the establishment of an administration which should rest on public confidence and not on foreign armies. Count Buol declared that he completely concurred in the language of the French Minister, and Baron Hübner added that it was the intention of the Imperial Cabinet to withdraw its troops from the Legations as soon as such a measure seemed feasible. So far no *casus belli* could be found in a state of things which was as much to be deplored on the part of France as on that of Austria. The French troops entered Rome against the will of the people, for they entered it by a breach; and they have for some time past remained there against the will of the Pope, whom, without conditions, they thought fit to restore. Pius IX. absolutely refused to submit to any conditions, and declared he would remain at Gaeta if he was not to return to Rome free and unfettered: France, therefore, knew what was to be expected. This occupation has lasted for nine years, and it certainly does not lie in the mouth of the authors of that expedition to represent the intrusion of foreign armies into Italy as a cause of war, or to complain that the Pope's government has not been induced to make reforms. The Emperor of the French probably retains the same opinion which he expressed in his celebrated letter to Edgar Ney: but as long as it has suited his own interests to conciliate the clergy and to seek the honour of a Pontifical coronation, all Europe knows that these opinions have not been inconveniently pressed upon the Vatican. The zeal of France in the cause of popular reform in these years has not been so great that she has any right to represent Austria as the sole impediment to progress. 'Austria,' says the writer of this pamphlet, 'is condemned to oppose an inflexible resistance to every innovation. It is impossible to obtain her concurrence, and without it nothing can be done at Rome or at Naples, or wherever her power is feared.' But what are the facts disclosed in this very pamphlet? In June, 1857, the French Government proposed to the Cabinet of Vienna certain reforms in the Papal States—the establishment of a consulta to vote the taxes, judicial reforms, and an amnesty. To this proposal the Austrian Government replied by a counter-project, differing, as we have reason to believe, in the mode of effecting these objects, but not in the objects to be effected. Meanwhile the French Government had found out that the scheme would have to encounter the most violent opposition at Rome and from the clerical party in France. The Emperor Napoleon therefore

again desisted, and no more was said on the subject until this abortive negotiation was brought to light in this publication—the truth being that the negotiation was dropped not by Austria but by France herself. Lord Cowley obtained from the Court of Vienna assurances directly opposed to the assertions of the pamphlet. Austria is by no means indisposed to concur with the other Powers in recommending to the Pope and other Italian sovereigns such changes as may be practicable and beneficial.

The difficulties to be overcome before the government of the Papal dominions can be placed on a liberal footing of civil government are enormous: but it is an error to suppose that these difficulties lie mainly in the jealousy or resistance of any foreign Power; they are, as we shall presently show, deeply seated in the very essence of the institutions it is proposed to reform. Let us, however, first observe the views expressed by the French writer on this part of the subject.

The failure of the reforms which were attempted by Pius IX. on his accession has, it seems, placed him in presence of three difficulties.

‘The first of these difficulties consists in the existing administration of the Roman States, which is neither more nor less than Catholic authority applied to temporal interests. The laws of the Church support no discussion and deserve absolute respect; *they must be regarded as an emanation of the Divine Wisdom*. But civil society claims its own legislation, just as religious society demands and enforces that which belongs to it. Canon law, inflexible as dogma, and unchangeable in ages, is essentially distinct from common law, adapted to the wants and interests of society. Canon law may have introduced the order and precepts of theocracy into the Capitularies of Charlemagne, but it does not suffice to the protection and development of modern society. There is, however, an essential point, which must never be lost sight of in dealing with the Pontifical government, the fact that the dominion of the Church and the dominion of the Roman nation are held and exercised by the same hand. They must be reconciled without being confounded. But the entirely clerical character of the Roman government is an absurdity, a cause of discontent, and consequently a source of weakness to the Pope, and a permanent danger of revolution.’ (Pp. 26–8.)

The second difficulty is that the Pope, in his spiritual character, cannot support the policy he would be bound, as an Italian Prince, to follow; and the third difficulty is that of creating an efficient native Italian army.

As Protestants and as Liberals we should view without regret the application of a thorough and radical remedy to these contradictions, as we think it equally objectionable that a college of

priests should govern Central Italy, and that an Italian sovereign should extend his spiritual jurisdiction over foreign nations. But the question cannot be argued by Catholic and despotic Powers on this ground. Recognising the authority of the Head of the Latin Church—holding that the laws of the Church are to be regarded as an emanation of the Divine Wisdom—compelled to deal with the Romish clergy as a most important element in their own dominions—bound to the See of Rome by concordats, they may easily be driven by the subtlety of Rome into a position at least as contradictory and perplexing as that in which they endeavour to place the Pope.

For example, what are in Rome the limits of the canon law? Elsewhere the history of States is the history of a contest between civil and clerical power—between common and canon law—in which the lay element has happily prevailed. In Rome no such contest has ever arisen; no representatives of the rights of the laity have ever existed; the canon law is the law not only of the Church but of the land. Indeed, the first principle of that law is that the divine authority it claims is unrestricted, and thus it controls all the interests of society. To take an example. The most fruitful sources of evil and corruption amongst the Roman population are the boundless charitable endowments, which pauperise the city. These trusts originated in the piety or the superstition of churchmen, who, having no direct heirs, or not having testamentary capacity, thought the best use of their property was to create charitable institutions connected with the religious orders. Another consequence has been that an immense extent of land around Rome is held in mortmain, and that the tenures of land are in so deplorable a state that the peasantry are reduced to squalid destitution, the landlords are necessitous, and the land itself is thrown out of cultivation.

An Encumbered Estates Act, a law of Mortmain, and a Poor-law Board, acting on sound principles of public economy, would, in our opinion, do more to improve the condition of the Roman States than any amount of political revolution. Cardinal Antonelli, who is himself a man of great acuteness, has shown this to be his own opinion by placing the finances under a consulta of laymen, who have restored the currency and rendered great services to that department. But the action of these reforms is very much limited by the religious character, which is the essence of the Papal Government, and of its institutions and laws. In such a state, and with the absolute and infinite pretensions of the Church as a church, there can be no real separation of authority. ‘I seek in vain,’ said the Emperor Napoleon (11th Feb.

1804), 'to determine the limits between civil and religious authority. The existence of those limits is a dream.' It is so when one of the two Powers claims to embrace *everything*, and to hold the other in absolute subjection to its will. But this is the condition of Rome, and hence the efforts made to reconstitute the Papal Government on a civil basis have necessarily been abortive or insincere. In the 10th and 11th Appendices to the second volume of his Memoirs, M. Guizot has recently republished the celebrated Memorandum of the 21st May 1831, recommending, in the name of the Five Powers, the admission of laymen to judicial and administrative offices in the States of the Church, and an abridgment of the edicts of reform promulgated shortly afterwards by Gregory XVI., but allowed to fall into speedy and hopeless abeyance. To these documents are added a letter from M. Rossi, of the 10th April 1832, of deep interest and consummate ability, in which he points out the extreme difficulty of finding men to solve the problem, and to reconcile a repugnant government with a distrustful people.

Rossi himself was such a man, and sixteen years later, under his own administration, the temporal interests of the Roman States were confided to a minister, who united in an extraordinary degree all the highest qualities for such a task. He was a layman, but sincerely attached to the Pope he served. He was a jurist, imbued, not with the obsolete maxims of the canonists, but with the soundest principles of legislation, political economy, and constitutional freedom. He was an Italian, ardent for the greatness and independence of his country, but his genius had been nurtured in the free republics of Switzerland and in the service of constitutional France. With inexhaustible knowledge, with unsurpassed eloquence, with dauntless resolution, he placed these gifts at the service of Pius IX. and of the Roman people. For six tempestuous months he held his course unmoved, deceived only by too much confidence in the people he governed. In return, that people murdered him, at the instigation of miscreants who talked of liberty. No deadlier blow was ever aimed at Italian liberty than that which struck Peregrino Rossi on the staircase of the Roman Cancelleria; and in the foul catalogue of Italian crimes none has left a more ineffaceable stain.* The failure of that experiment, and the disasters that followed,

* After the murder the body of Count Rossi was conveyed to the adjoining church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, where it was privately interred by his early friend and countryman Tenerani, the sculptor, who has since executed a bust of this great Italian, which has been placed over his tomb by order of Pius IX., with a suitable inscription.

have left small hope that the work in which he fell will be performed by men of meaner courage and lower powers.

To secularise the Roman administration is in fact to effect a total revolution in the state of law and property in that country—and this is to be done without the existence of either the men or the things by which such a change is to be worked. Better far would it have been to let the Roman Republic run its course, which might at least have swept away some of these evils with revolutionary power, than to cut short its career and then to bring about a similar revolution by the pressure of foreign armies on the Papal authority. Better again if the French had assumed the administration of the country during their occupation, as we have in India sometimes assumed the administration of provinces falling to pieces under an effete ruler; but to restore the Pope, and then to exact from the Pope that which he cannot do while he remains Pope, is a contradiction in terms.

Nor is anything to be obtained from the Papal Court, and especially from the present Pontiff, by violence. Rome knows that her spiritual power is never greater than in the extreme of physical weakness. When pursued, she takes refuge, as it were, in another element; and at the very moment when the Pope may be driven from his own territories, he retains, by the organisation of the Romish hierarchy, a power superior to that of every State which acknowledges his sway. Foreign intervention is no doubt the curse of Italy. But the usurped authority of Italian priests, claiming supremacy in foreign nations and owning no complete allegiance, save to their Italian head, is a form of intervention not less repugnant to freedom and national independence all over the world. That is the fatal cause which renders the affairs of Central Italy of such paramount interest to the Catholic States; and as long as that great engine of superstition and despotic government, the Church of Rome, overshadows a great portion of the earth, it is preposterous to suppose that the central seat of its power can become enlightened and free. The consistency and sagacity of the views entertained by the author of the French pamphlet may be inferred from the fact that his grand scheme for the regeneration of Italy contemplates the formation of a general Italian confederation *with the Pope at the head of it*. The passage defies translation:—

‘Aujourd’hui, comme il y a onze ans, on ne peut concevoir qu’une ligue Italienne dont le centre serait à Rome, et dont le Pape aurait la présidence. La préséance de Rome sur les autres villes de la Péninsule est consacrée par le temps, par la gloire, par l’admiration et la piété de tous les peuples. La préséance du Pape résulte de son

titre de pontife; *il représente la souveraineté éternelle de Dieu*, et ce caractère auguste permet aux plus grands rois de s'incliner devant lui. Ce n'est pas un maître; c'est un père.' (P. 59.)

So that after having shown that the Papal authority is incapable of providing for the wants and interests of modern society, we are told that the result of a French intervention in Italy is to extend to the whole country the blessings now enjoyed by the subjects of the Pope. We shall no longer detain our readers with the consideration of this pamphlet, which owes its importance entirely and exclusively to the indications of authorship stamped upon it. If there were in France a free press, it would not devolve upon us to expose the fallacies of this romance, which its author is pleased to compare with the lofty conceptions of Henry IV. and the First Napoleon. If there were a voice in the mute and servile Assemblies, now styled a French Legislature, that voice would be heard protesting with the force of unanimous conviction against schemes so unfruitful of good to Italy, so perilous to France, so menacing to Europe. Indeed, at no former time, has France had more reason to feel what a country loses, which loses the right of speaking and acting on its own behalf. As M. Guizot has recently observed in the admirable second volume of his 'Memoirs of his own time,' from 1830 to 1848 many real causes of war, many international difficulties, arose between the States of Europe. War was avoided by the publicity and freedom of debate, which enabled the existing Government to defend the cause of peace and to consult the permanent interests of the nation by the force of argument and the might of public opinion. How different is now the state of that country! War itself might be resolved upon in the secret mind of a single individual—the faith of the Empire might be pledged by clandestine engagements resting on considerations of personal advantage—the objects of such a contest might be puerile or hopeless—the motives of it might be the dread of assassination or of that unrest in which despotic and usurped authority sees the avenging phantoms of its former victims—the fate of the world might again turn on some incident as trivial as a slight to Madame de Pompadour or Louvois' jealousy of an architect: but what of all this? The nation is led blindfold to the brink of a precipice. Its freedom of action is gone.

Yet even now it is satisfactory to perceive how much those military passions, which have so often convulsed the world, have lost their influence on the population of France. We ventured to remark in April, 1857, that the period of their social history, which rendered the French eager combatants and ambitious

assailants, is passed, and that no people are less disposed at the present day to plunge into war or less able to meet the protracted drain of a European struggle.* The force of these observations has been illustrated in a most striking manner since the 1st of January. In vain were appeals addressed to a chivalrous people in the name of Italian wrongs and national honour. In vain did M. Delangle exhort his prefects to support public opinion at the height of absolute confidence in the Emperor, although the country might be unable to reach the lofty scope of his designs. From every part of France, from every class in France, a protest, deep though not loud, rose against unprovoked and unnecessary war. The Princess, whose marriage seemed to be the prelude of such calamities, was received with appalling silence and unbending coldness in the splendid avenues of Paris:

‘Sanguine Trojano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,
Et Bellona manet te pronuba.’

The material interests on which the Empire had hitherto rested have quenched the adventurous disposition to contend for the rights of civilisation in any part of the globe. Conscription, taxes, the ravages of war, the loss of security, lowered in portentous gloom over the land. Even the servile and powerless Senate and Legislative body hesitated to give a blind assent to a budget framed in obvious contradiction to the military preparations of the Government, and from every part of the Empire arrived the strongest protests against hostilities wantonly threatened in defiance of the true interests of France. No event has ever occurred more strongly to demonstrate the salutary effect of peace and civilisation in disarming the ambition of rulers. The French have now too much to lose for them to risk it with impunity; and Louis Napoleon had utterly miscalculated the effect of his own policy both at home and abroad.

To say, as the ‘*Moniteur*’ has lately done, that the recent activity of the arsenal of France has solely been directed to maintain her peace establishments, is to say in other terms that her peace establishments by sea as well as by land are now war establishments of the most formidable nature. We sincerely hope that the temperate remonstrances and the firm attitude of the other Powers of Europe, as well as the repugnance of France, may have averted the dreadful calamities which these preparations portended. We shall be told that these are idle fears, and that if such schemes have ever been formed they are now abandoned. God grant it may be so, and that we may not in our time witness so atrocious

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cv. p. 359. ‘*Last Census of France.*’

and unprovoked an outbreak of military barbarism against the interests of civilisation and peace. Talk of 'pacifying Italy'! Talk of the glory of defending 'the nationality of a people and 'the independence of the Papacy!' Why, if the accumulation of armies, and fleets, and stores of war, have any meaning in connexion with the political objects this pamphlet avows, they mean that Italy is once more to be overrun with hordes of foreign soldiers, and that the welfare of all Europe is to be sacrificed to the reckless and wilful enterprises of a single family. Unhappily, whichever course be now pursued by France, irreparable mischief has been already done. The hopes and passions of the Italians have been excited to a point which renders the maintenance of tranquillity in that peninsula extremely doubtful and the task of conciliation all but impossible. Whether they be aided or abandoned, from intervention or from non-intervention, they will equally suffer; and the day will come when they may again regard the calm, though unwelcome, counsels of England with more confidence than they can place in the promises of France.

It is not for us here to anticipate what duties such a state of things may hereafter impose on the Government of this country; enough that for the present British statesmen of all parties have nobly concurred in declaring our steadfast adherence to the faith of treaties, and have employed all our influence to restrain France and Piedmont from war, — to dispose Austria to forbearance and concession. But, ere we conclude, we must be permitted to make some observations on the effects of these occurrences on the relations of France with Great Britain.

The alliance which has now happily prevailed for so many years between the Crown of England and the different forms of government that have succeeded each other in France, has never rendered greater services to Europe than since the accession of the present Emperor to power. On the one hand it has strictly maintained the conditions of the territorial settlement of Europe and of peace; on the other hand, when these conditions were violated by Russia, it signally chastised the offender, and gave an example of disinterested adherence to the public law of Europe. United on these principles, the authority of the Western Powers was irresistible, and there is not the slightest probability that it would be assailed. We acknowledge with pleasure the fidelity with which the Emperor Napoleon III. has adhered to these principles in his relations with ourselves, and we regret that opinions of a different character should ever have been published under his sanction. Nor do we question the sincerity of his desire to maintain the most amicable relations

with England, not only because he has recollections attaching him to this country, but because the alliance of England is pre-eminently advantageous, and the opposition of England would be preeminently injurious, to the prosecution of the designs of policy which are formed, with more or less of consistency, in his mind. The very first section of the pamphlet before us, and many other circumstances, prove his extreme desire to associate England in his Italian policy, or, if he fail in obtaining her co-operation, to obtain her acquiescence and entire neutrality. No circumstances can ever be so favourable to the prosecution of any course of policy directed by France against any of the Continental Powers, as the assistance, or even the abstinence, of England; for the exercise of her maritime power depends altogether on the concurrence or neutrality of England. Disposing at once of an army and a fleet, both of first-rate magnitude, France is incontestably more powerful than any other single continental State, defended by its army alone. It is in fact the naval power of Great Britain which turns the scale and secures the balance of power—without it the naval power of France would be absolute in the Mediterranean, and scarcely less so on other seas. As long, therefore, as France possesses an assurance of the co-operation or acquiescence of this country, she has nothing to fear from any State, and she may bring to bear on any maritime State modes of attack of a very novel and formidable character. To obtain that assurance is therefore of incalculable advantage to France.

The Emperor Napoleon III. has taken some pains to persuade people in this country that he has laboured with great energy to curb the violent passions which would otherwise break out in France with irresistible hostility against the English; and that he has made sacrifices and stifled prejudices which, without his influence, would have been fatal to the alliance. We have even heard politicians on this side the Channel echo this assertion, and maintain that it is mainly on the good faith and good will of the Emperor that the alliance rests. Far be it from us to disparage in the slightest degree the persistence and fidelity the Emperor has undoubtedly shown in maintaining amicable relations with Great Britain. On the contrary, we say with the greatest sincerity that nothing in his reign does him more honour than his wise and steadfast resolution to preserve peace and a good understanding between the two greatest Powers of the earth. But we should feel less confidence in the stability of this alliance than we do if we were compelled to regard it as a personal and not a national matter. The Emperor of the French has the high merit of having repudiated those

traditions of the Empire which might have seemed to breathe hostility to England: but he certainly did not invent the alliance of the two nations. It began immediately after the Revolution of 1830, and the principal study of Louis Philippe and his Ministers was to uphold the principles of that alliance, until, in an evil hour, they unwisely sacrificed it to increase their influence by a marriage in Spain. The same relations were maintained with M. de Lamartine and General Cavaignac under the Republic, and both of those statesmen freely admitted that they found the advantages of foreign intervention and the destruction of the treaties of 1815 would be more than counterbalanced by the loss of the support and goodwill of England. The alliance has often been assailed; it has sometimes been put in jeopardy; but it has survived a long series of extraordinary revolutions, because in the main it is of real advantage to the welfare of both nations. On our side we certainly ask of France no sacrifices affecting in the slightest degree her rights, her interests, or her honour, for we well know that any such exigency would instantly be fatal to our friendship with so sensitive and high-spirited a people. The line of policy we recommend for our common guidance, and which we ourselves pursue, is precisely that which the true interests of France, and the earnest wishes of the great bulk of her own population, equally prescribe—it may be described in one maxim of the Roman jurists, ‘*Sic utere tuo, ut alienum non lædas.*’ And it cannot escape the intelligence of the French people that the enormous progress they have made, in common with the rest of Europe, during forty-five years of peace, is infinitely more conducive to their individual and collective advantage than anything which the most successful war could by possibility have conferred on them. We are satisfied that this lesson has sunk deep into their minds, and that viewing all war with uneasiness approaching to aversion, the war which France is least disposed to engage in is a war with this country.

If the alliance of the Western Powers has been shaken or put in jeopardy, it is by the same cause which threatened the peace of Europe. As long as the policy of the two States is frank and open—directed to objects which we are proud to avow, like the amelioration of the state of Italy—and free from the suspicion of selfish aggrandisement, like the alliance of 1854—there is no reason we should not pursue these objects in common. But from the moment the ruler of France is supposed to entertain a separate policy of his own, he shakes the confidence of foreign governments, he rouses passions which he may not always be able to allay, and he assumes the un-

divided responsibility of proceedings which are as odious to his own subjects as to the rest of Europe.

Of the Congress which is said to be about to assemble it is premature to speak, for a Congress is proverbially slow in its motions and uncertain in its results. If the principal object is to enable France and Sardinia to recede with honour from a position that threatened immediate hostilities, all the world readily assents to that suggestion. And if any specific cause of quarrel can be said to exist between these States and Austria, it will be the duty of the Congress to endeavour to remove it. But we are as yet in ignorance of the precise point which the representatives of the Great Powers are called upon to decide, and we are not yet certain that the meeting of this Congress will ever take place.

Is it probable that any adequate results will be obtained? The misfortune of the Italians is, that not content with pursuing objects which are desirable and attainable, the great bulk of the patriotic party, in all its different shades, aims at changes which are at present of impossible attainment, and which would not be less impossible even if the great obstacle of foreign dominion were removed. The action of a Congress is necessarily limited by principles essentially opposed to the views of the national party. If concessions are made by Austria on some points, she would require on other points a fresh sanction, and perhaps increased security, to her rights: and though measures tending to the improvement of the condition of Italy may be adopted, in the present temper of that country increased freedom will only augment the passion of nationality. We cannot therefore anticipate from the intended Congress any results which will effectually remove the grievances of Italy, and it is possible that divisions of opinion may arise affording a pretext for war which is now wanting. The agitation of the last three months is by no means terminated by this expedient; and until a general measure of disarmament has been adopted by the Great Powers, Europe will not, we fear, revert to its normal state of mutual confidence and repose.

The anxiety excited by the relations of Austria and France in Italy, and by the causes we have here passed in review, is, we confess, largely augmented by the condition of the British Government — by the dissolution of the British Parliament — and by the character of the British Minister of Foreign Affairs. Yet it is at this crisis in the affairs of Europe — we might almost say, assigning this crisis as his principal motive — that Lord Derby has, with unparalleled rashness, dissolved the House of Commons, and thrown the very existence of the Government

for the next two months into doubt and impotence. To assert as one of the causes of this extraordinary and unjustifiable determination that it is of high consequence to the peace of Europe to keep the direction of these negotiations in the hands of the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is a jest alike unworthy of the position and the wit of the First Minister of the Crown. He, as well as every other man in this country, knows that the month of June will not be far advanced when the present Cabinet must render an account of their proceedings to a House of Commons, far less disposed than any they have yet met, to judge those proceedings with lenity. In the mean time the Administration has lost the support in its foreign relations which the late Parliament generously extended to it. By this mischievous and unprofitable expedient of a dissolution, which suspends the whole course of public affairs, the Ministers of the Crown have deliberately placed their own power and influence, abroad as well as at home, in abeyance, until the result of the elections shall have determined their fate. For upwards of thirty-five days, from the prorogation of one Parliament to the assembling of another, and at the most critical time whether for negotiation or for hostilities, no Parliament whatever can be called together. The state of foreign affairs, far from being any ground of a dissolution, is in truth one of the most powerful arguments against it; for at the very moment when a strong Government may be most required in our foreign relations, Ministers will probably be in the condition of a culprit between judgment and execution — the adverse decision of the country being already entered against them, although some weeks must elapse before the new Parliament can assemble to inflict their doom. The clear and resolute will of a powerful administration, speaking in the name of this country, might produce results of incalculable advantage to the maintenance of peace; whereas the language they have held, and the conduct they have pursued, is not of a character to exercise any preponderating influence on the Continent. But whilst we deeply lament this state of affairs at home, truth and policy urge us to declare that there is no essential difference between English statesmen of any party on the substance of the great principles which regulate our foreign alliances. One great end is common to all alike: and though some may cling with greater tenacity to the rights of authority, and some may sympathise more warmly with the sufferings of the oppressed, the practical object of every Foreign Minister of this country is identically the same — to maintain the faith of the Crown inviolate and to oppose every aggression on the peace of Europe.

NOTE

ON THE COMPLICITY OF LIBERIANS IN THE SLAVE TRADE.

WE have received a communication, dated Monrovia, January 5. 1859, from Mr. J. J. Roberts, late President of Liberia, in which that gentleman complains of certain statements relating to his own alleged participation in slave-trading transactions, which were published in this Journal in October last (vol. cviii. p. 557.). These statements were cited by us on the authority of Dr. Bacon, an American physician of the highest character, who related in 'the *New York Day Book*,' of July 11. and 15. 1848, what he had seen during his residence in Liberia. After quoting the passages referred to, Mr. Roberts proceeds in these words:—

'Now, Sir, this is all very specious indeed; but believe me the whole story of slave-trade complicity on my part with Pedro Blanco or any other slave trader is wholly false. I never in my life saw or had the slightest correspondence with Pedro Blanco or any one else in his name or on his behalf. I never visited Pedro Blanco's slave establishment, or any other, except for the purpose of demolishing it. I never, *in any respect whatever*, acted as agent or factor for Pedro Blanco or any other slave trader. I was never employed in purchasing condemned vessels at Sierra Leone or elsewhere, for the use of Blanco or any other slave trader. I did purchase at Sierra Leone, I think in 1837,—and the only purchase of a vessel I was ever concerned in at that place—a schooner for the trading firm of which I was a partner, to supply the place of one we had a few weeks before lost by shipwreck; and which newly purchased schooner we christened the "*Monrovia*," and had her employed for some time in the coasting trade, when it was concluded to sell her, and procure another better suited to our purpose. She was accordingly sold to a gentleman, as far as we knew, wholly unconnected with the slave trade. Subsequently, however, this vessel, without any agency whatever on my part, fell into the hands, I believe, of Pedro Blanco. Whether or no she conveyed slaves to the Havannah, I positively have no knowledge.'

To this declaration is annexed a certificate signed by seventeen of the principal persons in Liberia to the effect that the subscribers have no knowledge of any complicity on the part of Mr. Roberts in the slave trade, and that, to the best of their belief, the foregoing statement is entitled to full and implicit credit.

In fairness to Mr. Roberts, and at his request, we publish this contradiction; but the question rests between himself and Dr. Bacon, not between himself and this Journal. In 1848, a similar denial of the charge against the authorities in Liberia was addressed by Mr. Roberts and Mr. Pinney to the American journals, to which Dr. Bacon replied with great minuteness in the very articles of the '*New York Day Book*,' to which we referred.

With regard to the alleged complicity of the authorities in Liberia in the French slave trade on the African coast (which is not adverted to by Mr. Roberts in his letter to ourselves), we may here remark that the facts relied on by this Journal were corroborated by the

Hon. James H. Hammond, a Senator of the United States, in a speech delivered by him at Barnwell Court House, New York, on the 29th October last, before the EDINBURGH REVIEW for that month had reached America. The President of the Colonisation Society, Mr. Latrobe, of Baltimore, has endeavoured to refute these statements in a letter addressed to Mr. Hammond. A further contradiction of the facts relating to the complicity of the Liberians in the affair of the 'Regina Cœli,' as set forth in the Official Report of the French Minister of Marine to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated June 18th, 1858 — which Report was quoted and relied on by Lord Malmesbury in the House of Lords — has been addressed by Mr. Roberts to Benjamin Coates Esq. of Philadelphia. And on the 6th January, 1859, in answer to a Resolution of the Liberian House of Representatives, the President of that Republic addressed to the House a message relating to the whole French system of emigration on that coast, and denying in the most positive language the statements of the French officers and agents concerned in that nefarious transaction. Our limits forbid us to enter into the details of this controversy, which are numerous and complicated; but in justice to all parties we are anxious to make it known, that whatever the conduct of some persons in Liberia may have been, the authorities of that State now feel it incumbent upon them to deny, in the strongest terms, the charge of complicity in the slave trade, brought against them in the Reports of the French agents. We hope those Reports may be disavowed by the French as well as the Liberian Government; for the transaction is alike discreditable to both parties. But the President of the Colonisation Society himself 'begins by admitting, that *if* Captain Simon was urged to obtain what emigrants he wanted within the jurisdiction of Liberia, and *if* he paid, beforehand, for the privilege of doing so, then France and Liberia were accomplices in an attempt 'to revive, practically, the slave-trade.' These are Mr. Latrobe's own words; and in using them he is aware that the facts he disputes are known in Europe, and have obtained credence here, on the official authority of the French Government.

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